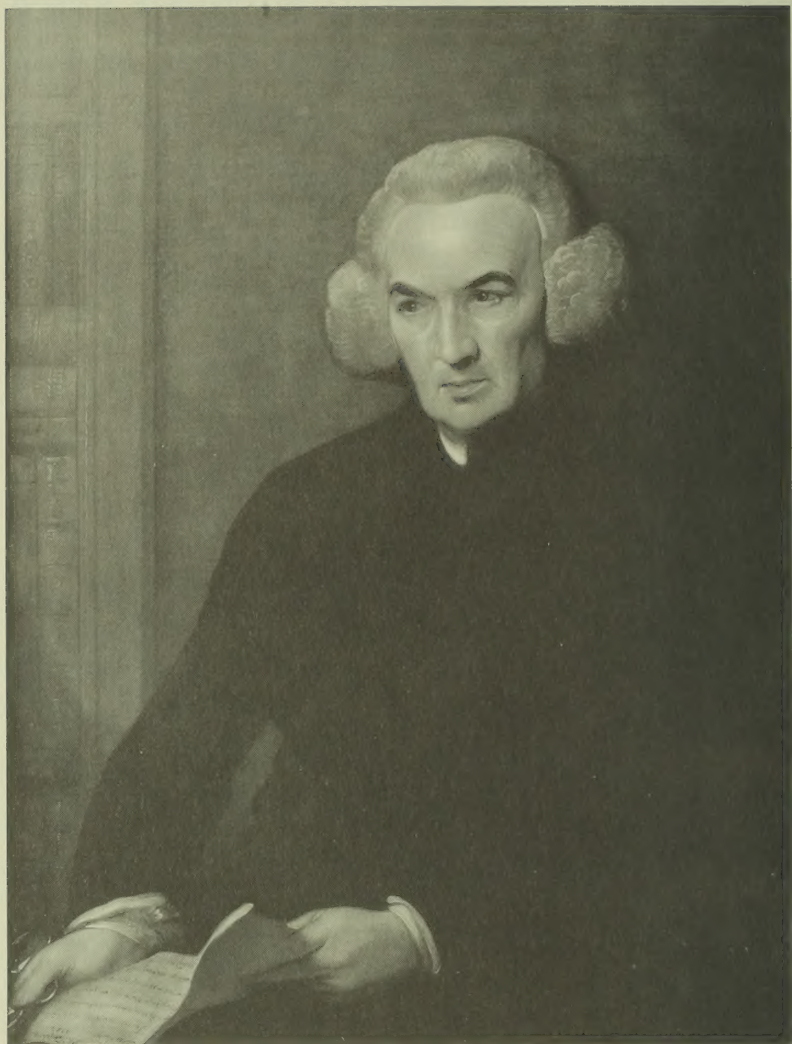


Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2021 with funding from
Duke University Libraries

The Correspondence of Richard Price

The Correspondence of Richard Price

Joint General Editors: W. Bernard Peach, *Professor Emeritus of Philosophy, Duke University*, and D. O. Thomas, *formerly Reader in Philosophy, The University College of Wales, Aberystwyth*



Richard Price (1723–1791). Portrait by Benjamin West, *P.R.A.*, 1784. Reproduced with the kind permission of the Equitable Life Assurance Society of London.

The Correspondence of Richard Price
Volume III: February 1786–February

1791 *Edited by* W. Bernard Peach

Duke University Press Durham, N.C.

University of Wales Press Cardiff

1994

© 1994 Duke University Press
All rights reserved
Printed in the United States of
America on acid-free paper ∞

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Price, Richard, 1723-1791.

The correspondence of Richard Price.

"A list of the short titles of the published
works of Richard Price." : v. 1, p. [xxvii]-xxviii.

Includes bibliographical references and indexes.

Contents: v. 1. July 1748-March 1778 — v. 2.

March 1778-February 1786 — v. 3. February 1786 to
February 1791.

1. Price, Richard, 1723-1791. 2. Philosophers—
Great Britain—Correspondence. I. Peach, Bernard,
1918- . II. Thomas, David Oswald, 1924- . III. Title.

B1382.P731 1983 192 B 82-14646

ISBN 0-8223-0452-X (v. 1)

ISBN 0-8223-1203-4 (v. 2)

ISBN 0-8223-1327-8 (v. 3)

A catalogue record for this book is available from
the British Library; British ISBN 0-7083-1180-6.

Contents

Preface to Volume III xv

Introduction to Volume III xvii

Acknowledgments xxiii

Abbreviations xxv

A List of the Short Titles of the Published Works of Richard Price xxix

A Chronology of Richard Price's Life for the Period Covered by This
Volume xxxi

The Correspondence, February 1786–February 1791 1

1786	February 6	To Sir Charles Blagden	3
	February 12	To William Pitt	4
	March 2	To John Adams	6
	March 14	From John Howard	7
	March 18	To Joseph Willard	9
	March	From John Lathrop	12
	April 2	From James Bowdoin	14
	April 6	From Joseph Willard	15
	April 8	From Thomas Day	16
	April 9	From S[amuel] Eliot	19
	April 18	From B[enjamin] Webb	20
	April 22	From Benjamin Rush	22
	April 26	From B[enjamin] Webb	24
	April 30	To Sir John Sinclair	26
	May 2	From Le Marquis de Condorcet	27
	May 11	To [an unidentified correspondent]	28
	May 15	To Earl Stanhope	29

Lilly
192
P946
C824
1983
V. 3
L. 2

May 25	From Benjamin Rush	30
April–May	To Earl Stanhope	33
May	To John Clarke	36
June 22	From John Howard	37
July 5	To Thomas Day	39
July 18	From John Clarke	40
July 24	To [James Bowdoin]	42
July 24	To Joseph Willard	43
July 26	To Sylvanus Urban, Editor of the <i>Gentleman's Magazine</i>	45
July 26	To the Marquis of Lansdowne	47
July 27	From Edward Wigglesworth	49
July 29	From Joseph Willard	51
July 29	From Benjamin Franklin	53
July 30	To Benjamin Rush	54
August 2	From Benjamin Rush	58
September 20	To the Marquis of Lansdowne	59
September 21	From the Marquis of Lansdowne	59
September 21	To John Adams	61
September 27	To George Cadogan Morgan	61
September 29	From the Marquis of Lansdowne	63
October 2	To the Marquis of Lansdowne	65
October 5	To John Adams	66
October 9	To the Marquis of Lansdowne	67
October 13	From John Howard	69
October 16	From James Sullivan	71
October 23	From Joseph Priestley	72
October 25	From John Howard	74
October 27	From Benjamin Rush	75

November 3	To John Coakley Lettsom	78
November 4	From Samuel Vaughan, Jr.	80
November 8	To John Coakley Lettsom	83
November 20	To John Acland	84
November 22	From the Marquis of Lansdowne	86
November 25	To John Jay	89
November 25	To the Marquis of Lansdowne	90
November 29	From the Marquis of Lansdowne	92
December 1	From William Bingham	95
December 10	From Mrs. Hester Chapone	97
December 10	To William Adams	99
December 11	To John Acland	100
December 14	From John Howard	100
December 19	From the Marquis of Lansdowne	101
December 21	From William Adams	104
December 30	To the Marquis of Lansdowne	105
December 30	To James Playfair	107
1787 January 7	From Joseph Priestley	108
January 18	From John Howard	110
January 22	To James Bowdoin	111
January 22	To Joseph Willard	113
January 26	To Benjamin Rush	114
January 26	To Benjamin Franklin	116
February 4	To Joel Barlow	118
February 4	To [Arthur Lee]	119
February 4	From John Adams	121
February 8	To John Adams	123
February 17	To William Adams	124
April 2	From Jan Ingenhousz	126

April 3	To Isaac Hawkins Browne the Younger	128
April 6	From Benjamin Rush	129
May 18	From Benjamin Franklin	130
June 2	From Benjamin Rush	131
June 9	From Benjamin Franklin	134
July 13	To William Adams	136
July 23	To Edward Wigglesworth	137
July 25	From John Howard	138
July 29	From Benjamin Rush	139
July 31	From William White	140
August 23	To [James Phillips]	141
September 23	To the Marquis of Lansdowne	142
September 24	To Benjamin Rush	145
September 26	To Benjamin Franklin	148
October 10	To Joseph Willard	150
November 10	To the Marquis of Lansdowne	152
November 13	To William Adams	155
December 4	From Joseph Priestley	157
December 12	To William Adams	159
[1787]	To Elhanan Winchester	161
1788 March 4	To Sir Charles Blagden	161
March 22	To [Ezra Stiles]	163
March 22	To [Nathaneal Emmons]	166
March 23	From John Howard	167
March 24	To [Arthur Lee]	169
March 24	To Joel Barlow	171
April 4	To John Adams	172
c. April	To Thomas Jefferson	173
May 26	To Theophilus Lindsey	174

May/June	From Theophilus Lindsey	176
June 2	To Theophilus Lindsey	177
June 17	To William Adams	178
June 27	From Mathon de la Cour	178
July 11	From Thomas Jefferson	179
July 17	To Christopher Harris	180
September 26	From Sir William Jones	181
October 26	To Thomas Jefferson	182
October 30	To the Marquis of Lansdowne	184
November 19	From Joseph Willard	187
December 16	To William Adams	189
December 22	From John Howard	191
1789 c. January 5-10	To Benjamin Franklin	193
January 8	From Thomas Jefferson	195
January 18	From Ezra Stiles	200
January 21	To the Marquis of Lansdowne	201
January 30	From Jedidiah Morse	202
c. January 31	To John Howard	204
March 2	To Theophilus Lindsey	206
March 5	To John Adams	207
April 4	To the Marquis of Lansdowne	209
April 6	From Jedidiah Morse	211
April 10	From Ezra Stiles	212
April 13	From Ezra Stiles	214
May 4	To Thomas Jefferson	218
May 12	From Thomas Belsham	219
Between May 12 and June 4	To Thomas Belsham	220
May 18	To Jedidiah Morse	222

May 19	From Thomas Jefferson	223
May 20	From John Adams	225
May 31	From Benjamin Franklin	228
July 1	To Mathon de la Cour	229
July 2, 4	To Le Comte de Mirabeau	229
July 12	From Thomas Jefferson	231
July 17	From Thomas Jefferson	231
July 28	To [William Stephens] Smith	237
July 28	To John Broome	239
July 31	To Ezra Stiles	241
August 3	To Thomas Jefferson	247
August 11	From Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld	249
August 13	From George Cadogan Morgan	250
August 16	To the Marquis of Lansdowne	251
August 28	From Jedidiah Morse	252
September 5	To [Ezra Stiles] ("B. Vaughan for Dr Price")	254
September 9	To the Marquis of Lansdowne	255
September 13	From Thomas Jefferson	257
September 22	From John Howard	258
December 2	From Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld	259
December 5	To the Marquis of Lansdowne	260
1790 January 5	To [an unidentified correspondent]	262
January 8	From Ezra Stiles	263
January 12	From T. Procter	264
January 13	From Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld	266
January 20	To [James Wodrow]	269
February 1	To John Adams	271
March 1	To [William Smith]	272
March 13	To J. Parker	274

March 29	To Jedidiah Morse	275
March 29	To John Lathrop	276
March 31	To John Adams	276
April 1	From Alexander Christie	277
April 2	To Ezra Stiles	278
April 17	To Sir Joseph Banks	279
April 19	From John Adams	281
April 20	To Ezra Stiles	284
April 24	From Benjamin Rush	285
April 27	To [Sir Joseph Banks]	287
May 2	From Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld	288
May 11	To Alexander Christie	290
May 14	To Theophilus Lindsey	292
May 15	From Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld	292
May 20	To John Dun	294
May 20	From Alexander Christie	295
May 29	From Louis-Felix Guinement de Keralio	297
c. May 30	To Benjamin Franklin	298
June 6	From Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld	300
June 19	To [Isaac] Ledyard	302
June 19	To Benjamin Rush	303
June 21	From Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld	305
July 2	To Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld	306
July 15	To Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld	307
July 29	From Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld	309
[August 2]	To Alexander Christie	312
August 4	From Citizens of the District of Quimper in the Department of Finisterre	313
August 6	From Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld	314
August 24	From Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld	315

August 29	From Joseph Priestley	316
After August 29	To Joseph Priestley	319
September 14	From Sir William Jones	321
October 6	To the Marquis of Lansdowne	322
October 9	From Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld	323
[October 14]	To Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld	325
October 14	To Citizens of the District of Quimper in the Department of Finisterre	328
October 25	From Alexander Christie	329
1791 January 4	To Jeremy Bentham	332
January 16	To [Sir Charles Stuart]	334
January 27	From Joseph Priestley	335
After January 27	To Joseph Priestley	337
February 16	From Joseph Priestley	339

Appendix I. Dated letters located too late to be included in chronological sequence

February 27 1769	From Hester Chapone	341
July 13 1771	To the Friendly Society of Annuitants	342
December 4 1772	From Henry Marchant	344
January 18 1779	To Benjamin Franklin	346

Appendix II. Undated letters 347

To the Printer of the <i>Public Advertiser</i>	347
From the Earl of Shelburne	347
To Benjamin Vaughan	349
To Benjamin Vaughan	349

Index	351
-------	-----

Preface to Volume III

When D. O. Thomas and I discovered we were both engaged in collecting and editing the correspondence of Richard Price, he was much further along on the project than I was. When he kindly suggested we combine our efforts I benefited in many ways. He provided information not available in the United States and copies of letters I had not located, often with more or less annotation. He had discovered and transcribed the letters to William Adams held at the Gloucestershire County Record Office that had been preserved initially by Adams's daughter, Sarah, who married Benjamin Hyett, and later preserved and deposited by Sir F. A. Hyett and the Misses M. and L. C. Hyett. He had located and transcribed the letters from France that had been collected, preserved, and organized by Eliot Crawshay-Williams and deposited in the Cyfarthfa Castle Museum, formerly the Crawshay family home. (It is remotely possible there are more letters there since Eliot Crawshay-Williams bequeathed many items to the museum, including three sealed trunks of manuscripts, diaries, and books that may not be opened until 2065.) Thomas had studied and organized the correspondence held at Bowood among the many Lansdowne manuscripts, probably the most extensive collection of Price correspondence outside the American Philosophical Society. He had annotated the journal, deciphered and transcribed by his wife, Dr. Beryl Thomas, Price kept in shorthand from 25 March 1787 to 6 February 1791. Beryl Thomas also had deciphered the shorthand drafts that Price had jotted on letters received as initial versions of letters later written in final fair form. Furthermore, D. O. Thomas had virtually finished the first volume of correspondence and was well-advanced on the second. So after I had seen the first volume through the Duke University Press, it remained for me to complete the third and last volume, no small task as it turned out.

The reader will find, in accordance with our policy of full annotation, some extensive notes that complement a particular letter with historical, social, personal, or other background details. Some reviewers have found the notes too extensive, although one of the most perceptive, D. D. Raphael, himself an expert on Price, who usually prefers lean notes, agrees that in the circumstances full annotation is appropriate. The correspondence is widely scattered and many letters have not survived, so there are gaps in continuity and coverage. Yet it would be difficult to find a collection not previously published that touches Franco-Anglo-America in the latter part of the eighteenth century at so many different points in so many different ways. The notes help to fill in these points of philosophical, theological, historical, social, and cultural significance.

Raphael has said, "D. O. Thomas's knowledge of the thought and work of Richard Price exceeds that of any other scholar, living or dead." That is exactly right. It has been a great pleasure and an even greater privilege to work with him on the correspondence of Richard Price.

Presentation

Volume III follows the conventions outlined in the introduction to Volume I and applied in Volumes I and II, with only one minor variation. Where a name, event, or other subject has been annotated in earlier volumes, a reference is made to the appropriate volume and page numbers. Where a reference is required to another letter in Volume III, it is made in terms of the writer, recipient, date, and sometimes the note number. In the index, however, all references are to page numbers of the appropriate volume.

Introduction to Volume III

During the five years covered by this volume, Price's letters continue to reflect a life of activity and accomplishment. He published *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine*, *The Evidence for a Future Period of Improvement*, a third edition of *A Review of the Principal Questions in Morals*, with "A Dissertation on the Being and Attributes of the Deity," and the famous sermon, *A Discourse on the Love of our Country*. He also worked extensively on a fifth edition of *Observations on Reversionary Payments* and on a second volume of sermons, neither of which he lived to finish. They were edited and published posthumously by his nephew, William Morgan, along with *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Richard Price*, based on material he had begun to collect for his autobiography. The sermons—which Price considered "practical" because they dealt in large measure with issues of conduct—illustrate, expand, and clarify his conception of moral freedom. They were published in 1816 under the title *Sermons on Various Subjects*.

In addition, Price was active in the establishment of New College, Hackney, and he taught there briefly before turning over his duties to another nephew, George Cadogan Morgan. He was active in working for relief of the Dissenters from the Test and Corporation Acts, although he differed from some of his brethren about just how this should be done. When requested, he completed extensive work on three plans to reduce the national debt, although he was disappointed in the use Pitt finally made of them in his Sinking Fund Bill, as he was disappointed later in Pitt's abandonment of attempts to reform political representation. He was an active member of the Royal Society with a continuing interest in its members and in the scientific contributions of Priestley in chemistry, Herschel and Maskelyne in astronomy, Banks in botany, Clarke on infant mortality, and other subjects. He was an active member of various societies, including the Society for Commemorating the Revolution in Great Britain (the Revolution Society), the Society for Celebrating the Anniversary of the Revolution in France, and the Society for Constitutional Information, although the last became less active after the American Revolution and the Gordon Riots. He was a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, a member of the American Philosophical Society, and a corresponding member of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery.

With John Acland, he worked for relief of the poor in England and advised many people on the establishment of funds for widows. He answered numerous questions about annuities, in many cases advising the enquirer to check for details in *Observations on Reversionary Payments*, which had become a

standard source in the field. Anticipation of new editions kept him interested in theories of probability and in gathering more demographic information, as well as extending the book's tables and actuarial calculations.

His various interests in the new and struggling United States are evident in his concern about the reception of his *Observations on the American Revolution and the Means of Making it a Benefit to the World*, his regret at the mercantilist policies of Great Britain that sent John Adams home with no progress on a commercial treaty, his apprehension at the rumors of three separate confederations, at the "commotions" in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and the issue of paper money. He recognized the need to strengthen the federal government, as his correspondence with John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and Benjamin Rush shows, and he was enormously pleased at the outcome of the Constitutional Convention. His letters contributed to the repeal of test laws in Pennsylvania and to the development of liberalism in Massachusetts. He found great satisfaction in the establishment of religious freedom in Virginia.

His correspondence continued with many other Americans such as Joseph Willard, James Bowdoin, and Ezra Stiles, and it began with many more such as Joel Barlow, Jedidiah Morse, and William White. He received more information and more insightful information from the sometimes feisty or opinionated Benjamin Rush than from anyone else in the United States, even toward the end, about their close mutual friend, the venerable Benjamin Franklin, whose letters became shorter and less frequent, the last one before Franklin's death on 17 April 1790 being dated 31 May 1789. Price's correspondence with Rush dealt with slavery, sinking funds, Christianity, science, astronomy, Franklin's autobiography, freedom of religion and discussion, and war; it later moved to health, old age, death, and life after death. Rush's account of Franklin's last days indicates that Franklin retained his sense of humor to the end.

Among Price's many correspondents in Great Britain the main ones continued to be Lansdowne and Priestley, although much of Priestley's correspondence was destroyed when a mob burned his house and laboratory in Birmingham; Priestley himself destroyed many letters, and most of those that remained were destroyed by his son. So this volume contains a fair sample of Priestley's letters to Price but only those in return that have been published or transcribed from the shorthand drafts Price wrote on a letter he had received. Their topics in science, religion, and politics continue to be central, with new details arising about Price's venture into teaching at New College, his *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine, Evidence for a Future Period of Improvement*, and *Discourse on the Love of our Country*, and about Priestley's publications that continued to pour forth on a wide variety of topics.

Price's correspondence with Lansdowne is the most varied of all, probably because more of it has been preserved: technological topics such as the

invention of the steamboat; finance: relief of the poor, stocks, revenues, trade, national debt, the sinking fund, and annuities; history and politics: the revolution of 1688, freedom, liberty, and security of natural rights, the regency crisis, problems in and about the United Provinces, armed neutrality, French economics and their history, trade relations, French leaders; religion: Price's sermons, the proper role of controversy in religion, the relation between belief and truth, salvation, and the role of religion in education. Lansdowne was so enthusiastic about Price's first sermon in *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine* he thought schoolchildren should be taught to spell from it.

As previous volumes, and the earlier correspondence in this volume, show, Price had been in contact with a number of French leaders well before the Revolution erupted, Turgot and Mirabeau in particular, but also Condorcet, Mathon de la Cour, and Abbé Morellet. This correspondence expanded after the fall of the Bastille on 14 July 1789 and became even more extensive after the publication of his sermon, *A Discourse on the Love of our Country*. Price regarded the French Revolution as a continuation in the growth of human freedom and security of natural rights; he saw a direct line running from the Glorious Revolution of 1688 in Great Britain through the American Revolution to the French. In the French Revolution's early phases he found grounds for hope that it would spread to other countries in Europe, despite his disappointment when the movement for freedom in the United Provinces was snuffed out by Prussia. His correspondence during this period with Thomas Jefferson (in Paris as a commissioner from the United States), dealt with a variety of topics such as slavery, morality, the federal constitution, Anglo-American commercial relations, and religious freedom. It also reflected the depth and extent of his concern for France, as later correspondence with Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld (D'Enville) seemed to support, and raised even further, his high hopes that the French Revolution would result in greater civil, moral, and religious liberty.

Because of poor health Price had declined an invitation from the Revolution Society to deliver the sermon at their celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The following year when the invitation was renewed, he eagerly accepted as an opportunity to congratulate the French. The main message of *A Discourse on the Love of our Country* is that it ought to be a justified love. Such love is not partial, but based on truth, virtue, and liberty. It can arise and grow when kings or other officials are, and are regarded as, servants of the people, when the government is based on three fundamental principles: the right to liberty of conscience in religious matters, the right to resist power when abused, and the right to "chuse our own governors, to cashier them for misconduct, and to frame a government for ourselves";¹ when the obligation to love mankind with universal benevolence

1. Price, *Political Writings*, p. 190.

as recommended by Jesus Christ includes, but is not restricted to, the love of one's own country, and is respectful of the rights of others. It is only at the very end that Price makes any explicit reference to the French Revolution:

I have lived to see a diffusion of knowledge which has undermined superstition and terror. I have lived to see the rights of men better understood than ever, and nations panting for liberty, which seemed to have lost the idea of it. I have lived to see thirty millions of people, indignant and resolute, spurning at slavery, and demanding liberty with an irresistible voice, their king led in triumph, and an arbitrary monarch surrendering himself to his subjects. After sharing in the benefits of one Revolution, I have been spared to be a witness of two other Revolutions, both glorious. And now, methinks I see the ardor for liberty catching and spreading, a general amendment beginning in human affairs, the dominion of kings changed for the dominion of laws, and the dominion of priests giving way to the dominion of reason and conscience. . . .

Tremble all ye oppressors of the World! . . . Restore to mankind their rights and consent to the correction of abuses, before they and you are destroyed together.²

The French response to the *Discourse*, to Price's toasts and congratulatory address, as well as to his published political writings, was enthusiastic as the letters show, particularly those from La Rochefoucauld and the District of Quimper. The response from his countryman, and earlier friend, Edmund Burke, however, in *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, fearful that Price's zeal for reform was excessive and dangerous, was bitterly negative, strong enough that Price refers to it as "abuse" in his letter to Priestley after 27 January 1791.

Price resolved not to reply, so there is no correspondence directly with Burke on these matters, although as Price notes in the same letter, there were many who responded for him. In the fourth edition of the *Discourse*, however, Price took note of some of Burke's criticisms. In a footnote to his formulation of the three basic principles of the Glorious Revolution he responded by pointing out the inconsistencies and errors of Burke's denial that he had interpreted them correctly. In the preface he regrets Burke's lack of candor in accusing him of a barbarian delight over the bloodshed at Versailles on 6 October when his reference was to the king's appearance before the people shortly after the fall of the Bastille in the role of an enlightened monarch ready to restore their liberties.³

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 195–96.

3. For details of the significance of the *Discourse* and a discussion of Burke's response, see Carl B. Cone, *Torchbearer of Freedom* (Lexington, Ky., 1952), pp. 180–95; *Burke and the Nature of Politics* (Lexington, Ky., 1964), 2 vols., II, 300–305; Henri Labouchiex, *Richard Price* (Paris, 1970), pp. 180–87; and many of the writings of D. O. Thomas: *Richard Price and America* (Aberystwyth, 1975), pp. 40–42; *Richard Price, 1723–1791* (Cardiff, 1976), pp. 29–43; *The Honest Mind: The Thought and Work of Richard Price* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 297–340; *Response to Revolution* (Cardiff, 1989), pp. 29–43; and *Richard Price, Political Writings* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. xxi–xxii, 176–96.

Price accomplished all of this while ministering the Gravel Pit Meeting House in Hackney and complaining of his slowness and failing abilities. It is true he had relinquished the afternoon service at Newington Green in 1783 and had excused himself from various requests; for example, Thomas Jefferson urged him to write a pamphlet on slavery for the students of William and Mary, and Benjamin Rush wanted him to write a further pamphlet on the American Revolution in which he made clear how its basic principles should be incorporated into the cultural fabric of the new society.

Nevertheless, Price continued to do all kinds of things for all kinds of people. Joel Barlow, for example, sent him a long poem for judgment and aid or advice about publication. Price asked Thomas Day his opinion. It was not high, and he added that Price should not allow others to impose on him in this way. Price could not say no, however, although he entered complaints in his journal. William White wanted him to introduce Joseph Workman to the Royal Society so he could demonstrate a mathematical instrument invented by his brother, Benjamin. Price tried but failed. Joseph Willard and Edward Wigglesworth wanted detailed advice about establishing a fund for the widows of Harvard professors and clergymen in Massachusetts. Price cheerfully provided it. Isaac Ledyard wanted him to procure the journals and papers of his cousin, John Ledyard the Traveler. Price answered politely he could not and offered advice about how to proceed. One of the most persistent was Jedidiah Morse: arrange a copyright for my book; if you can't do that, find a publisher for me, and also act as my agent. Perhaps the most demanding, however, was Ezra Stiles who wrote, in effect, we will not impose upon you, we just want you to devote several months procuring at our prices the seventy-seven scientific instruments on the enclosed list. Price not only did it but, along with Benjamin Vaughan, helped pay the cost.

The fact is the man was remarkable. He was honest, forthright, and candid. He was utterly without jealousy and, in a phrase made famous later, felt malice toward none. He was, for example, more disappointed than angered by Burke's abuse. These are traits of character that the reader must infer from reading between the lines of his discussion of public matters and knowing a good deal about him from other sources. In these letters, however, there are more frequent glimpses of the man, particularly in those about the death of his beloved wife. The anxiety he felt at the thought of losing her, expressed in the letters of the previous volumes, turned to despair when she died on 20 September 1786. The exchange between Price and Lansdowne could hardly be surpassed for its poignant expression of grief and sincere attempts at solace.

Such thoughts found their place in his journal, which also provides details of his life that are not to be found anywhere else. There are, for example, many more details of his feelings about the death of his friends, about the importance of his vacations in Wales for a "recruit of spirits," about his health and its ups-and-downs, than appear elsewhere, including his difficulty sleep-

ing because of trifling thoughts and small noises. Details of warm relations with his family, both close and remote, augment the briefer mention in the letters. We also find that his health in later years prevented during severe weather the cold baths he had regularly enjoyed; that he was bothered by the vanity that allowed him to sit for a portrait; that he kept one horse for twenty years and another for eighteen; that he was anxious enough over a remark he considered indiscreet about a minister in the city that he asked God to guard him against other such indiscretions; that he sometimes looked with favor on an early death that would save him from an imbecility of old age; that he could actually make an explicit complaint about an individual, even a close friend, "Mr H[owar]d's manuscript lies a burden upon me. I have not got through one third of it";⁴ and, ironically, from our point of view, that one of his most general complaints was about his correspondence. The last entry in his journal, probably the last line he wrote, on 6 February 1791, the day he preached a funeral sermon for Matthew Towgood just over two months before his own death on 19 April, reads, "I should be much happier than I am had I no letters to write. They are indeed a sad burden on me."⁵

In addition to the detail it adds to other topics, his journal does much to help us understand the person who was behind those impressive contributions to philosophy, moral philosophy, theology, religion, mathematics, demography, finance, probability theory, political theory, and life insurance. Devoted to the cause of liberty and justice throughout his life, simple in manner, disinterested in thought, concerned for the welfare of others, defender of human rights, tireless worker for religious and intellectual freedom, he remained humble to the end. Although he was certain the virtuous would be rewarded with eternal life, he was not certain he was that virtuous. Entries in his journal and passages in the letters indicate that a doctrine expressed earlier in *Four Dissertations* stayed with him through life: "The fact that virtue will be rewarded, does not by any means determine what such virtue as ours may expect." Whatever doubts he had were relieved by his gratitude to God for the good things in his life and the strength of his hope, based on extrapolation from history and evidence he found provided by the Gospel.

He received many tributes after his death, not only from Dissenters and other sympathizers, expressed for them by Andrew Kippis in his funeral oration, but even from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which was considerably more conservative than his favorite journal, the *Gazetteer*. There were numerous encomiums from France where in his last years he was held in even higher regard than in Great Britain. The most fitting line, however, and, insofar as a single line can epitomize a life, the most appropriate summary of his life when understood in the full significance of the term, is still to be found in Joseph Priestley's *Discourse on the Death of Dr. Price*, "In real candour I question whether Dr. Price ever had a superior."

4. "Journal," p. 378.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 396.

Acknowledgments

Many people and institutions have helped me in many ways, by granting access to documents and allowing copies, lending books, answering letters, providing photocopies, answering questions, granting permission to publish, and providing information or aid of various kinds. In addition to those mentioned in Volume I or for subsequent assistance I should like to express my appreciation to the following institutions. First and foremost, to the various departments and staffs of the Duke University Library: Reference, Interlibrary Loan, Circulation, Rare Book Room, Manuscripts, Newspapers and Microfilm, and the Divinity School Library. Also to Aberdeen University Library; Adams Manuscript Trust; American Academy of Arts and Sciences; American Philosophical Society; Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University; the Bodleian Library; Library of the Boston Athenaeum; Boston Public Library; the British Library Board; the University of California Library, Berkeley; the University of California Library, Los Angeles; the William L. Clements Library, Columbia University Library, Department of Mss and Archives; the County Library, Bridgend, Glamorgan-shire; the Cyfarthfa Castle Museum; the Ellis Library, University of Missouri; Gloucestershire County Records Office; the Guildhall Library; Hackney Public Library; the Charles Hamilton Galleries, Inc.; Historical Manuscripts Division, National Register of Archives; Houghton Library, Harvard University; City of Houston Public Library; University of Illinois Library; Institute of Historical Research, London; the Library Company of Philadelphia; the Library of Congress; Linderman Library, Lehigh University, Special Collections; Long Island Historical Society; University of Michigan Library, Department of Rare Books; New York Public Library; John M. Olin Library; Public Record Office; Royal Society of London; Salford City Libraries; National Library of Scotland; Sheffield City Libraries; University of South Carolina Press; National Library of Wales; National Museum of Wales; Widener Library, Harvard University; Dr. Williams's Library; Yale University, Osborne Collection.

In addition to those mentioned in Volume I or for subsequent aid, I should like to thank the following individuals:

Helen Aguera, Donna Ansley, John Bebbington, Mark Bell, Beth Carroll-Horrocks, Mary Beth Carson, Thomas C. Clark, C. R. H. Cooper, George W. Corner, H. J. Costello, T. Cotay, Jane Cox, Barbara Crisafulli, John O. Cushing, Stephen Done, Susan Doss, John Druessedow, P. G. H. du Boulay, William R. Erwin, P. R. Evans, George W. Farr, Jr., Charles L. Fields, Herbert Finch, Martin Fitzpatrick, Editors of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin, Wayne Furman, Rebecca Gomez, Pearce Grove, Philip Hamar, Allen Hamilton, J. Samuel Hammond, Christina Hanson, Audrey Harrell, Robert W. Hill, Rich Hines, Melisandre Hodges, Margaret Howell, James H. Hutson, Mary

Hyde, Kathleen Jacklin, Ashley Jackson, Violet Johnson, P. A. L. Jones, Niels Keiding, Robert T. King, James Lawton, C. J. Long, Linda M. McCurdy, John McLachlan, Elaine Maisner, Betty R. Masters, Philip A. Metzger, Carolyn B. Millison, Laura V. Monti, James E. Mooney, Barbara Moreland, Virginia B. Morris, Charles Morrow, Anna O'Brian, Kate Ohno, Stephen R. Parks, Howard Peckham, Mary Plowden, T. E. Ratcliffe, Jr., Joe Rees, Elizabeth G. Riely, William J. Robbins, Vera Roberts, N. H. Robinson, George Rogers, Jr., D. Rudnick, Cliff Sanderson, Jsees Savage, J. H. Smith, R. A. W. Smith, Bonnie Spiers, John Stephens, R. L. Storey, Diane L. Sutton, Marcel Tetel, J. E. Thomas, Alice Tucker, Kenneth Twinn, George L. Vogt, Ann Wadsworth, Celeste Walker, Patricia Webb, Nada M. Westlake, Linda White, H. J. Williams, Onie Williams, Margaret Wood.

I have also had the advantage of help in research from Ken Berger, Bessie Carrington, John Erik Larson, John Lemos, Harriet Leonard, Ilene Nelson, Alan R. Ruston, and Jane Vogel; and very extensive and enthusiastic aid from Anna Donnally and Johannah Sherrer, for which they have my warm gratitude. I thank my friend and colleague, Harold T. Parker, for help with French biographies, Linda Purnell for her expertise in locating rare books and pamphlets and for her patience and perseverance in acquiring them, and Albert Nelius for making special books conveniently available. Michael Gass deserves particular credit for research assistance and for locating a letter D. O. Thomas and I had missed. I am grateful to Francis Finney for preparing the growing manuscript during the early phases of the project and to James South for handling the lengthy and heavy subsequent phases with efficiency and control when he was under many other pressures.

Finally, of course, there is the matter of money. For early financial support in their favorite form of seed money, my appreciation goes to the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation; for developmental support in the middle of the project, to the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Program for Editions and the Division of Research Programs; and through it all, for their continuing long-term support based on the judicious distribution of a limited budget, very special appreciation to the Duke University Council on Research.

For long-term help in preparing the text, for understanding, and for patience beyond category, complete gratitude and dedication to my wife, Amby.

Abbreviations

Alger	John G. Alger, <i>Englishmen in the French Revolution</i> (London, 1889).
Allibone	S. Austin Allibone, <i>A Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors</i> , 3 vols. (London, 1859–71).
Bentham: <i>Correspondence</i>	<i>The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham, Correspondence</i> , General Editor, J. H. Burns (London, 1968–).
Bodleian	The Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Bowood	Shelburne Papers in the possession of the Most Honorable the Marquis of Lansdowne at Bowood Park.
B. L.	British Library
Brown	James Baldwin Brown, <i>Memoirs of Howard</i> . . . (Boston, 1831).
Cannon	<i>The Letters of Sir William Jones</i> , ed. Garland Cannon, 2 vols. (London, 1969).
“Checklist”	P. A. L. Jones and D. O. Thomas, “A Checklist of the Published Works of Richard Price,” <i>The Price-Priestley Newsletter</i> , no. 4 (1980), 70–106.
Cone	Carl B. Cone, <i>Torchbearer of Freedom: The Influence of Richard Price on Eighteenth-Century Thought</i> (Lexington, Ky., 1952).
Connelly	Owen Connelly, et al., <i>Historical Dictionary of Napoleonic France, 1799–1815</i> , 2 vols. (Westport, Conn., 1985).
<i>Corr. Rev. Soc.</i>	<i>The Correspondence of the Revolution Society with the National Assembly and with Various Societies of the Friends of Liberty in France and England</i> (London, 1792).
Crook	Ronald E. Crook, <i>A Bibliography of Joseph Priestley</i> (London, 1966).
<i>D.A.B.</i>	<i>Dictionary of American Biography.</i>
<i>D.N.B.</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography.</i>
<i>D.Sc.B.</i>	<i>Dictionary of Scientific Biography.</i>
<i>D.W.B.</i>	<i>Dictionary of Welsh Biography.</i>
<i>D.W.L.</i>	Dr. Williams’s Library
Ehrman	John Ehrman, Vol. 1, <i>The Younger Pitt: Years of Acclaim</i> (London, 1969); Vol. 2, <i>The Younger Pitt: The Reluctant Transition</i> (Stanford, Calif., 1983).
Field	John Field, <i>The Life of John Howard, with comments on his character and philanthropic labours</i> (London, 1850).

- Franklin*: Bigelow *The Works of Benjamin Franklin*, 10 vols., ed. J. Bigelow (London, 1904).
- Franklin: Papers* *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Leonard Labaree et al. (New Haven, Conn., 1959-).
- A Free Discussion* Richard Price and Joseph Priestley, *A Free Discussion of the Doctrines of Materialism, and Philosophical Necessity* (London, 1778).
- Gent. Mag.* *Gentleman's Magazine*.
- Gibbs F. W. Gibbs, *Joseph Priestley: Adventurer in Science and Champion of Truth* (London, 1965).
- Goodwin Albert Goodwin, *The French Revolution* (London, 1953).
- Haydn Joseph Haydn, *The Book of Dignities*, 3rd. ed. (London, 1894).
- H.C.J.* *Journals of the House of Commons* (London, 1803-).
- Jefferson*: Boyd *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian F. Boyd (Princeton, N.J., 1950-).
- Jeremy W. D. Jeremy, *The Presbyterian Fund and Dr. Daniel Williams's Trust* (London, 1885).
- "Journal" "Richard Price's Journal for the period 25 March 1787 to 6 February 1791," deciphered by Beryl Thomas, with an Introduction and Notes by D. O. Thomas, *The National Library of Wales Journal*, XXI, no. 4 (Winter), 1980, 366-413.
- Jovy E. Jovy ed., *La Correspondance du Duc de la Rochefoucauld d'Enville et de Georges Louis la Sage* (Paris, 1918).
- Lazarettos* John Howard, *An Account of the Principal Lazarettos in Europe . . .* (Warrington, 1789).
- Lefebvre Georges Lefebvre, *The Coming of the French Revolution*, trans. R. R. Palmer (Princeton, N.J., 1947).
- Malone Dumas Malone, *Jefferson and His Time*, 6 vols. (Boston, 1948-81).
- M.H.S.P.* (1903) *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2nd series, 1903, vol. 17 (Boston, 1903).
- M.H.S.P.*
(1909-10) *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Oct. 1909-June 1910, vol. 43 (Boston, 1910).
- Memoirs* William Morgan, *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Richard Price, D.D., F.R.S.* (London, 1815).
- Namier and
Brooke Sir Lewis Namier and John Brooke, *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons, 1754-90*, 3 vols. (London, 1964).
- Nat. Union Cat.* *National Union Catalogue*
- N.L.W. National Library of Wales
- O.R.P.* Richard Price, *Observations on Reversionary Payments*, 2nd ed. (London, 1772); 7th ed., 2 vols. (London, 1816), ed. William Morgan.

- Ogborn
Parl. Hist. M. E. Ogborn, *Equitable Assurances* (London, 1962).
The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to the Year 1806, ed. William Cobbett, 36 vols. (London, 1806–20).
- Paxton John Paxton, *Companion to the French Revolution* (New York, 1988).
- Peach W. Bernard Peach, ed., *Richard Price and the Ethical Foundations of the American Revolution* (Durham, N.C., 1979).
The Complete Peerage, ed. G. E. Cokayne, revised by G. H. White, 13 vols. (London, 1910–59).
- Peerage
- Perry William S. Perry, *A Handbook of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church . . . 1785–1874* (New York, 1874).
- Phil. Trans.* *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society.*
- Price, *Political Writings* Richard Price, *Political Writings*, ed. D. O. Thomas (Cambridge, 1991).
- PRO Public Records Office.
- Review* Richard Price, *A Review of the Principal Questions in Morals*, ed. D. D. Raphael (Oxford, 1948; reprinted, 1974).
- Robinet Jean François Eugene Robinet, *Dictionnaire Historique et Biographique de la Révolution et L'Empire 1789–1815*, 2 vols. (Paris, n.d.).
- Rush Letters* *Letters of Benjamin Rush*, ed. L. H. Butterfield, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1951).
- Rutt *The Theological and Miscellaneous Works of Joseph Priestley*, ed. J. T. Rutt, 25 vols. (London, 1817–31).
- Scott and Rothaus Samuel F. Scott and Barry Rothaus, eds., *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution, 1789–1799*, 2 vols. (Westport, Conn., 1985).
- Sibley John L. Sibley and C. K. Shipton, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University*, 17 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1873–1933).
- Smyth: *Franklin* Albert H. Smyth, ed., *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, 10 vols. (New York, 1905–7).
- Southwood Martin Southwood, *John Howard, Prison Reformer, An Account of His Life and Travels* (London, 1958).
- Sparks: *Franklin* Jared Sparks, ed., *The Works of Benjamin Franklin . . .* 10 vols. (Boston, 1840).
- Stiles, *Diary* *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, ed. F. B. Dexter, 3 vols. (New York, 1901).
- Sumner William Graham Sumner, *The Financier and Finances of the American Revolution*, 2 vols. (New York, 1841).
- D. O. Thomas D. O. Thomas, *The Honest Mind: The Thought and Work of Richard Price* (Oxford, 1977).
- T.U.H.S. *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society.*

- Valentine Alan C. Valentine, *The British Establishment, 1760–1784: An Eighteenth-Century Dictionary*, 2 vols. (Norman, Okla., 1970).
- Wilson Walter Wilson, *The History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches and Meeting Houses*, 4 vols. (London, 1808–14).

A List of the Short Titles of the Published Works of Richard Price

In chronological order giving the place and date of publication of the first edition.

A Review of the Principal Questions and Difficulties in Morals. London, 1758.

Britain's Happiness and the Proper Improvement of it. London, 1759.

"An Essay towards solving a problem in the Doctrine of Chances." *Phil. Trans.*, LIII, 370–418. London, 1764.

"A Demonstration of the Second Rule in the Essay . . . in the Doctrine of Chances." *Phil. Trans.*, LIV, 296–325. London, 1765.

The Nature and Dignity of the Human Soul. London, 1766.

Four Dissertations. London, 1767.

"Observations on the Expectations of Lives." *Phil. Trans.*, LIX, 89–125. London, 1770.

The Vanity, Misery and Infamy of Knowledge without Suitable Practice. London, 1770.

A Letter from Dr. Webster . . . and Dr. Price's Answer. Edinburgh, 1771.

An Account of a Scheme for Providing Relief. London, 1771.

"Observations on the Proper Method of Calculating the Values of Reversions." *Phil. Trans.*, LX, 268–76. London, 1771.

Observations on Reversionary Payments. London, 1771.

"On the Effect of the Aberration of Light on the Time of a Transit of Venus." *Phil. Trans.*, LX, 536–40. London, 1771.

An Appeal to the Public on the Subject of the National Debt. London, 1772.

"Farther Proofs of the Insalubrity of Marshy Situations." *Phil. Trans.*, LXIV, Part I, 96–98. London, 1774.

Calculations and Observations relating to the Scheme of the Laudable Society. London, 1774.

"Observations on the Difference between the Duration of Human Life in Towns and in Country Parishes." *Phil. Trans.*, LXV, Part I, 424–45. London, 1775.

"Short and Easy Theorems. . . ." *Phil. Trans.*, LXVI, Part I, 109–28. London, 1776.

Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty. London, 1776.

Additional Observations on the Nature and Value of Civil Liberty. London, 1776.

A Free Discussion of the Doctrines of Materialism and Philosophical Necessity. London, 1778.

Two Tracts on Civil Liberty. London, 1778.

"Introduction" and "Essay on the present state of population in England and Wales." In W. Morgan, *The Doctrine of Annuities and Assurances.* London, 1779. [Price's essay was published separately in 1780.]

Fast Sermon . . . 10 February 1779. London, 1779.

Facts Addressed to the Landholders. . . London, 1780.

An Essay on the Population of England. London, 1780.

Fast Sermon . . . 21 February 1781. London, 1781.

The State of the Public Debts. London, 1783.

Postscript to a Pamphlet by Dr. Price on the State of the Public Debts and Finances.
London, 1784.

"Directions for Using Tables," in Francis Maseres, *The Doctrine of Annuities.*
London, 1783.

A Letter to Lieut. Col. Sharman, in *A Collection of the Letters . . . Addressed to the*
Volunteers of Ireland. London, 1783.

Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution. London, 1784.

Plans for Annuities. Edinburgh, 1784.

Postscript to Mr G. C. Morgan's "Observations on the Light of Bodies in a
State of Combustion." *Phil. Trans.*, LXXV, Part I, 211. London, 1785.

Letter Introducing Dr Clarke's "Observations on some Causes of the Excess of
Mortality of Males above that of Females." *Phil. Trans.*, LXXVI, Part 2, 349.
London, 1786.

[Prefatory Letter to] *A Statute of Virginia.* London, 1786.

Letters in Acland *A Plan for Rendering the Poor Independent.* Exeter, 1786.

Sermons on the Christian Doctrine. London, 1787.

The Evidence for a Future Period of Improvement in the State of Mankind. London,
1787.

A Discourse on the Love of our Country. London, 1789.

Additions to Dr. Price's Discourse . . . containing Communications from France.
London, 1790.

Preface and Additions to the Discourse on the Love of our Country. London, 1790.

Sermons by Richard Price and Joseph Priestley. London, 1791.

"Three Plans communicated to Mr. Pitt" in W. Morgan, *A Review of Dr. Price's*
Writings on the Subject of the Finances. . . London, 1792.

For details of the various editions and impressions of Price's works, see *A*
Bibliography of the Works of Richard Price, compiled by D. O. Thomas, John
Stephens, and P. A. L. Jones, to be published by the Scolar Press.

A Chronology of Richard Price's Life for the Period Covered by this Volume

- 1786 26 May: William Pitt's Sinking Fund Bill becomes law 26 George III.
cap. 31, An Act to Reduce the National Debt.
20 September: Sarah Price dies.
25 April: Foundation of New College, Hackney.
- 1787 March–April: Moves to St. Thomas's Square, Hackney.
28 March: Beaufoy's motion for repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts defeated.
25 April: *The Evidence for a Future Period of Improvement in the State of Mankind, with the Means and Duty of Promoting It.*
Sermons on the Christian Doctrine as Received by the Different Denominations of Christians.
Third edition of *A Review of the Principal Questions in Morals.*
- 1788 5 June: Resigns as tutor at New College, Hackney.
October–February (1789): Regency Crisis.
- 1789 8 May: Beaufoy's motion for repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts defeated.
17 June: Third Estate becomes the National Assembly.
14 July: Fall of the Bastille.
4 November: Meeting of the Revolution Society at the Old Jewry to celebrate the 101st anniversary of the Glorious Revolution.
A Discourse on the Love of our Country.
- 1790 2 March: Fox's bill for repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts defeated.
1 November: Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France.*
- 1791 20 February: Retires from ministry at Gravel Pit Meeting House, Hackney.
19 April: Dies.
- 1792 Fifth edition of *Observations on Reversionary Payments*, ed. William Morgan.
- 1816 *Sermons on Various Subjects*, ed. William Morgan.

The Correspondence of Richard Price

To Sir Charles Blagden

Newington-Green, February 6, 1786

Sir,

I received some time ago the inclosed letters, and registry from Dr. CLARKE, Physician to the Lying-in-Hospital at Dublin.¹ They contain some accounts that seem to me not improper to be communicated to the Royal Society.

The observations which have been made on the laws that govern human mortality prove, that the mortality of males exceed that of females in almost all stages of life, and particularly in the earliest stages; and that this excess prevails most in great towns, and all the less natural situations of human life. The facts in these papers throw some light on this subject. Male *foetus*'s requiring more nutrition than female *foetus*'s, because larger, and being also for this reason more liable to injury in delivery, are brought into the world less perfect: and this happening more or less in proportion to the vigour and just formation of the mother, it must happen most in those situations where the greatest tenderness of frame and deviation from nature take place. The truth in short, seems to be, that any debility in either parent must affect most the production of that sex which requires the largest and strongest *stamina*; and such debilities prevailing most in great towns and polished societies, the excess of the mortality of males must also be greatest in such situations; and this I reckon the principal reason of a circumstance in human mortality which, before I received these communications from Dr. CLARKE, I did not so well understand.

With much respect I am, etc.
RICH. PRICE.

PRINTED: *Phil. Trans.*, LXXVI, 349–50. "Observations on Some Causes of the Excess of the Mortality of Males above that of Females," by Joseph Clarke, M.D., physician to the Lying-in-Hospital at Dublin. Communicated by the Rev. Richard Price, D.D., F.R.S., in a letter to Charles Blagden, M.D., Sec., R.S. TEXT: *Phil. Trans.*

1. See Vol. II, 284–87, 309–13.

To William Pitt¹

Newington = Green Feb: 12th 1786

Dear Sir

I return you the papers you have sent me, and will, if I do not hear that it is inconvenient for you, wait upon you on wednesday morning about eleven.

The effect of the conversion of the 3 *per cents* into 4 *per cents*, as represented in the 3d of the Tables I sent you, is given on purpose to the greatest disadvantage by taking, when the 3 *per cents* are at 75, the difference of price between them and a new class of 4 *per cents* more valuable than the present, so low as 16 $\frac{2}{3}$ *per cent* whereas the market difference of price between the 3 *per cents* (when at 70) and the *present* 4 *per cents* is £18. Had I reckon'd the price of conversion at this last sum, the free revenue from £60,000 *per Ann* for ten years added to a million surplus, would have been after 34 years £6,821,740. Had I taken it at 20, the free revenue in the same time would have amounted to near seven millions. I observed this in the remarks at the end of the 3d Table. Had I taken the difference at 22 $\frac{1}{4}$ (and in the improving state of the Funds I have supposed this seems not extravagant) the free revenue after 34 years would have risen considerably above *seven millions*; and with the aid of the Annuities for terms, the Life annuities and expences of management, to near 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ millions. It is possible, in the circumstances I have supposed, that this difference might not fall far short of what it should be in proportion to the difference of interest, and in this case² the free revenue would not have been greatly short of *eight millions*. It is the *possibility* of such an advantage, and the conviction that the state of the public debts requires every safe experiment for promoting the efficiency of a plan of redemption, that led me to propose this measure. The calculation you have sent me is very just, and were the greater advantage than that stated in it to be derived from the conversion I have

ORIGINAL: PRO/30/8/169. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Public Record Office.

1. This letter ends the extant correspondence between Price and Pitt during Jan. and Feb. 1786 about redemption of the public debt. See Vol. II, 330–37. William Morgan, *Additional Facts . . .* (London, 1796), p. 37n., quotes from a letter of 18 Apr. 1786 from Pitt thanking Price for his help, but that letter has apparently not survived. For a detailed and clarifying discussion of these issues, Price's role in the Sinking Fund Bill, which passed into law as the Sinking Fund Act (26 Geo. III, c. 21), and the respects in which Price approved and disapproved of the measure, see D. O. Thomas, pp. 250–55. See also D. O. Thomas, "Richard Price, 1723–91," *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, sess. 1971, pt. I, p. 58, n.42.

2. Price adds in a note, "(On this supposition the 3 *per cents* being at 75, the 4 *per cents* would be at *par*, and the conversion of six millions *per Ann* for ten years would produce £1,500,000 to the fund for ten years. The 3rd table supposed it to produce only £1,000,000)."

proposed than could be derived from the simple augmentation of the fund at the rate of £60,000 *per Ann* for ten years, it would not deserve a preference, except on account of its doubling the *first* payments and consequently increasing the effect of the plan at the time when it will be most necessary to procure for it the public confidence. At the time I framed the 3d Table I made several others in order better to ascertain the effect on different suppositions of the conversion on which it was grounded. One, in particular, shews that a million surplus with £50,000 *per Ann* added for ten years, will produce after 34 years a free revenue of £6.271,000. The table you have sent me shews that an addition of £60,000 *per Ann* will produce in the same way £6.609,022.

In all that I have done on this subject my view had been to find out the *utmost* that could be effected in a given time with given appropriations; and I thought this a matter of importance because no effectual service in this instance can be done without adopting strong measures and the most efficient plan that such measures can execute. If the nation will not bear such measures (and I fear it will not) it must be left to suffer the consequences. I was, therefore, concerned to observe in the 10th section of the Act (a draft of which you have done me the honour to send me) that the operation of the Fund are to cease when the free Revenue is increased to four millions; that is, when it shall have gained about £2.400,000 *per Ann* and redeemed about 55 millions, and at the very period when it shall have acquired sufficient vigour to do greater service in ten or eleven years than it had before done in 27 years (during which time a war perhaps may have added much more than 55 millions to the public debt) and then leaving the Fund open to annihilation when the preservation of it for a few years longer would give effectual relief—such a prospect will probably produce more despondence than hope.

This is my chief objection to the Act as it is at present drawn. In other respects it contains most of the regulation that I have long wished to see establish'd. I will, however, take the liberty to add the following enquiries. Might not some additional provisions be found out for rendering the Fund unalienable? Does not the efficiency of the fund depend very much on the order in which the different classes of debts are redeemed; and would it not, therefore, be right to specify this order in the Act? Would it not be also proper to introduce into the Act a *sketch* of the progress of the Fund that the public (at present too little informed on this subject) may see what its effect will be if allowed 34 or 40 years; and also that an easy comparison may at any time be made between the *calculated* and *actual* effect, and thus the public encouraged whenever the latter happens to exceed the former? Tables containing such a sketch are actually given in the Edict which establish'd in August 1784 the *French Sinking Fund*. In this Edict the most solemn assurances are given that no emergencies whatever shall occasion a diversion of the Fund and calculations are inserted to convince the public that in 25 years a free revenue of six millions will be gained. And lately 3 1/2 millions sterling have been borrowed to avoid interrupting the Fund.

It is impossible that you should deserve better of the public or that your administration should gain greater honour than by establishing the best measures for saving the Kingdom from the danger with which its debts threaten it. Wishing you all possible success in this great work, and that I could be more the means of assisting you in it, I am

Sir, with the greatest respect,
Your most obedient and humble servant
Richd Price.

Upon receiving the 10th section I find that I have in some measure mistook its intention which seems to be to direct that it shall be at the option of Parliament whether, when the Fund has increased to *four millions*, it shall proceed afterwards by compound or simple interest. But I cannot see the reason of such a direction. Why should not the Fund be allowed to produce its greatest effect during a term specify'd but shewn in the Act to be sufficient to give substantial relief; and at the same time a declaration made that at the end of this term all the most burthensome taxes shall be abolished, and only a small remainder reserved for a new Sinking Fund which should for ever afterwards keep the Kingdom safe? Would not an Act thus framed have a tendency to encourage the Kingdom under its present burdens and reconcile it to additional burthens?

To John Adams

Newington=Green March 2nd 1786

Dear Sir,

I have been wishing to call upon you all this week, but the weather has been so discouraging as not to suffer me to go much from home. I have communicated your request to the gentlemen who manage the affairs of the meeting at Hackney. They agree with me in thinking their Society much honoured by your attendance;¹ and they have directed me to inform you that, as the pew

ORIGINAL: Massachusetts Historical Society, Adams Papers, Reel No. 367. Recipient's copy.
TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Adams Manuscript Trust.

1. The Adams family frequently attended the Gravel Pit Meeting House at Hackney. See John Adams to R.P., 20 May 1789. Of Price's sermons Abigail Adams wrote, "If I live to return to America, how much I shall regret the loss of good Dr. Price's Sermons. They were always a delightfull entertainment to me. I revered the Character and Love the Man. Tho' far from being an orator, his words came from the Heart and reached the Heart. So Humble, so diffident, so liberal and Benevolent a Character does Honour to that Religion which he both professes and practises." *The Adams Papers*, ed. L. H. Butterfield (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), III, 212ff. Cf. *New Letters of Abigail Adams, 1788-1801*, ed. Stewart Mitchell (Boston, 1947), p. 53.

lately made is a permanent improvement to the meeting=house, they do not chuse to let you bear any part of the expence.

Their usual expences are a *quarterly* collection at the door towards paying Clerk, pew=openers, repairs etc. to which all sums are given from shilling to five shillings, and I believe, some=times half guineas; a *half yearly* subscription for the ministers payable at Lady=day and Michaelmas to which all sums are given from half-guineas to three guineas half-yearly; and two heads of families give one of them five guineas and the other six guineas half yearly, but the last of these is the master of a school that takes up the lower part of the meeting.

I am ashamed to mention these particulars to you; but I do it in compliance with your desire. Deliver my kind respects to Mrs Adams and Miss Adams. Wishing them and you all possible happiness, I am, dear Sir, with particular respect and affection.

Your very obedient and humble servant
Richd Price

I received a letter last night from Mr Robinson² in which he tells me that he has writ to you. Deliver my respectful remembrances to Col. Smith when you see him.

2. Among the Adams Papers there is a letter to John Adams signed "M. Robinson M" dated 27 Feb. 1786. It is docketed, although not in John Adams's hand, "Mathen Robinson Esqr Horton near Hythe Kent. ans'd March 2 1786." After expressing his admiration of Adams and his work, Robinson goes on at some length in favor of Adams's proposal "of opening all the Ports of both States to one another." See Adams Papers Reel No. 365.

From John Howard

Naples March 14 1786¹

My dear friend may expect to hear from me,

I came thro' France as on a Medical tour and only advised with the Protestant Ministry at Lyons Marseilles and Toulon, I spent several hours on two

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. The Price-Howard correspondence from 13 June 1770 (see Vol. I, 92–93) up to this letter has not survived. During this period Howard had traveled extensively through Great Britain and the Continent inspecting prisons and working for prison reform. His book, *The State of the Prisons*, a landmark, first appeared in 1777 and was followed by expanded and modified editions in 1780, 1784, and 1792. He is credited with establishing the standards and methodology for the investigation of prisons. See Kenneth Ruck, ed. *State of the Prisons* (New York, 1929), p. xiv. At the time of this letter he was embarking on a tour of the principal lazarettos (as well as schools, workhouses, and hospitals) of Europe to gather information

successive days in the Arsenal two to three ships on the docks, no hands employed, 400 just discharged; no Materials, no Money, among the Slaves, one, and one only, who openly professes himself a Protestant and has been steady these 36 years, is esteemed and loved for his exemplary carriage, the protestants allow him 9 livres a Month.

At Genua the Majestrates generously opened their Lazarettoes to me, and so also at Leghorn and permitted to copy draw Plans, etc: Meeting with a young french man going to the Academy at Rome, he for a five Sequins thankfully worked under my eye, that I can say they are truly copied; the Regulations were all given to me, I passed some days at florence and Rome revisiting on my line and came here last Saturday.

Next Week I go off for Sicily Malta thro' Turkey, home; my friend must think I am well; with firm and steady spirits to undertake such a journey and that all by myself; it requires an insuperable Courage and a steadiness of resolution; May I call it a great design, as such I am sensible it is liable to a fatal miscarriage, had the fear of Man been prevalent in my Constitution I had not went last into France, but now have taken a final leave of that Country.² We have cold stormy Weather and little appearance of spring, Farr pleasanter weather at this season have I known in England, yet your Phisicians who know nothing of the Climate send many Patients here, who die a few weeks after their arrival. I am in pleasant Lodgings at 3d a night in full view of Vesuvius, who flamed on Saturday night, but is now quiet. I live on Tea Milk and Bread, I do not dine or Sup, but yesterday was very extravagant I gave 2 shillings (= 6 Carlins) for one pound of Butter which will last me the week I stay here. My tea things I carry, the rest of my baggage very small, only 6 or 8 shirts, a Coat,

about the plague, an attempt that he hoped would contribute toward providing means of cure and prevention.

Before leaving, he put his affairs in order and, in accordance with his desire to avoid attention from the public, even after death, destroyed most of his private papers. Consequently, although we have ten of his letters to Price while on this and a subsequent journey, we do not have the letters from Price to him. In fact, only one letter from Price to Howard has survived, and that is in the form of Price's shorthand draft of an answer to Howard's letter of 22 Dec. 1788 preserved on the manuscript of that letter.

2. Howard was not welcome in France. Initially this was because of his success in persuading British prisoners of war not to change sides. Then he smuggled out of France a forbidden pamphlet, *Remarques historiques et anecdotes sur le chateaux de la Bastille*, by Brossai du Perrav, had it translated and published under the title, *Historical Remarks and Anecdotes on the Castle of the Bastille* (London, 1780). Nevertheless, he was able to visit the prisons of Paris without incident in spring 1783, entering France from Spain. On this 1786 trip, however, he had official warning ahead of time that he ran the risk of imprisonment in the Bastille. He was spied on and narrowly escaped arrest in Paris and Lyon. By traveling as a French doctor and avoiding public places, however, he managed to get to Marseilles and visit the lazaretto there, even though the French were so jealous of their trade with the Levant that they barred all foreigners from the hospital where crews and passengers were quarantined on their arrival from that area. He escaped from France for Italy by sea. See Southwood, pp. 102–3; also Brown, pp. 235–39.

and a few Napkins. I have a clean Lodgin, but when I am forced to lay in pigstyes I make myself and the pigs easy in it, I wrap myself in my great Roccollo and in a few hours I am alive and fresh.

Affectionate Compliments to Mrs. Price and Neiece With esteem Affection Gratitude and Love, even in that friendship that has never been broken for one Minute, remain

Yours
John Howard

To Joseph Willard

Newington-Green, March 18th, 1786

Dear Sir,

Your letter dated in Sept'r last did not come into my hands till about a month ago, and I now take the first opportunity to acknowledge the reception of it. Your University have done me great honour by the Vote of thanks inclosed in it.¹ I ardently wish its increasing prosperity and credit. I am likewise oblig'd to you for transmitting to me the Catalogue of persons who have received degrees from the University, and the *Massachusetts Almanack* for 1786; but more particularly for your sermon² at the ordination of *Mr. McKeen*.³ Happy would the Christian church be were all its ministers such as it describes. The Sentiments in it and also in *Mr. Barnard's*⁴ Right hand of fellowship are so correspondent to my own, that it is not possible they should not give me pleasure. I differ a little from *Mr Swain*⁵ in the notion of Ordination and Clerical power on which his charge seems to be founded.

PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1909–10), 619–22. TEXT: *M.H.S.P.*

1. See Vol. II, 265. The discrepancy in dates may indicate an inaccuracy of memory or a difference of several months between making the copy and sending the original.

2. William Coolidge Lane (1895–1931), librarian at Harvard College 1898–1928, editor of the Willard letters in *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, vol. 43, 2nd ser. 1909–10, p. 619, notes, "A Sermon preached May 11, 1785 at the ordination of the Reverend Joseph McKeen, to the pastoral office over the First Church of Christ in Beverly. By Joseph Willard, A.M., President of the University in Cambridge. [The Charge by Joseph Swain, of Wenham. The Right Hand of Fellowship, by the Reverend Thomas Barnard, of Salem.] Salem, 1785."

3. Joseph McKeen (1757–1807), Congregational clergyman, first president of Bowdoin College. On this occasion he was succeeding Joseph Willard, who had become president of Harvard.

4. Thomas Barnard, the Younger (1747 or 1748–1814), graduated from Harvard in 1766, first minister of the North Congregational Church of Salem. See Sibley, XVI (1764–67), 316–22. See also Stiles, *Diary*, I, 229, 337, 523.

5. Joseph Swain (1722/23–92) graduated from Harvard in 1744, minister at Wenham, Mass., from 1750 until his death. He lived a troubled life because of alcoholism. Sibley, XI, 475–77.

I have considered carefully Dr. Wigglesworth letter.⁶ The *data* mention'd in it taken from the number now living of persons admitted to degrees in every period of ten years from 1711 are in my opinion by no means sufficient to give with tolerable correctness the rate of mortality among the ministers in the state; and Dr. Wigglesworth's table derived from these *data* has irregularities in the decrements and expectations of life which must be accidental and cannot possibly correspond to the stated course of mortality among any body of men. The rate of mortality among the ministers and Professors in Scotland appears from certain evidence⁷ to be less than is common among mankind taken collectively and indiscriminately and I cannot doubt but this is true of the ministers and Professors in the state of *Massachusetts*. This is a circumstance that must favour a scheme for providing annuities for widows; because by lengthening the duration of joint lives it lessens the present value of any sums or annuities not payable till the extinction of the joint lives. I think, therefore, that if the body of ministers and Professors in your state take the Table formed from the *Sweden* observations in p. 165th of the 2d Volume of my Treatise on Annuities for their guide, they will be sufficiently safe.⁸ The probability is that the values there given are too high; because they suppose an improvement of money at so low an interest as four per cent where probably in your state money may be improved at five or six per cent.

This, however, will only give additional security, and enable the conductors of the scheme some time or other to increase the Annuities. Indeed I am not capable of giving any better assistance or information on this subject than the Table to which I have referr'd contains. Should it be adopted a great deal of trouble will be saved. I will add, tho' a needless caution, that a member of a society governed by this Table, should he become a widower and afterwards marry a second wife, must be required to make a payment suitable to his age *then*, and the age of his second wife, just as if he had never before made any payments. The like is true of 3d marriages.

6. Edward Wigglesworth to Joseph Willard, 6 Nov. 1785. It is printed in *M.H.S.P.* XVII, 330–34, and referred to on pp. 345 and 347 among “The Price Letters.” Wigglesworth was a member of a committee concerned with incorporating a society to establish a fund for granting annuities to the widows of ministers in Massachusetts and professors at Harvard. He wanted to determine how the mortality rate of this class compared with the rate of the general population where mortality tables were kept. Price's tables, he noted, were not “formed from such a class of men.” Wigglesworth worked out a table based on Harvard College graduates showing that they lived somewhat longer than the people in most of Price's tables, and he suggested that the society use Price's tables for the kingdom of Sweden as the basis for their calculations. Willard had sent this letter to Price.

7. Price adds in a note: “See the Treatise on Reversionary Payments, Vol. 1st, pp. 90, 96, 366, and the Notes at the end of the 2d Volume, p. 72.” In the seventh edition of *O.R.P.* such evidence is contained in the sections entitled “Of the Association among the London clergy, and the Ministers of Scotland, for providing Annuities for their Widows” and “Further Account of the Association among the London and Middlesex Clergy; and of the Establishment among the Ministers and Professors of Scotland,” pp. 104–18.

8. For comments on the accuracy of the Swedish tables, see D. O. Thomas, pp. 227–28.

Deliver my very respectful compliments to Professor Wigglesworth. I shall be glad to hear again from him or from you on this subject should I be thought capable of giving any farther information.

Such an English-Greek Lexicon as you wish for would undoubtedly be useful, but I am afraid it is not likely to be soon undertaken in this country.

I am not at present sufficiently informed to be able to answer your enquiries relating to Reiske's⁹ design to publish all the Greek orators, and *Augustus Ernest's* design to compile a more complete Greek Lexicon than Hedericus's¹⁰ But probably I may soon have an opportunity of informing myself; and should I succeed in my enquiry I will mention the result in a future letter. I am, Dear Sir, with great respect, your most obedient and humble servant

Richard Price

When you see Professor Williams Deliver my respectful compliments to him

I writ not long ago to his Excellency the Governor, Mr. Lathrop and Mr. Clark.

I have recommended the following scheme to some societies in this country.¹¹

All married men of all ages to pay five guineas *per Ann* during marriage, the first payment to be made at admission; and also half a guinea for every half year of the excess of their ages above the ages of their wives if ten years or less; but if more than ten years to pay one guinea for every half year that their ages exceed the ages of their wives more than ten years.

In consideration of these contributions and Fines the widow of every contributor to be entitled

To an annuity for life of £8 if the husband has lived *one* year after
 making his first payment and made
 two annual payments
 of 9 if . . . *two* years and made three
 annual payments
 of 10 if . . . *three* years and made four
 annual payments etc, etc.

9. W. C. Lane notes: "This probably refers to Johann Jakob Reiske (1716–1774) who published the Greek Orators in twelve volumes (1770–1775), not living to complete the series."

10. W. C. Lane notes: "Benjamin Hederich's [1675–1748] 'Lexicon manuale graecum,' first published in 1722, was for many years a common student's handbook. It has been edited again and again by later scholars. The first edition by Johann August Ernesti [1707–81] was in 1754. A fourth edition 'auctor et emendator,' was published in 1796."

11. Probably the London Annuity Society, the Laudable Society (see *O.R.P.*, 7th ed., vol. 1, pp. 72–94), the Association among the London Clergy and the Ministers of Scotland, for providing Annuities for their Widows (pp. 104–18), the Amicable Corporation (pp. 158–73), and the Society for Equitable Assurances on Lives and Survivorships (pp. 174–80). For Price's general contributions to insurance, see D. O. Thomas, pp. 214–33.

The Annuity to encrease at the rate of £1 for every year that the contributor shall live more than one year after his first payment.

Recommendations of this Plan

First. It is the safest plan because it depends less than any other on the firmness of life.

Secondly. It guards against the danger, arising from fraudulent intrusions into an Annuity society of persons who may be dying by concealed distempers.

Thirdly. It is more *simple* than any other plan because it establishes nearly the same common payment for all ages and all the differences of age between husbands and wives.

Fourthly. It is more *equitable* than any other plan because it makes those the greatest gainers who have contributed most. And it is also more *useful* by providing the largest annuities at the time of life when they will be most wanted.

From John Lathrop

Boston March, 1786

Reverend Sir,

The two young Gentlemen of the name of Lewis whom you recommended to my attention were in Boston when your very obliging Letter, dated in June last, came to hand.¹ One of them, the eldest, has been since doing Business in New=London, in Connecticut. The other Brother went from this town to Nova Scotia, where he had accounts to settle, and after he had finished his business there, he told me it was his intention to go to his brother at New-London.

Those worthy young gentlemen met with some unfriendly treatment in this place, at a time when the spirits of the trading part of the people were irritated by the operation of British acts of Trade, and just at the Time when a number of our merchants had their orders sent back unanswered, and their ships without freight.

It will be easy for you to conceive, a number of traders had it in their power, and that they would not want a disposition, to raise a clamor against those English merchants who resided among us. The Newspapers, which are free enough in this place, were filled with pieces tending to irritate and inflame. But I feel happy in reflecting that before your Letter came to hand, I had seen the young Gentlemen and invited them to my House, and used my endeavors to soften the minds of people towards them. Your Letter coming to hand

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. Printed *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 336–37. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. This letter has apparently not survived. See Vol. II, 278, for Price's comments on the Lewis brothers.

before the young gentlemen left the place gave me sufficient support, and they might have tarried in peace as long as they pleased afterwards, had they found Business could have been done to advantage.

The state of Commerce at present in this country is not favourable to adventurers from Europe. The large credit which your merchants gave at the beginning of the peace filled the country with goods. The operation of several acts of the British Legislature respecting commerce with America prevented our merchants making remittance in the ways they had been used to, and were obliged to send away the cash; very little is now remaining, and a great part of the goods not paid for. Bankruptcies are daily taking place; Taxes cannot be collected in sufficient quantities to support the credit of government. Many who loaned their money to Congress or the particular States are put to great difficulties, and some who depended on receiving their monies thus loaned to answer the demands of creditors on the other side, [of] the water, are brought into the most wretched circumstances.² But I do not despair; I am not discouraged. Good will come out of this evil. Happy for us, your merchants will not send out goods, as they have done in years past. Our people will be more industrious and I hope more virtuous. We shall be *obliged* to apply to our own resources, and learn to live with less foreign superfluities and luxuries. If our seaport towns do not increase, as we who live in them would naturally wish, our inland country will be filled with more Inhabitants. The wilderness will be subdued, and we shall make more speedy advances in strength and real wealth than we should, if foreign Trade was encouraged to the utmost.

But so short is human Life, so uncertain are all things temporal, that I often blame myself for being anxious about the wealth and power of the people with whom I am connected. The late important Revolution, I fear, hath in times past, too much engaged my attention. My expectations from new forms of Government were too sanguine. We find Time and experience are necessary to teach us wisdom. Our systems are imperfect; but so many States are to be consulted that it is difficult to agree on the necessary amendments. It seems as if *suffering* were necessary to teach us; happy for us if we learn before the sufferings be so great as to break the constitution.

But while we wish and pray for the peace and happiness of the Kingdom and Nations of the world, we are looking for a better country, even a heavenly; that we may meet in *that* better country, and cultivate that acquaintance which, on my part, is began with great pleasure with you, Sir, in *this*, is the sincere wish of, Reverend Sir,

Your affectionate friend and most humble
servant,
John Lathrop.

2. For details on economic and commercial circumstances in the postrevolutionary United States, see Allan Nevins, *The American States During and After the Revolution, 1775–1789* (New York, 1924), esp. pp. 470–543.

From James Bowdoin

Boston April 2nd 1786

Rev'd Sir,

In the letter I had the honour of writing to you some months ago, I informed you that a volume of the *Memoirs of the American Academy* was at the Press, and that I should take the first opportunity of sending you a copy of it.

It being now finished,¹ I beg the favour of your acceptance of a copy, which the reverend Dr Gordon, who is so kind as to take charge of it, will cause to be delivered to you.²

It will be highly acceptable to the Academy to be favoured with Communications from Dr Price, especially with such as are the production of his excellent pen. Will you permit the Academy to hope for some of them, that their next volume may be rendered valuable by the insertion of them?³

With sincere regard, I have the honour to be, reverend Sir,

Your most obedient, humble, servant,

James Bowdoin⁴

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 338. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. See Vol. I, 207.

2. *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* (to the end of the year 1783), I (Boston, 1785). A seal on the title page indicates that the society was founded in 1780. The preface says the charter of incorporation was granted 4 May 1780 and is dated 16 Nov. 1785. The preface is not signed but was probably written by Joseph Willard, president of Harvard, vice president and corresponding secretary of the A.A.A.S.

3. The second volume was not published until 1793. It contained nothing by Price.

4. Price made the following notes in shorthand on this letter: "From Mr. Bowdoin governor of the State of Massachusetts and President of the first American Academy with a present of 1 volume of the *Memoirs of that Academy* desiring I make some communications to the Academy.

"N.B. It appears from this letter that he has not received an answer which I sent to his former letter but which perhaps he may have before received.

"Answered July 86 [see 24 July 1786]. Also a letter sent January 22nd 1787 with the present of a copy of my sermons and Dr. Maskelyne's Advertisement of the expected return of the Comet."

From Joseph Willard

Cambridge, April 6, 1786.

Reverend and dear Sir,

I this day received your letter of the 23^d of March, 1785¹ accompanied by three copies of the second edition of your Tract, addressed to the United States,² one of which I have delivered to Professor Williams, agreeably to your desire. I am much obliged to you for this new instance of your politeness and friendship.

I wish my country may profit by your advice, in all respects. My greatest fear is for our national credit. However, I think the prospect is now pretty fair for the Congress being furnished with the means of paying the interest upon the public debt, and gradually sinking the principal, as all but one State, as I hear, have granted the impost, etc., recommended to them; and I think that State will not venture long to impede the measures of the other twelve and hazard the Confederation.³

When I suggested the hint of the donation from Dr Priestley, I knew that his publications were numerous; but from this very circumstance, I supposed that he would be more able to make it to the University, as I presumed he must have made something handsome to himself, by his works. However, I find, by your letter, that "*he is by no means rich*" and I would not wish anything from him that would in the least straiten him.

I have sent you by Dr Gordon, who is so kind as to take the charge of this letter, a volume of the first fruits of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences,⁴ which I beg your acceptance of, as a token of my sincere esteem and friendship. I wish it may in any measure answer your expectations. In this new country, the materials for such a work cannot be expected so various or learned, as in old countries. However, I hope we shall improve, as we grow older and shall, from time to time, offer something to the public, that will not be altogether unworthy of their reception.

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 338–39. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. Not located.

2. *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution . . .* (London, 1785).

3. New York. The issue of the impost was one among many over states' rights and federalism. The immediate issue was whether the states should grant Congress the right to maintain a system of customhouse duties in order to pay the public debt. All states except New York agreed that they should. New York refused, partly because the revenues collected at the port of New York were so large, partly because of the convictions that ran contrary to a strong central government. With Governor Clinton and his supporters on the side of states' rights, and Alexander Hamilton and his supporters in favor of federalism, the issue was in fact not resolved until the Constitutional Convention of 1787. See Nevins, pp. 282–91; John Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History* (Boston, 1897), pp. 236–37.

4. This was a second copy. See James Bowdoin to R.P., 2 Apr. 1786.

Several months ago, I wrote you by a ship of Mr Foster's. I hope you have received the packet, long since.⁵

I wish, Sir, to hear from you, whenever your leisure will allow you to gratify me. In the meantime, permit me to subscribe,

With the greatest esteem, Reverend Sir,
Your obliged friend and very humble servant.
Joseph Willard.

P.S. Please to deliver or send to Dr Priestley the letter enclosed with this.

5. The last letter from Willard we have located before this one is dated 31 Oct. 1783. So, apparently, the letter in the packet has not survived.

From Thomas Day¹

Anningsley, Near Chertsey, April 8, 1786.

Dear Sir,

Mrs. Day begs me not to omit her respects, which I am therefore obliged to put in here.

I regret that in an affair of the nature of the poem, you should think it necessary to consult any judgment but your own; but as you have referred to me, with what ever reluctance I may undertake to express an opinion upon so invidious a subject as an author's poetical merit, I will certainly obey you, when I receive the poem. At the same time, there may be one reason why you should not implicitly trust the dictates of your own mind; and that is, the great goodness of your mind, which inclines you to undertake a task that most other people would have declined at the first offer.

For these reasons, I shall take the liberty of making a few observations which I recommend to your discretion and secrecy, and which must be per-

PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 339–41. TEXT: *M.H.S.P.*

1. Thomas Day (1748–89), educated at Stoke Newington; the Charterhouse; Corpus Christi College, Oxford (no degree); and the Middle Temple. After several years' search for a wife, that included bringing up young girls from a foundling school and providing for their welfare with his ample fortune, he married on 7 Aug. 1778, at Bath, Esther Milnes of Wakefield (d. 1791). She lived in accordance with Day's principles of simplicity and joined him in his attempts at political reform. He wrote extensively, both prose and poetry, in which the influence of Rousseau is strong. He opposed the war with the American colonies but denounced their inconsistency in maintaining slavery. He is perhaps best-known for his three volumes of *The History of Sandford and Merton* (London, 1783, 1787, 1789), still regarded by many as one of the best books for children in the English language. See also "Vita: Thomas Day, Entreprenial Moralist: 1748–1789," *Harvard Magazine*, Mar.–Apr. 1985, vol. 87, no. 4, p. 47.

fectly impartial, as I know nothing of the author and have not yet received the poem from Mr. Stockdale.² Poetical excellence, like every other excellence, is not very common; and in an age which abounds with so many versifiers, a mediocrity of this, like every other talent, will excite very little curiosity. As to the composition of an epic poem, it must certainly possess either a very extraordinary degree of merit, or it must be tiresome and insipid to the last degree; witness, the very small number of attempts in this nature which have succeeded in so many ages and countries. I cannot say, that such a genius may not arise in America; but till I see proofs of it, I have very little faith in that prodigy. All the attempts I have hitherto seen in that way from that country are certainly not above mediocrity. The poem of Col. Humphreys is but indifferent;³ and Stockdale for my entertainment has sent me down another extraordinary performance called the Conquest of Canaan, which is also intended for an epic poem.⁴ The writer of this long, tiresome work is certainly not destitute of poetical genius, had he cultivated it more, and published less. The lines are in general easy and flowing, and the descriptions neither destitute of fancy nor strength; but the whole plan is so extremely injudicious and tiresome, that the writer might as well have called it an elegy, a tragedy, an eclogue, or anything else in rhyme, as an epic poem; and I defy the most resolute reader to wade through it without yawning an hundred times. If, as I suspect, the Columbiad⁵ should prove of the same nature, I fear the poor auth[or will] be much disappointed in the sanguine ideas he entertains of impro[ving h]is fortune by it. From the inclosed letter which you sent, he seems to be of the “genus irritabile vatum,” and I cannot help lamenting that he has honoured you with a post which I fear will prove so troublesome. You are to consider that the character of an author of this kind bears a much closer analogy to that of Catiline,⁶ than your friend Dr. Shebbeare⁷ could ever make

2. John Stockdale (1749?–1814), publisher, noted for his coarse manners and eccentricity of conduct, as well as for success in business. He was the publisher of many famous works, including one on the Warren Hastings case that was considered libelous by the government. He was ably and eloquently defended by Thomas Erskine (see R.P. to Lansdowne, 5 Dec. 1789, n.3). Stockdale's acquittal, a triumph for liberty of the press, led to the Libel Act of 1792.

3. David Humphreys (1752–1818), M.A., Yale, 1774; soldier; admirer, friend, and aide-de-camp of Washington; statesman; poet. Day presumably refers to “A Poem on the Happiness of America: Addressed to the Citizens of the United States of America” (London and Hartford, Conn., 1786).

4. “The Conquest of Canaan; a Poem in Eleven Books” (London and Hartford, Conn., 1785) was written by Timothy Dwight (1752–1817), Congregational minister, author, president of Yale (1795–1817).

5. The author of *The Vision of Columbus; a Poem in nine Books* (Hartford, Conn., 1787) was Joel Barlow (1754–1812), graduate of Yale (1778), poet, statesman, liberal.

6. Catiline Lucius Sergius (c. 108–62 B.C.), Roman conspirator.

7. John Shebbeare (1709–88), political writer. Educated at Exeter, he studied and wrote on chemistry, claimed to have obtained a medical degree in Paris and to have been elected a member of the Academy of Sciences. He did better as a writer, however, and after being in

out for you; “ardens in cupiditatibus; satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum”: and his expectations from his own productions are generally “immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta.” The office you have undertaken must at all events prove troublesome, and the discharge of it, with whatever fidelity, can hardly be expected to please. He commissions you to dispose of the copyright; but, when it is remembered that Milton sold his immortal work for ten pound, what offer of a London bookseller for this production of Western genius is likely to satisfy the author? From the disposition he seems to make of the prod[uce] he seems to me to entertain ideas which are never likely to be realized. [Would] it not therefore be better, before you took any decisive measures, to acquaint the author with the offers that have been made, and let him decide about the disposal of his own invaluable property? Should your good-nature think of printing it yourself, though I would not wish to stint your bounty, you will pardon me, who, from being a brother author, am alive to all the misfortunes of the trade, if I suggest the possibility of your being considerably out of pocket? At all events these reflexions can do you no hurt, and if your own good-nature prompts you to overlook them, it is my duty to present them to your mind. I am, with the greatest respect,

Yours, etc.,
T. Day.

and out of court and jail for libel he was granted a pension by the king. He wrote thereafter in favor of the measures of the court; for example, he defended the policy of war with the American colonies against Price and Burke, and he is said to have abused Price daily in the papers.

His most extensive criticism of Price is in *An Essay on the Origin, Progress and Establishment of National Society, in which The Principles of Government, The Definitions of physical, moral, civil, and religious Liberty, contained in Dr. Price's Observations, etc. are fairly examined and fully refuted; Together with a Justification of the Legislature in reducing America to Obedience by Force . . .* (London, 1776). The title gives almost the whole story. It is an extensive criticism of *Observations on Civil Liberty*. The reference to Catiline made by Day is probably based on a number of passages in which Shebbeare claims that Price's doctrines justify matricide (p. 61), regicide (pp. 86–90), subversion of the constitution (p. 91), treason (p. 128), pernicious presbyterianism (p. 163), and rebellion (p. 192). At one point he recommends that Price should kill himself: “Now Doctor, if you have any sense of shame, manifest it by your repentance. Follow the example of that *traitor* Judas, the true and *only* apostle of the presbyterians; acquire reputation by your *last* act; do justice to yourself and to your country” (p. 179).

From S[amuel] Eliot¹

Boston 9th April 1786

Dear Sir,

It is only within ten Minutes that your greatly prized, very obliging favour of 23d March 85 has been handed to me, owing as Mr Jackson² informs to a circuitous Passage of a Trunk of his in which it was deposited, and which reached him not till within a few days. I felt at first a good deal concerned at the indecent Appearance of Neglect that this Delay must induce, but when I adverted for a Moment to the Character of Dr. Price my Fears subsided as quickly as they had risen.

The Esteem of the Wise and the Good I have ever greatly desired. To meet your Notice, sir, you may believe I consider as one of the first Honours of my Life. Your Writings at large did you every Service with those who were capable of esteeming Virtue and regarding Truth. Your Preaching, your Conversation, and the Opportunities I several Times enjoyed of seeing you at your own House, at my Lodgings, and once in public Company, greatly increased my Regard and Attachment to you. Do not think *my much revered Sir*, that I am labouring a Panegyric, or running into Compliment. I mean barely to pay you that respect, and evidence that Regard, to which you are greatly entitled.

I pray God to continue your Life for some Time to come in that Line of Service and Usefulness in which it has hitherto passed, and at length may you meet the Reward of a good Man in a better world. This is the sincere, the fervent Supplication of

Your very much Obligated Humble Servant,
SAM/ ELIOT

Many, many Thanks for the new edition of your Pamphlet.³

ORIGINAL: Recipient's copy not located. TEXT: Transcript, with the kind permission of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

1. Samuel Eliot (d. 1820), a wealthy Boston merchant, benefactor of Harvard, and great-grandfather of Charles Eliot who was one of the most well-known presidents of Harvard.

2. Jonathan Jackson. See Vol. II, 202, 300.

3. *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution*. . . .

From B[enjamin] Webb¹April 18th 1786

Dear Sir

I have received the Favour of your Letter² which by accident was without a date, but by that of the inclosed draft, it appears that the letter had not been a longer time than is customary between London and Geneva. The draft has been duly paid and I am exceedingly obliged to you for Its most convenient Produce.

I am only sorry the money proceeds from your purse. It would have given me less pain, had it issued from one of large abundance, where such a sized Sum would not have interfered with the Gifts of Beneficence to Others, equally in want of Assistance as myself. Of which Number your Goodness has accustomed you all your days to a large acquaintance.

I cannot help being sorry that there is no chance of Success by publishing the Memorial of One so interested in the favourable Opinion of his Countrymen. Of which he has been so unjustly deprived by the blackest Arts of Falsehood and Calumny. Should Such Arts succeed at the bitter expence of Innocence and Integrity? You see Sir, I am only guessing at your Reasons why the Step is *improper*. You do not mention your Reasons. Sorry I am that It was done very soon after my absence, before the Publick became rooted in their prejudices, and the attachment of my Friends wore away by Time. Thank God and good Mrs Price, that that Lady is not of the number. I cannot express my sense of her generous Goodness. It warms my heart and awakens every Sense of Gratitude. Pray present my most sympathetic Compliments on her Situation. She has experienced a large share of bodily ill health, which however has made the Virtues of patience Submission and evenness of Soul shine the brighter, and will continue to add lustre to her Character I doubt not, to her latest hour. Pray God that she may be calm and serene whenever the period arrive that She is to enter on a Happiness without alloy or pain!

I am much obliged my dear Sir for your Kind Wishes for Charles and me. What you wish us, is the Situation we seek—to get our own Bread. Nothing can be more mortifying to me than to be oppressed as I am, with Obligations to Others. But it is in my *own* Country that I wish to earn my livelihood. There, I have the fullest right to protection and Countenance. And, there, I should prefer the smallest Income, to any Sized One in a Strange land, whilst my Character is left exposed and so cruelly mangled by those who are inter-

ORIGINAL: The Bodleian Library. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Bodleian Library.

1. See Vol. II, 20.

2. Not located.

ested to black It. That worm lies at the root. Mr Curteis³ who has from my early acquaintance with him deceived me in the Idea of the Size of his Fortune—would in that respect continue to deceive the World. He and his Agents take advantage of my Absence to vilify my Conduct and *All* have been and are deceived, who suppose me any other than a strictly honest Man. I have been waiting and wishing for the most unjust Outlawry that was ever issued, to be taken off, by the Chancellor, but in vain. Since which, as it should seem that nothing but my personal Appearance will effect It, I have solicited Mr Cromwell⁴ again—and again, 'till I am shocked at his unfeeling neglect of an old Friend, merely to tell me as a Man of Sense and Knowledge of the Law, what risk I run of vexatious persecution and trouble as an *Outlaw*? I can get no answer from him and this brings me my dear Sir to beg that you will do me the friendly Office, to go to Mr Cromwell with my entreaty for his reasons for his rigid Silence, and that he would have the humanity to reply directly to me, or through you. The respect of your Character cannot fail of procuring me the favour, or rather Justice that I ask. Do me this essential Service I intreat you without delay.

By the long private and little expensive way in which I have lived, I have learnt and been enabled to teach Charles one of the most useful lessons possible, that is—how little is absolutely necessary to the Comfort and Enjoyment of Life. He has a natural Turn to Agriculture and as I had rather see him an honest Farmer than oppulent in any of the professions or Employments of Mankind, with the *least* abatement of his Virtue, I have not a higher wish for him—and I would here undertake to get our little Living in that way, but that I shun being fixed, out of England. I would not be too comfortable. That might tempt me to neglect what I esteem a duty owing to my Children. To rescue the Character of their much injured Father from the reproach under which It has long lain.

But I tire you out, my dear Sir. Excuse a prolixity that involves me whilst I intend to avoid it. Accept my heartiest Wishes for health of Body and Mind the whole remainder of your days. And that your Setting Sun may be as glorious as has been Its whole Career. These are the unfeigned Wishes of your greatly obliged and faithful

B. Webb

at Mr Roux next the Great Coffee House
Geneva

3. See Vol. II, 20.

4. Probably Oliver Cromwell (1742?–1821), great-great-grandson of the Protector. Solicitor, clerk of St. Thomas's Hospital, author of *Memoirs of the Protector*, 2 vols., 3rd ed. (London, 1823).

From Benjamin Rush

Philadelphia 22nd April, 1786

Dear Sir,

I am very happy in being able to inform you that the test law was so far repealed a few weeks ago in Pennsylvania as to confer equal privileges upon every citizen of the state.¹ The success of the friends of humanity in this business should encourage them to persevere in their attempts to enlighten and reform the world.² Your letter to me upon the subject of that unjust law was the instrument that cut its last sinew.³

The States have almost generally appointed a Convention to sit next September at Annapolis, for the sole purpose of conferring upon Congress additional powers, especially for the purpose of regulating our trade.⁴ Republics are slow in discovering their interest, but when once they find it out they pursue it with vigor and perseverance. Nothing can be done by our public bodies till they can carry the people along with them, and as the means of propagating intelligence and knowledge in our country are as yet but scanty, all their movements are marked with appearances of delay and procrastination. To remedy these inconveniences, Colleges, newspapers, and

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 341-42; *Rush Letters*, I, 385-88. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. The Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776, although religiously liberal with regard to earlier tests and to tests in other colonies at the outbreak of the Revolution, required "making and subscribing" to a declaration of belief in "God the creator and governor of the universe, the rewarder of the good and punisher of the wicked" and the divine inspiration of the Old and New Testaments.

On 4 Mar. 1786 the General Assembly of Pennsylvania enacted a law that, in effect, and to a certain extent, indirectly, repealed this test. They declared that any white adult male who swore or declared solemnly to a justice of the peace that he renounced allegiance to George III, king of Great Britain, had not knowingly given aid to the enemy since 4 July 1776, would not harm Pennsylvania, and, in addition, was not and had not been traitorous or aided the "savages in their depredations against" the United States, was "a free citizen of this Commonwealth, and intitled to all and every rights and privileges thereof, any law of the Commonwealth to the contrary notwithstanding." *Laws Enacted in the Second Sitting of the Tenth General Assembly* (Philadelphia, 1786), pp. 35-36.

2. This, of course, would include Benjamin Franklin, president of the Commonwealth and ex officio chairman of the General Assembly.

3. See Vol. II, 293-95.

4. Rush was optimistic. At the Annapolis Convention only five states were represented: Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, by twelve commissioners. These included John Dickinson, Alexander Hamilton, and James Madison. They had intended to resolve some of the growing problems of interstate commerce but concluded by recommending that a larger convention be held in Philadelphia the following May.

posts are establishing in all our States. I have thrown my mite into these necessary undertakings by publishing a small tract containing a plan for the diffusion for knowledge, and a few thoughts upon the education proper for a republic, a copy of which I have sent for you directed to the care of Mr. Granville Sharp.⁵

I have requested Mr. Dilly⁶ to send you a copy of an oration which I had the honor to deliver before our philosophical society last winter “upon the influence of physical causes upon the moral faculty.”⁷ It has had a quick sale and an extensive circulation in this country. As it contains some new opinions in religion and morals, as well as in physic, it will stand in need of the protection of my friends in London to preserve it from the rage of criticism. If political prejudice blends itself with literature, I shall find no mercy from British reviewers. I have avoided every thing that could awaken an idea of the folly of Great Britain in the late War. In science of every kind, men should consider themselves as citizens of the whole world. The oration is dedicated to our great and good friend Dr. Franklin.⁸

A volume of transactions will be published by our Society in the course of a few weeks. It will contain many useful essays, particularly two long ones by Dr. Franklin, one on chimneys, the other on the means of lessning the evils and dang[ers of] navigation, both written on his late [journey] from Europe to America.⁹

Continue, my dear Sir, to love, to def[end and] to enlighten the United States. We sh[all not] disappoint, nor disgrace you. The vi[gorous] good sense and the property of our count[ry are] coming forth daily, and seizing upon power and offices. The scum which was thrown upon the surface, by the fermentation of the War is daily sinking, while a pure spirit is occupying its

5. *A Plan for the Establishment of Public Schools and the Diffusion of Knowledge in Pennsylvania; To Which Are Added Thoughts upon the Mode of Education Proper in a Republic: Addressed to the Legislature and Citizens of the State* (Philadelphia, 1786). It appeared anonymously, was followed by a second part, both of which were reprinted in *Rush's Essays, Literary, Moral and Philosophical* (Philadelphia, 1789). See *Rush Letters*, II, 387.

6. Charles Dilly (1739–1807), a partner in bookselling with his brother Edward (b. 1732) until Edward's death in 1779. The house published extensively in the literature of dissent, was encouraging to young writers, friendly and hospitable in general, giving many dinners that included notable guests.

7. *An Oration Delivered Before the American Philosophical Society. Held in Philadelphia on the 27th of Feb., 1786, Containing An Enquiry into the Influence of Physical Causes upon the Moral Faculty* (Philadelphia, 1786).

8. Franklin persuaded Rush to tone down the “extravagant encomium” of the dedication when the oration was published. See *Rush Letters*, I, 387, n.4.

9. “A Letter from Dr. B. Franklin to Dr. Ingenhousz, Physician to the Emperor, at Vienna,” read 21 Oct. 1785. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* (Philadelphia, 1786), vol. 2, pp. 1–36, and “A Letter from Dr. Benjamin Franklin to Mr. Alphonsus le Roy, Member of Several Academies, at Paris, Containing Sundry Maritime Observations,” read 2 Dec., *ibid.*, pp. 294–329.

place. Please to communicate these facts to Mr Adams, who I know from his perfect knowledge of human nature and of our country will be prepared to believe them.

Yours sincerely,
B: Rush.

P.S. I am sorry to perceive by my letter to you dated October 15, 1785, and printed in all your papers, that you have in your *note* mistaken my account of the alterations in the articles, liturgy, etc., of the Episcopal Church in the middle and southern States. Their Articles are still calvanistical, and they hold no Union in principle with the new sect of Episcopalians in Boston. I wish this matter could be rectified in your papers, but *without* my name.¹⁰

The Socinian tenets are confined to a few people. I do not find that the spirit of enquiry that has broken out in religion has among any sects, except one in Boston, invaded the Doctrine of the Trinity.

April 23d/86

10. Price had quoted from the last paragraph of the letter from Rush dated 15 Oct. 1785 (see Vol. II, 307). In a note he suggested that these changes were more extreme than Rush considered them. The rectification requested by Rush, without his name, appeared in *Gent. Mag.*, LVI (1786), II, 920: "The reformation that has lately been made by the Convention of the Middle and Southern States, in the Articles of Discipline and Form of Worship of the Episcopal Church, has been misrepresented by Dr. Price in your Newspapers. There is no alteration in their principles as declared by the Church of England; and they differ wholly from the Socinian Church in Boston, which the doctor commends in *his* note. However much it may lessen me in the opinion of the Doctor, and of the Modern divines and philosophers of your country, I must add, that I do not consider innovations in religion which contradict the great doctrines of the Trinity and the Atonement, as marks of the improvements of higher human reason or human virtue."

From B[enjamin] Webb

Geneva April 26 1786

Dear Sir

The Gentleman who is so good as to be the Bearer of this, is Mr Courlet¹ of Geneva, with whom I have been so happy to form an Acquaintance since I have been in this neighbourhood, and from whom Charles and I have received many friendly Civilities.

Mr Courlet is fully acquainted with my unfortunate Affairs, the difficulties

ORIGINAL: The Bodleian Library. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Bodleian Library.

1. Not further identified.

I have long struggled with in a foreign Country, and the earnest desire I have to return to England.

I had the pleasure of writing to you a short time since by the post to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter with a £10 Bill.² I therein solicited you to do me the favour of Seeing Mr Cromwell in order to his answering my Several Letters on the Subject of the safety of my return to my native Country. It is highly probable that some time e'er you receive this you will have done me the friendly Office effectually, but least Ill-health or any other unforeseen Circumstance should have prevented you, I take the Liberty of using the convenient Opportunity, and avail myself of the friendship of Mr Courlet, who will be so Kind to deliver this into your own hands.

I hope this will find good Mrs Price with every mitigation that her disorder admits of, unto whom I beg my most friendly respects.

I am, Dear Sir,

Your very much obliged and faithful humble Servant,
B. Webb

P. S. I believe I forgot to mention in my last, that Mr Pinhorn,³ in his last Letter, asked me if I had ever received an Order to sign as a means to receive some Money left by the late Mrs Abney.⁴ I have answered him that I never received any Such order—his mention of It, was the first and only Intelligence I had had. Mr Pinhorn has not replied. It is certain you must Know what Money he refers to [as] directed by the Will of Mrs Abney to be thus disposed of—and It is probable It may be more in your Way than Mr Pinhorns (now that he has quitted London) to rectify this unaccountable Miscarriage, by being so good to send me a like Order, to what which It should seem was Kindly intended Me.

Excuse my dear Sir this trouble that your former acquaintance with a *now* necessitous Man thus subjects you to.

2. See B[enjamin] Webb to R.P., 18 Apr. 1786. Price was not the only person, of course, from whom Webb received money. Benjamin Franklin, writing to Webb on 22 Apr. 1784, says that the enclosed bill for ten louis d'ors is a *loan* that Webb is to repay when he returns to England with a good character, by lending it to some other deserving person in distress, with the same proviso. See Smyth: *Franklin*, IX, 197.

3. Possibly a member of the firm of Weston, Pinhorne, Newsome and Weston, 37, Borough. See *Kent's Directory, Being an Alphabetical List of the Names and Residences of the Merchants and Traders of London, and Parts Adjacent* . . . (London, 1786). The directory is not completely paginated; this reference is in the foreword matter, the second page of gathering C.

4. Elizabeth Abney (1704–82), last surviving child and ultimate sole heir to the fortune of Sir Thomas Abney (1640–1722). By her will, the lease of Abney Park and her property in Stoke Newington were to be sold and the proceeds distributed to poor individuals or to corporate charities.

To Sir John Sinclair¹

Newington Green, April 30, 1786

Dear Sir,

I have considered anxiously your proposal to me with respect to the publication of my tables, and cannot but be sorry, that there should be any reasons, which oblige me to decline complying with your desire in this instance.² I feel a delicacy with respect to Mr Pitt: and I should wish, were they to be published, to accompany them with some explanations and remarks, which I think necessary to fit them more for the public inspection, but which I cannot now get time to prepare. I am likewise not without hope, that should Mr Pitt persist in the plan he has adopted, he may think proper to insert, in the act of Parliament, (as the King of France has done in his edict), some table of the same kind, with one of those tables as a proper direction to the commissioners, an encouragement to the public, and a security to the fund,

Under a sense of the honour you do me, by desiring that any thing of mine should make a part of your publication, and with great respect, I am, Dear Sir, Your most obedient and humble servant,

Richd Price

PRINTED: *The Correspondence of Sir John Sinclair*, 2 vols. (London, 1831), I, 234–35. TEXT: *The Correspondence of Sir John Sinclair*.

1. Sir John Sinclair (1754–1835), first president of the Board of Agriculture, became M.P. for Caithness in 1780 and was created a baronet on 14 Feb. 1786. His many publications included *History of the Public Revenue of the British Empire*, 2 vols. (London, 1784).

2. In his published correspondence Sinclair prefaces the letter with the following note: “We were both much attached to financial discussions, in consequence of which I was induced to draw up, not only some tracts on the subject, but also a general history of the revenue of the British empire. Dr. Price having communicated to me some tables he had prepared, explanatory of the powers of a sinking fund in reducing a national debt, I proposed to the Doctor, annexing them to a work, which I was about to publish on our finances; but I was glad to find, that he had communicated the tables to Mr Pitt, as it was probable he would avail himself of them . . .”

In a note he appends to the letter Sinclair writes, “Mr Pitt’s plan of a sinking fund certainly originated with Dr Price; but that does not detract from the merits of a minister, whose duty it is, and whose glory it ought to be, to avail himself of the talents and information of others, for promoting the public good.”

From Le Marquis de Condorcet

Le (2) Mai 1786 Paris.

Je vous dois bien des remercimens, Monsieur, de l'excellent ouvrage que vous avez bien voulu m'envoyer par M. de Sarsfield. J'ignore quel est le premier inventeur de ces associations en faveur des veuves et des enfans, mais je le regarde comme un des grands bienfaiteurs de l'humanité. Il a trouvé le moyen de rendre les jeux de hazard utiles et de concilier la personnalité avec les sentimens de pere de famille. L'arithmétique politique est encore bien loin d'avoir fait tous le progrès dont aile est susceptible, je la crois de toute les sciences la plus utile et celle dont il résultera le plus grand bien pour l'éspece humaine en général.

M. le chevalier de Pougens, qui aura l'honneur de vous remettre cette lettre est charge de quelques négociations relatives au traité de commerce. Il ne devrait pas sans doute y en avoir d'autre entre les nations que la convention de ne gêner en rien les droits de la liberté naturelle; mais nous sommes encore loin de la et les hommes qui pensent comme nous sur cet object sont bien clairsemés sur la surface du globe. Le chevalier de Pougens est un homme interessant par son malheur, par le courage avec lequel il le supporte par son zele pour l'humanite et pour le progrès des sciences, par son admiration pour tous les hommes qui vous ressemblent en vertus est en talens. Daignez, agreer, Monsieur, les assurances de mon dévouement et de mon respect

Le M^s de Condorcet

ORIGINAL: Cyfarthfa Castle Museum. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Cyfarthfa Castle Museum.

Translation

[2] May 1786 Paris.

I owe you many thanks, Sir, for the excellent work¹ which you have so graciously sent me by M. de Sarsfield.² I do not know who first invented these associations on behalf of widows and children, but I regard him as one of the great benefactors of humanity. He found the way to make games of chance

1. Possibly John Acland's *A Plan for Rendering the Poor Independent of Public Contribution: Founded on the Basis of the Friendly Societies, commonly called Clubs* (Exeter, 1786).

2. Presumably Sarsfield was returning from one of his frequent trips to England. See *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, 4 vols., ed. L. H. Butterfield (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), II, 381, n.4.

useful and to reconcile the personality with the sentiments of a father. Political arithmetic is still very far from making the progress it is capable of, I believe it to be the most useful of all the sciences and that from which will result the greatest good for mankind in general.

M. le chevalier de Pougens,³ who will have the honor of delivering this letter, is entrusted with some negotiations relative to the trade treaty. There should doubtless be no agreements among nations other than those that in no way restrict the rights of natural liberty; but we are still far from that point and the men who think like us on this subject are scattered across the surface of the globe. Le chevalier de Pougens is a man made interesting by his unhappiness, by the courage with which he endures it, by his zeal for humanity and for the advancement of the sciences, by his admiration for all men who resemble you in virtues and in talents. Please accept, Sir, the assurances of my devotion and of my respect.

Le Mis de Condorcet

3. Marie Charles Joseph de Pougens (1755–1833), French scientist, author, and diplomat. The unhappiness referred to by Condorcet was the result of disfigurement by a near fatal attack of small-pox. At the time of this letter he was on a diplomatic mission to England where he laid the foundation for the Anglo-French Commercial Treaty of 1786, known more widely as The Eden Treaty. See Lansdowne to R.P., 22 Nov. 1786, n.5.

To [an unidentified correspondent]

Newington=Green May 11 th 1786,

Dear Sir

The queries you have sent me suppose that there is a certain rate of increase which takes place universally among mankind; but the truth is, that it depends entirely on the situations in which they happen to be placed. In some situations mankind increase fast. In others, not at all; and in many, a decrease takes place. The colonies, formerly ours, in North=America, have in consequence chiefly of a plenty of the means of subsistence produced by Agriculture, doubled their own number in every successive period of 25 years; and should the colonies mention'd in Mr Clarkson's¹ first query happen to fall into

ORIGINAL: Wellcome Historical Medical Library. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Wellcome Historical Medical Library.

1. Almost certainly a reference to *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species*, by Thomas Clarkson (London, 1786). It is more difficult to identify "Mr Clarkson's first query." The book is primarily an impassioned, but well-argued, plea for the end of slavery and the slave trade. As such it contains, in the course of various arguments, many queries. In only one passage, however, are population and the increase of population discussed. Since this is the subject at issue in the letter, rather than slavery itself, it seems likely that Price's

a situation equally advantageous and therefore increase equally fast, 8000 original settlers would in a hundred years increase to 128,000; and an addition of 8000 settlers annually to the first 80000² would increase to many millions. But should the same settlers be placed in a situation like that of the inhabitants of Great Britain and some other countries of Europe, I question whether they would increase at all. And in situations like those of our colonies in the East and West=Indies, they would soon come to nothing, if not kept up by constant recruits. This is the only reply I can make to the queries you sent me, nor do I think they admit of any more specific and determinate answer. You are very welcome to any information I can give, and I am, Dear Sir,

Sincerely yours,
Richd Price

unknown correspondent referred to the closing passages of pt. III, ch. IX: "In one of the western colonies of the Europeans, six hundred and fifty thousand slaves were imported within one hundred years; at which time, their whole posterity were found to amount to one hundred and forty thousand. . . . What a dreadful havock must famine, fatigue, and cruelty, have made among them, when we consider that descendants of *six hundred and fifty thousand* people in the prime of life, gradually imported within a century, are less numerous than these, which only *ten thousand* would have produced in the same period under common advantages, and in a country congenial to their constitutions!" In a note Clarkson adds, "Ten thousand people under fair advantages, and in a soil congenial to their constitutions, and when the means of subsistence are easy, should produce in a century 160,000." Clarkson, *Essay on Slavery*, rev. ed. (London, 1788), pp. 156–57.

2. The last zero is smudged. Price may well have attempted to erase it.

To Earl Stanhope.

[Extract]

Newington Green, May 15, 1786.

My Lord

I agree entirely with those gentlemen in the city, who think that the greater part of the 3 per cent. stockholders would consent never to be redeemed at a higher price than 90, provided such terms as your Lordship proposes are offered to them: that is provided a right is given them to be first redeemed by a sinking fund, not capable of being interrupted or diverted. It is obvious that the larger this fund is, the greater will be the benefit which they will derive from such a right, and therefore the more probable their general acceptance. I have nothing to add to what I have said in my former letters,¹ with respect to

PRINTED: *Parl. Hist.*, XXVI, 25–26. TEXT: *Parl. Hist.*

1. If Price refers to former letters to Stanhope about unalienableness of the fund, they have apparently not survived. For his views on this and other matters concerning the

the practicability of pledging the faith of Parliament to those stockholders in such a manner as to assure them of the unalienableness of the fund. The plan which Mr Pitt has adopted is that which I have been writing about, and recommending for many years. It would be an unspeakable improvement of it, could a method be discovered of making an interruption of it as much an injurious breach of faith with the public creditors as seizing their dividends; and I heartily wish your lordship success in establishing such an improvement.² I am sorry for the clause in the new Sinking Fund act, which directs that the accumulation by compound interest should cease, after the fund has increased to four millions, including the million surplus, and the lapsed temporary annuities. This will happen in 27 years, and the fund will then have paid about 57 millions; were the accumulating interests to be carried to the fund for 13 years more, it would increase to near 6 1/2 millions; and five millions in taxes might then be abolished; and the remaining million and a half (reserved for a new sinking fund) might possibly keep the public debts within the bounds of safety for ever afterwards.

national debt, however, see R.P. to William Pitt, 12 Feb. 1786, and Vol. II, 330–37. See also D. O. Thomas, pp. 245–55, and Price's many published writings on finance and the national debt.

2. Stanhope was not successful. See Ghita S. Stanhope, and George P. Gooch, *The Life of Charles, Third Earl Stanhope* (London, 1914), pp. 67–70. See also D. O. Thomas, pp. 252–54.

From Benjamin Rush

Philada May 25th, 1786

Dear Sir,

My last letter to you by Capt. Kennady contained an account of an intended Convention of the States to assemble at Annapolis in Maryland next September, for the purpose of agreeing upon certain commercial regulations, and of suggesting such alterations in the Confederation as will give more extensive and coercive powers to Congress.¹ We entertain the most flattering hopes from this Convention, especially as an opinion seems to have pervaded all classes of people, that an increase of power in Congress is absolutely necessary for our safety and independence.

Most of the *distresses* of our country, and of the *mistakes* which Europeans

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 342–44; *Rush Letters*, I, 388–90. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. See Benjamin Rush to R.P., 22 Apr. 1786.

have formed of us have arisen from a belief that the American revolution is *over*. This is so far from being the case, that we have only finished the first act of the great drama. We have changed our forms of government, but it remains yet to effect a revolution in our principles, opinions and manners, so as to accommodate them to the forms of government we have adopted. This is the most difficult part of the business of the patriots and legislators of our country. It requires more wisdom and fortitude than to expel or to reduce armies into captivity. I wish to see this idea inculcated by your pen. Call upon the rulers of our country to lay the foundations of their empire in *knowledge* as well as virtue. Let our common people be compelled by law to give their children (what is commonly called) a good english education. Let schoolmasters of every description be supported in part by the public, and let their principles and morals be subjected to examination before we employ them. Let us have Colleges in each of the States, and one federal university under the patronage of Congress, where the youth of all the States may be melted (as it were) together into one mass of citizens, after they have acquired the first principles of knowledge in the Colleges of their respective States.² Let the law of nature and nations, the common law of our country, the different systems of government, history, and every thing else connected with the advancement of republican knowledge and principles, be taught by able professors in this University. This plan of general education alone will render the American revolution a blessing to mankind. As you have staked your reputation upon this great event, with the world and with posterity, you must not desert us 'till you see the curtain drop, and the last act of the drama closed. A small pamphlet addressed by you to the Congress, and the legislature of each of the States, upon this subject, I am sure would have more weight with our rulers than an hundred publications thrown out by the citizens of this country.³ It will only be necessary in this pamphlet to be wholly silent upon those subjects in Christianity which now so much divide, and agitate the Christian world. The wisest plan of education that could be offered would be unpopular among 99 out of an 100 of the citizens of America, if it opposed in any degree the doctrine of the trinity. Some of the members of the reformed Episcopal Church in the middle and southern States complained of the note you published with my letter in the English newspapers. It has injured them in the

2. Rush urged the establishment of a federal university on many occasions, for example, in "Address to the People of the United States. . . . On the Defects of the Confederation," *American Museum*, vol. 1 (Jan. 1787), pp. 8–11. Reprinted in Hezekiah Niles, *Principles and Acts of the Revolution* (Baltimore, 1822), pp. 402–4. His views were expressed more fully in the *Federal Gazette* for 29 Oct. 1788 under the title, "Plan for a Federal University." See *Rush Letters*, I, 390, 491–95. See also Harry G. Good, *Rush and His Services to Education* (Berne, Ind., 1918).

3. See R.P. to Benjamin Rush, 30 July 1786, for Price's reluctant refusal and the letter of 27 Oct. 1786 from Rush for his reluctant acceptance of the refusal.

opinion of some of the English clergy. You will perceive from their prayer book, that their Articles, tho' reduced in number, are equally calvanistical with the Articles of the old English Church.⁴

It is with singular pleasure that I inform you that public and private credit are reviving every where, and that laws are gradually coming into force to compel the payment of *old* English debts. Whoever considers the effects of war upon morals in all countries, and then adds to these, the effects of a sudden, total, and universal dissolution of all government, such as took place in America during the late war, will not be surprised at any of the events that have happened, or at the laws that have been passed since the peace. It requires less charity than good sense to make proper allowances for all the vices of our country.

The letters written by Dr Nisbet to his friends, soon after his arrival in America, from which so many extracts have been published in the Scotch papers, were written under a deranged state of mind, occasioned by a fever which fixed itself upon his brain. The Doctor has since perfectly recovered his health and reason, has been reinstated in the Dickinson College, and is now perfectly satisfied with our country.⁵

Our venerable friend Dr Franklin continues to enjoy as much health and spirits as are compatible with his time of his life. I dined with him a few days ago in a most agreeable circle where he appeared as chearful, and gay as a young man of five and twenty. But his conversation was full of the wisdom and experience of mellow old age. He has destroyed party rage in our State, or to borrow an allusion from one of his discoveries, his presence and advice, like oil upon troubled waters, have composed the contending waves of faction which for so many years agitated the State of Pennsylvania.

I beg my most respectful compliments to Mr. Adams, with whom I am happy to find, you live upon the most intimate terms.

Should you conclude that the publication of any part of the intelligence contained in this letter, will serve our country, you are at liberty to make that use of it, but I must request that you will not give my name to the public with it.

With the greatest respect, I [am], my dear Sir,
Your sincere friend, and most humble servant,
Benjn Rush.

P.S. Most of the complaints against our country which are published in your papers come from British agents, or from a sett of men who have settled

4. See Benjamin Rush to R.P., 22 Apr. 1786.

5. Charles Nisbet (1736–1804), scholar, Presbyterian preacher, influential member of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. He was invited by Benjamin Rush and John Dickinson to become the first president of Dickinson College at Carlisle, chartered in 1783. He accepted in 1785. After recovering from the illness mentioned by Rush, he served as president of the college until his death eighteen years later.

among us since the peace, who want either virtue or abilities to maintain themselves, and who would have been poor and unhappy in any country.⁶

6. English papers were indeed full of such views; for example, *Gent. Mag.*, LV (1785), under "American News" referred to "the thirteen Dis-United States" (p. 740), suggested that Congress had pledged Rhode Island to the French government, and accused the Americans of violating the peace treaty (pp. 801–2). The *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser* for 4 Feb. 1786 reported a "languid and declining commerce" and "strong inconsistencies" in Congress. For 19 Sept. 1785 it quotes a letter from a gentleman that "Savanah at present exhibits a scene of poverty and distress; no trade, no cash, no credit; and what is worse, nothing to eat or drink." Examples could be extended indefinitely.

To Earl Stanhope

[Apr. or May 1786]¹

Dr Price presents his very respectful compliments to the Earl Stanhope, and returns him his best thanks for his observations on Mr Pitt's Plan, and for the very kind notice he has taken of him in them.² He thinks the Earl

ORIGINAL: Bowood. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

1. This letter may be dated approximately by the fact that it is a response to Stanhope's pamphlet *Observations on Mr. Pitt's plan for the reduction of the National Debt* which was published Apr. 1786. (See Ehrman, vol. 1, p. 267.) It deals with topics similar to those of R.P.'s letter to Stanhope dated 5 May 1786 and may have been written earlier. By convention, however, we locate undated letters at the end of the period within which they can be identified.

2. The most strenuous opposition Pitt's Sinking Fund Bill met in Parliament came from Earl Stanhope. The burden of Stanhope's maiden speech in the Lords on 22 May 1786 was that Pitt had not done enough to make sinking fund operations truly effective (see *Parl. Hist.*, XXVI, 17–35). His ideas had been stated at greater length in his pamphlet in which he put forward several objections to Pitt's scheme. In the first place, Stanhope complained, since the commissioners appointed under the act would be empowered to invest at their own discretion, they would be able to make large fortunes for themselves by gambling in the funds. Second, Pitt's plan did not make provision for upward conversions at the outset; consequently, when the commissioners came to the market to buy stock their intervention would cause the prices of stock to rise to such an extent that redemption would prove enormously costly. Third, no adequate provision was made for rendering the fund inalienable. To remedy these deficiencies Stanhope suggested that an upward conversion should be included in the scheme at the very beginning. All and only holders of 3% should be allowed to subscribe to a new 4% stock at the rate of 300 4% for 400 3%. The government should pledge that the revenues of the Sinking Fund would be devoted exclusively to the redemption of debt and that holders of the new 4% would be given priority of redemption in the order in which they accepted the conversion. The Sinking Fund should continue to accumulate at compound interest until all the 4% were redeemed, and the act should fix the order in which the various stocks would be redeemed. This would prevent the commissioners from

Stanhope perfectly right [in] many of his observations, particularly, in condemning the stop which Mr Pitt puts to the operation of Compound Interest after the fund in the Plan he has adopted has increased to four Millions.³

But it is a real mortification to Dr Price to find that he cannot concur with the Earl Stanhope in thinking that the Plan which the Earl has with so much ability recommended as practicable to such an extent as to make it preferable to Mr Pitt's Plan supposing it suffered to produce its full effect. Dr. Price reasons on this subject in the following manner.

When the market price of a 4 per cent stock is $87 \frac{1}{4}$ as it was lately, an annuity of £3 in this stock, that is £75 four per cent stock, is worth $65 \frac{1}{2}$, for as 4 is to 3 so is $87 \frac{1}{4}$ to $65 \frac{1}{2}$. In the same circumstances the market price (deducting always the running interest) of a £100 three per cent Annuity has generally been about $68 \frac{1}{2}$.⁴

It is evident therefore, that no stock-holder can consent to take a £75 per cent stock for a £100 three per cent stock without losing by it £3.

A premium therefore must be offer'd, and it is not probable that a general acceptance can be produced by a Premium less than £5 for every £100 stock exchanged, or an additional interest of a $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. This, in converting 186 millions, will take up £465,000 per ann. of the million surplus and leave but little more of it for the purpose of redemption *than one half*.

The Premium Earl Stanhope proposes is a right to be redeemed first at par: That is, to receive £75 for every £100 three per cent stock reduced to £75 four per cent stock. This indeed, while the three per cents keep below 70, would probably be a sufficient premium were the whole redemption to be made immediately or even in a year or two. But the truth is, that only a very small part of the whole converted stock can be redeemed so soon; and as the three per cents may rise far above 75, and therefore much more *may* be got by a sale in two or three years, particularly if a plan of redemption is established; Dr Price apprehends that for this reason few or no stockholders will think such a premium sufficient, or consent to sustain an immediate loss of £3 for the sake of receiving some time or other in the course of 44 years (and not perhaps till the end of this term) about £3 or £4 more than is the proper immediate compensation for that loss. It should be considered that it is the

abusing their early knowledge to make private fortunes. Stanhope claimed that his plan would make the fund truly inalienable. If Parliament pledged that the stocks would be redeemed in a certain order, the creditor would have a right that would be as strong as a contractual right to have his stock redeemed.

3. Pitt's Sinking Fund Bill provided for the creation of a sinking fund into which the interest on the stock bought from the public should be paid until the fund had an annual revenue of £4 millions. After that point the stock should be canceled as it was redeemed, and no further interest would be paid on it. Both Stanhope and Price criticized this part of the plan on the grounds that it inhibited the beneficial operation of compound interest. See D. O. Thomas, p. 253.

4. Price refers to the fact—which he goes on to explain—that stocks bearing low nominal rates of interest appeared to be overvalued in the market.

greater gain which may be made by a sale in consequence of the greater room which the three per cents have for a rise before they get to par, together with an apparent improbability which there is that they will be ever capable of redemption except when under *par*, and when therefore a premium or what is equivalent to it must be given to redeem them; it should I say be consider'd that these are the circumstances which chiefly govern their price and give them a value so much superior (notwithstanding their vast amount) to that of stocks bearing higher interests. There is farther (in Dr Price's opinion) reason for doubt with respect to the practicability of binding the faith of Parliament to individuals among the public creditors so as to make a plan of redemption incapable of interruption. The public stocks are so perpetually changing hands that such a measure would greatly obstruct if not destroy the traffick in the Funds, tho' accomplished in the best way, which seems to be that hinted by Earl Stanhope; namely by converting the stocks into negociable Bills or Bonds payable at fixed times and in a fixed course or order like Navy Bills. In this case, there could be no holders of all sums and all fractions of sums however small as there are at present.

This would be a material objection were redemption always an advantage; but when redemption produces a loss (that is when the funds to be redeemed are above *par*) it becomes impracticable in this way to prevent the interruption of a plan of redemption, because there will be a contention among the stockholders for giving up their bargain with parliament and all their efforts will be employed against being paid. Nor does Dr P. at all comprehend the force of the answer which Earl Stanhope gives to this objection in the 34th page of his Observations.⁵

Should a Plan be established which will be likely to give substantial relief, the 4 *per cents* will probably be soon raised above *par*; and as soon as this happens, *Earl Stanhope's* scheme would be in danger.

Such are Dr P.'s sentiments. He respects *Earl Stanhope's* abilities and character so much, that he wishes heartily he could have agreed more with him in this instance, and if he is wrong, he will hope for Earl Stanhope's candour.

Query Is it not better that a Minister should go upon a scheme for which he can command success, than upon a hazardous scheme depending on the consent and caprice of the stockholders and in attempting which he may be defeated and consequently do Himself and the Public the greatest harm?

5. Stanhope argued that if the 4% went above *par*, the government could borrow on advantageous terms to redeem the 5%. The bonus thus accruing could then be used to induce the holders of the 3% to convert to 4%.

To John Clarke

[Shorthand draft]

[May, 1786]¹

Dear Sir,

I have received with much pleasure your letter of the 11th of April last. The account it contains of your favourable opinion of my pamphlet on the *Am[erica]n* Revolution cannot but give me great satisfaction. I expected that very different opinions would be entertained of it and accordingly find that in some of the most southern states it has given offence by recommending measures for abolishing slavery and preventing the growth of an *Arist[ocratic]* power. But this gives me no great concern. I feel a strong conviction of the importance of the advice I have given and I believe it to be received or rejected just as time and events and the disposals of Providence shall determine.

Deliver my best respects to *Dr. Ch[aun]cy*, I would not wish to put him to the labour of writing. I will satisfy myself with the pleasure of hearing from him through you. I truly honour and revere him. His late books on universal salvation, the benevolence of the deity and the consequences of the fall are a proof of his liberality, benevolence and learning. They have a tendency to do great good by opening everyone's mind and [] a direction of some of the most important points that can probably []

I find that he understands the account of the fall in *Gen[esis]* in the strictly literal sense.

But I have long thought that it is not to be so understood. It seems evident that it contains much of allegory [] at the commencement of this world which brought upon us the calamity of death. On reading the books of *Moses* we should realize that we are by no means sufficiently acquainted with his manner of writing history. It might say more by *Apologus*² or figurative persuasions than we are aware of. Perhaps we may not be capable of understanding or believing a naked (?) recital of events at such a distance as the origin and commencement of the earth.

When you see *Cap[tain] D[ashwood]* deliver my compliments to him. I was sorry I could do so little to help him in the business which brought him to

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Shorthand draft. TEXT: Original, transcribed from shorthand notes on the ms. of John Clarke to R.P., 11 Apr. 1785, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. In the shorthand notes on the ms. of John Clarke's letter to Price dated 11 Apr. 1785, Price indicates that he did not reply to Clarke's letter until May 1786.

2. Apologue: an allegorical story intended to convey a useful lesson (Shorter Oxford English Dictionary).

L[ondo]n. I mentioned his case to the President of the Council³ and concluded from his replies that there was no room for hope.

Your letter to Mr. F[arme]r⁴ who after having been blind for two or three years has now the comfort in the evening of his life and indeed [] to be [] and more by it to see to read and write. I am happy in the acquaintance of His Excellency Mr. Ad[am]s. He with his family commonly attend the congregation to which I preach. Am[erica] is happy in this minister here, but I wish there was more reason to expect such [] as would establish amity and friendship between this country and yours.

But having several more letters to write I must conclude by thanking you for the sincere respects and esteem with which I am [] A duplicate of this letter was sent some time ago, but probably not received. I know not how to direct to Dr. Whee[lock] and therefore am obliged to request the favour of you to convey it to him.

[draft, no signature]

3. Lord Camden. See Vol I, 162; Vol. II, 273.

4. Hugh Farmer. See Vol. I, 142.

From John Howard

Constantinople June 22, 1786

I am persuaded it will give my worthy friend pleasure to hear that I am well, after seeing the effects of the earthquake in Sicily,¹ I arrived at Malta; here I repeatedly visited the prisons, hospitals, poor houses, and Lazaretto, as I stayed three weeks;² from thence, I went to Zant,³ as they are all Grecians, I wish'd to have some general Ideas of their Hospitals and Prisons before I went

ORIGINAL: The American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. A series of earthquakes had virtually depopulated Sicily. The lazaretto of Messina could be seen from sea to be in ruins, so Howard did not land. As he said in a letter to Samuel Whitbread: "As there was no object in my line in Sicily, we lay four or five days close to Mission Catonia, Syracuse, etc. We saw some of the awful effects of the earthquake; and even a fortnight before there was a shock which the ship felt at a great distance." John Field, *The Correspondence of John Howard* (London, 1855), p. 106.

2. He saw the patients in the hospitals "served by the most dirty, ragged, unfeeling, and inhuman persons I ever saw" (Southwood, p. 104). When Howard criticized the hospitals to the Guard Master of Malta, he lost a weekly gift of butter from the master's table. Field, *Correspondence*, pp. 106–7; Southwood, p. 105.

3. He wrote from Zante to Samuel Whitbread that he was staying in a room in the late bishop's palace where he was locked in. Supplies were brought in from Turkey and were

into Turkey: from thence in a foreign Ship I got a Passage to Smyrna; here I boldly visited the Hospitals and prisons; but as some accidents happen'd, some few dying of the Plague; several struck at me;⁴ I came from thence about a fortnight ago; as I was in a miserable Turk's boat, I was lucky in a passage of six days and a half; as a family just arrived, before me, had been between two and 3 months.

I am sorry to say some die of the Plague about us; one just carried before my Window, yet I visit where none of my Conductors will accompany me: The french Hospital⁵ for *les pestifere* is quite empty, as I was in every room, but the Priests' apartments were so strongly perfumed I could hardly stay a few minutes in them; a Woman was just brought into the Italian Hospital for the Plague, she was ill, but there was a man recovering. In some Hospitals in the lazaretto's and yesterday among the sick slaves I have a constant headache, but in about an hour after, it constantly leaves me; and I think no more of it.

Sir Robert Ainslie⁶ very kind, but for the above and other reasons I could not lodge in His house, I am at a Physicians, and I keep some of my Visits a secret.

The Views of this City farr exceeded any I have before seen, there cannot be less than a Million of Inhabitants, 200 that died of the Plague in 1778 and between 7 and 800 that [died] in 1783. I flatter myself I get such knowledge as may show the necessity of a Lazaretto in England, both in a salutary and commercial View.⁷ I proposed coming home by Land to Vienna, as no Quaren-

very cheap; meat, for example, cost two pence a pound. "The Greeks are fine figures, but the young women never appear till they are married." Field, *Correspondence*, p. 108.

4. His reputation as a physician was instrumental in gaining admission in many cases. In one of the hospitals on Zante, run by Father Luigi di Paria, who had suffered from the plague and now devoted himself to the relief of others, Howard learned that about half the patients died (Field, *Correspondence*, p. 109). Howard also found the execution of justice in Smyrna so swift that there were never more than seven inmates in the prison on any of his three visits during 1786. One of the prisoners had been beaten so badly that he was swollen over his whole body. Howard had him bathe in the sea, applied plasters of salt and vinegar to the soles of his feet, and gave him two doses of Glauber's salts. As a result of his recovery, said Howard, "I acquired a credit which made the keepers, in my subsequent visits, particularly attentive to me" (Southwood, p. 105).

5. The French maintained two hospitals in Constantinople. One was a general hospital, the other for victims of the plague or those who had been exposed. When Howard inspected them he was pleased, generally, with their cleanliness, organization, and facilities. The general hospital provided the garden of an adjoining convent for convalescence. The latter included some room set aside for quarantine, others for treatment. See Thomas Taylor, *Memoirs of John Howard, Esq. F.R.S.* (London, 1836), p. 261.

6. Sir Robert Ainslie (1730?–1812), baronet, ambassador, and numismatist. As ambassador to Turkey, he lived in Constantinople from 1776 until 1792.

7. Howard had the support of many people, such as the British consuls at Zante and Smyrna; Chancellor Boddington; a committee of merchants including William Barker, Edward Lee, and James Hick Grittle; and Dr. John Haygarth. See *Lazarettos*, pp. 26–32; appendix, p. 22. Howard is given great credit for his prison reform, but he apparently had

teen is then performed, and from thence to Trieste and Venice to get the plans of those Lazerettos; but I have since thought if I myself perform the quarenteen I shall gain knowledge by an attentive observance of every particular and may more strongly enforce the execution of such a plan, so shall I intend submitting to the 42 days imprisonment at Venice.⁸ For that purpose; the Sea voyage which I dislike and the heat of the Season are against me; but I must adopt a Motto of a Maltese Baron *non nisi per ardua*. A line from you directed to our Consul at Venice⁹ would be a cordial, to perhaps drooping spirits.

I come directly home through Venice to Holland where I make a short stay to get two or three plates engraved, as they do them neater and cheaper than in London.

My best compliments to Mrs. Price, Neice, Mr. and Mrs. Morgan, and with most Affectionate regards I am, dear sir, your sincere friend,

John Howard

little impact on policies of quarantine. See Sir John Simon, *English Sanitary Institutions*, 2nd ed. (London, 1897), esp. pp. 138–44.

8. See John Howard to R.P., 13 Oct. 1786.

9. The English consul in charge of affairs in Venice from 1786 to 1790 was Robert Richie. As "an English gentleman settled here in trade," he also was in charge during 1769–71 and in 1775. See *British Diplomatic Representatives, 1789–1852*, ed. Stanley T. Bindoff, E. F. Malcolm Smith, and Charles K. Webster, Camden 3rd ser., vol. 50 (London, 1934), p. 193, and *ibid.*, 1689–1789, ed. David B. Horn (London, 1932), vol. 46, p. 86.

To Thomas Day

Newington Green July 5th 1786

Dear Sir,

Accept my gratitude for your great kindness in giving me your opinion of the Poem I sent you.¹ I cannot thank you sufficiently for your attention to me in this instance and for the trouble you have given yourself. Your opinion is decisive, and I have writ to the Author to inform him that his poem is not likely to be very interesting or generally acceptable in this country, and to advise him to get it printed either in America or at Paris. The remarks you have made upon it in your letter are full of good sense. It has certainly none of the characters of an epic Poem, and should not be so called. It abounds so

TEXT: Photocopy, with the kind permission of the Equitable Life Assurance Society.

1. See Thomas Day to R.P., 8 Apr. 1786.

much with censures of Britain, and encomiums on France, the French King, and the American Army that a favourable reception of it could not be expected here. The Author is, I believe, a very rising genius, and possesses much of the ability and true spirit of a Poet, but he has shewn, by desiring me to send presents of his work to the King of France, The Empress of Russia, the King of Prussia etc. that he thinks too highly of it. I should not, however, have found any great difficulty in conveying these presents; for Mr Adams was ready to undertake this trouble. I have talked with Mr Dilly, the bookseller, on this subject, and found that he will by no means purchase the copy on any terms like those which the Author has mentioned. I think with regret that I have been the means of taking up so much of your time about this affair. Deliver my best respects of Mrs Day. With ardent wishes that you and she may be very happy, and with great regard, I am, Dear Sir,

Your much oblig'd and very humble servant
Richd Price

I have been reading with pleasure the second volume of Sandford and Merton,² and I congratulate the author on the good this publication is likely to do.

2. *The History of Sandford and Merton* (London, I, 1783; II, 1787; III, 1789).

From John Clarke¹

Boston 18th July 1786.

Reverend and Honored Sir,

I received your Letter dated May 27th, and thank you for your remarks upon the late publication of my venerable colleague.² Your sentiments perfectly coincide with my own. I have long been of the opinion that the Mosaic history of the creation, fall, etc., was not to be understood according to the literal sense of the words. Dr Chauncy has writ ingeniously upon the vulgar supposition; but I think that can by no means be admitted. The work however, may do some good; particularly that part which exposes the sophistry of Dr Edwards.³

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 345. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. The Reverend John Clarke, D.D. (1755–98), a graduate of Harvard College in 1774, ordained in Boston in 1778 as a colleague of the Reverend Dr. Charles Chauncy.

2. This letter has apparently not survived.

3. Chauncy's most direct criticism of Jonathan Edwards appears in *The Late Religious Commotions in New England considered. An answer to the Reverend Mr. Jonathan Edwards' sermon entitled, The Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God, Applied to that Uncommon*

I am happy to find Mr Adams among your hearers, and particular friends. In America he is highly esteemed. His political abilities, patriotism and integrity greatly endear him to his country-men. But their want of his virtues must be extremely mortifying to him. He must often blush for his country. And his present appointment he must consider as one of the very humiliating events of his life.⁴

Dr Chauncy enjoys his health, but his mind is much impaired. He is but the shadow of his former self. Your letter to Mr Hazlett is delivered.⁵ That to Dr Wheelock⁶ will be safely conveyed. The Tractate on Church Music⁷ is now circulating among the people to whom it is particularly addressed. When I have more carefully perused it, I will candidly own the impression it makes. That it was compiled with the most friendly view, is the opinion of all who have read it; and particularly so of

Your much obliged and most humble servant,
John Clarke.

P.S. I would beg leave to observe that we do not style ourselves Dissenters but Congregationalists.

Operation that has lately Appeared on the Minds of Many of the People of this Land . . . (Boston, 1743). Chauncy argued that the marks taken by Edwards as evidence of the spirit of God did not provide such evidence. Other writings by Chauncy were opposed to revivalism in general and thus were aimed, though less directly, at Edwards, for example, *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England . . .* (Boston, 1743) and *A Sermon on Enthusiasm . . .* (Boston, 1742).

4. The editors of *M.H.S.P.* note that "Mr. Adams was at the time this letter was written minister plenipotentiary to Great Britain, but it is well known that the feebleness of the government which he represented was a serious and mortifying embarrassment to him."

5. Not located.

6. Not located.

7. James Peirce (1647?–1726) *A Tractate on Church Music*, being an extract [pt. III, ch. 3] from the Rev. Mr. Peirce's *Vindication of the Dissenters* (London, 1786). An inscription on the reverse of the title page identifies "those to whom it is particularly addressed" and explains Clarke's postscript: "This Tractate on Church music is inscribed to the Reverend Doctor Chauncy, and the Reverend Mr. John Clark the ministers; and to the Several Members of the First Congregational Dissenting Church of Boston, in America." It was another argument for simplicity and moderation in the use of church music, to the exclusion of instrumental music, in the extensive controversial literature on the subject in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and, indeed, continuing to the present. If Clarke ever wrote to Price about his judgment of the tractate, the letter has apparently not survived. See Paul Yeats-Edwards, *English Church Music: A Bibliography* (London, 1975), p. 33, no. 178.

To [James Bowdoin]

Newington-Green July 24th 1786

Dear Sir

I return you many thanks for the Volume of Memoirs of the *American Academy* which you have done me the honour to send me.¹ It contains a great deal of useful information; and it is my ardent wish that the American Academy may persevere in the course it has so well begun and be continually gaining new honours. It is very flattering to me to be informed by you that the Academy wish for communications from me; but I have none at present to make that can be worth its acceptance. Happy should I be to contribute any thing to its credit and prosperity.

Sir Joseph Banks, the President of our Royal Society, having express'd a desire to be possess'd of these memoirs, I have made him a present of one of the two copies which thro' your favour and Mr. Willard's² I happen'd to be possess'd of. He thinks as I do, that they contain curious matter; and has express'd himself much satisfy'd with them. I must add that he has intimated to me that it would be highly agreeable to him to be favoured with presents of any future volumes; and that I wish the Academy would oblige him so far. Botany and natural history are his favourite studies, and he is eminent as an encourager of these branches of knowledge, and of the Arts and Sciences in general. The thanks of the Royal Society have been order'd for the present of these Memoirs which has been convey'd to it by his Excellency Mr. Adams.

You were very kind in sending me at the end of last summer your three Memoirs.³ I writ to you some months ago⁴ to thank you for them, and to tell you my sentiments of the subjects of them. You have probably long before this time received that letter.

Permit me, Sir, to repeat my assurances of the gratitude and great regard with which I am

Your oblig'd and most obedient servant

Richd Price⁵

ORIGINAL: Massachusetts Historical Society. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

1. See [James Bowdoin] to R.P., 2 Apr. 1786.

2. See Joseph Willard to R.P., 6 Apr. 1786.

3. Presumably the three essays by Bowdoin that appeared in *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*: "Observations upon a Hypothesis for Solving the Phenomena of Light . . .," "Observations on Light, and the Waste of Matter in the Sun and Fix't Stars . . .," "Observations Tending to Prove, by Phenomena and Scripture, the Existence of an Orb, which Surrounds the Whole Visible material System . . ." Vol. I, pp. 187-246.

4. See Vol. I, 314-17.

5. There is a shorthand draft of this letter on the ms. of the letter to Price from Bowdoin dated 2 Apr. 1786 at the American Philosophical Society. Most of the differences are verbal.

but one change may indicate some greater caution in judgment. In the draft the next-to-last sentence in the second paragraph reads, "Bot[any] and natural history are favorite studies with him and he is eminent for his knowledge of these subjects and for the encouragement he gives to the arts and sciences in general."

To Joseph Willard

Newington-Green, July 24th, 1786

Dear Sir,

I have received with great pleasure the letter with which you favoured me by Dr. Gordon, and also the volume of memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences which he brought me from you.¹ Accept my best thanks for this letter, and for the present that accompany'd it.

Astronomical knowledge in the united states is, I observe, particularly indebted to you; and I heartily wish you all possible success in your endeavours to increase this knowledge, and to promote the interest of literature and science. The new world opens a new field for enquiry; and I cannot but indulge the hope that, in consequence of such efforts as you and other liberal men are making, and of the removal of all restraints of free discussion, the American Revolution will in the end prove the means of extending much farther than ever human investigation and improvement.

I writ to you some months ago in answer to a letter of yours containing enquiries relating to a scheme then under the consideration of the ministers in your state for providing annuities for their widows.² At the same time I writ to his Excellency the Governor.³ I have since writ several other letters to different persons at Boston, which I hope have been received.⁴

I have taken care to convey your letter to Dr. Priestley. He has lately publish'd a 6th volume of *Observations and Experiments on air*,⁵ and also a *History in four volumes octavo of the Early opinions concerning Christ compiled from original writers, proving that the Christian church was at first Unitarian*.⁶ His

PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1909–10), 624–25. TEXT: *M.H.S.P.*

1. See Joseph Willard to R.P., 6 May 1786.

2. See R.P. to Joseph Willard, 18 Mar. 1786.

3. Not located.

4. Apparently the only letter from this group that has survived is the one to John Clarke of May 1786.

5. Schofield's bibliography of Priestley's scientific writings lists for 1786 "Experiments and Observations relating to various Branches of natural Philosophy; with a Continuation of the Observations on Air, Vol. 3, Birmingham, J. Johnson, 1786. 800."

6. *An History of Early Opinions concerning Jesus Christ, Compiled from Original Writers, proving that the Christian Church was at first Unitarian* . . . (Birmingham, 1786).

abilities and ardor as a Divine and Philosopher are wonderful. In Philosophy and Politics he and I are perfectly agree'd: but in Metaphysics and Theology we differ much.

I rejoyce to find that at last all the states have agree'd to the impost which is to fund and discharge their debts; and that a convention of all the states is to meet in September next in order to consult about enlarging the powers of Congress.⁷ At the same time I am grieved for the policy with respect to the united states adopted by this country, and which seems likely to produce alienation and hostility instead of that family union and friendship, which I have been wishing for.

I have been desired to convey the inclosed letter to the Executors of the late very respectable Dr. Winthrop. Will you be so good as to do this for me? I have sent the letter open that you may read it and see that it contains a claim from the Royal Society on Dr. Winthrop's Executors.⁸ Who they are I don't know, nor do I much expect that the claim will be recover'd. We have been lately, in the Council of the Royal Society, examining our debts and taking an account of them, and this was found among others. The war prevented the claim being made sooner.

I have been struck with the account, in the volume of Memoirs which you have been so good as to send me, of the births, marriages, deaths at different ages, and number of inhabitants, at Salem and the parish of Hingham.⁹ This account proves the probabilities of the duration of human life to be greater in these places than in any part of Europe where observations have been made. I wish much for more such accounts from America. I am, Dear Sir, respectfully and affectionately Yours

Richard Price

I have been obliged to some friend for sending me a very acceptable present of the Massachusetts Pocket Almanack for 1786.¹⁰

7. See Joseph Willard to R.P., 6 Apr. 1786, n.3, and Benjamin Rush to R.P., 22 Apr. 1786, n.4.

8. The *Transactions* of the Royal Society do not reveal the details of the claim.

9. W. C. Lane notes, "The papers referred to are Dr. E. A. Holyoke's letter entitled 'A bill of mortality in the town of Salem for the year 1782' (*Memoirs of the American Academy*, I, 546–50), and Professor Wigglesworth's 'Observations on the longevity of the inhabitants of Ipswich and Hingham' (565–568)."

10. Price wrote the shorthand draft of this letter on the ms. of Joseph Willard to R.P., 6 Apr. 1786. There are numerous verbal changes and some substantive additions in the final version. In the penultimate paragraph the draft did not contain the second sentence or the last two; nor did it include the postscript.

To Sylvanus Urban, Editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*

Newington Green, July 26, 1786

MR. URBAN,

The following act, which was passed in the ASSEMBLY OF VIRGINIA at the beginning of this year,¹ affords an example of legislative wisdom and liberality never before known, and must please all the friends of intellectual and religious liberty. It was lately printed at PARIS; and you will do an important service by assisting in circulating it. Had the principles which have dictated it been always acted upon by civil governments, the demon of persecution would never have existed; sincere enquiries would never have been discouraged; truth and reason would have had fair play; and most of the evils which have disturbed the peace of the world, and obstructed human improvement, would have been prevented.

R.P.

An Act for establishing RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, passed in the ASSEMBLY OF VIRGINIA, in the beginning of the year 1786.

WELL aware that Almighty God hath created the mind free; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burthens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and manners,² and are a departure from that plan of the Holy Author of our religion, who being Lord of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either—that the impious presumption of legislators and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical (who, being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as alone true and infallible, and as such endeavouring to impose them on others), hath established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world, and through all time; that, to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves, is sinful and tyrannical; that even the forcing a man to support this or that teacher of his own religious persuasion is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor, whose

PRINTED: *Gent. Mag.*, LVII (1787), 74–75. TEXT: *Gent. Mag.*

1. It appears in *The Statutes at Large; being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia from the first Session of the Legislature, in the year 1619 . . .*, ed. William W. Hening (Richmond, 1823), vol. 12 (1785), pp. 84–86. A marginal note indicates that it is “from revised bills of 1779,” and a footnote says, “In the preamble to his act, some variations have been made from the original bill, as reported by the revisors. . . .” Most of the differences between this version and the version in *The Statutes at Large . . .* are minor verbal or stylistic differences, although some may be typographical. Some that may be more substantial are noted below.

2. *Statutes* has “meanness.”

morals he would make his pattern, and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness; and is withdrawing from the ministry those temporal³ rewards, which, proceeding from an approbation of their personal conduct, are an additional incitement to earnest and unremitted labours for the instruction of mankind; that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, more than on ours in physic or geometry; that, therefore the proscribing any citizen as unworthy the public confidence, by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which in common with his fellow-citizens he has a natural right; tends also to corrupt the principles of that very religion it is meant to encourage, by bribing with a monopoly of worldly honours and emoluments those who will externally⁴ conform to it; that though indeed those are criminal who do not withstand such temptations, yet neither are those innocent who lay them in their way; that is suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion, and to restrain that profession or propagation of principles on supposition of their ill tendency, is a dangerous fallacy, which at once destroys all religious liberty, because he, being of course judge of that tendency, will make his opinions the rule of judgement, and approve or condemn the sentiments of others, only as they shall agree with, or differ from his own.

That it is time enough, for the rightful purposes of civil government, for its officers to interpose when principles break out in overt acts against peace and good order. And finally, that Truth is great, and will prevail if left to herself, is the proper and sufficient antagonist to Error, and can have nothing to fear from the conflict, unless by human interposition, disarmed of her natural weapons (free argument and debate); error ceasing to be dangerous, when it is permitted freely to contradict them.

Be it therefore enacted, by the General Assembly, that no man shall be compelled to support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever; nor shall be forced, restrained, molested or burthened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief. But that all men be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinion in matters of religion; and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

And though we well know that this Assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purpose of legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding Assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own; and that, therefore, to declare this act irrevocable would be of no effect in law; yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are natural rights of mankind; and that if any act shall be hereafter passed to repeal the

3. *Statutes* has "temporary."

4. *Statutes* inserts "profess and."

present, or to narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of natural rights.

To the Marquis of Lansdowne

Newington Green July 26th 1786

My Lord

Thinking it a long time since I have had the pleasure of any communication with your Lordship, I cannot help sending you a few lines. I was sorry to hear some time ago that you had been ill of the gout. I hope that it is now quite removed and your health restored and establish'd. My time has been lately very much employ'd in preparing for next winter two publications on subjects of Morality and Divinity,¹ and in assisting in laying the foundation of our new College for the purpose of Education.² Many of my Friends are full of zeal in this business; and they have persuaded me, at a time of life when I am growing unfit for every undertaking and continually meditating a retreat from the world, to consent to allow them to mention me as willing to assist in teaching some select parts of morals, Mathematics, Astronomy and Philosophy.³ There was a general meeting of the subscribers last week and a report of our proceedings to the present time together with the resolutions of the meeting will soon be printed, a copy of which when ready I shall take the liberty to send your Lordship, encouraged to it by the honour of Lord Wycombe's benefaction. I have inclosed a list of the subscriptions as they stood

ORIGINAL: Bowood. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

1. The third edition of *Review and Sermons on the Christian Doctrine*. See R.P. to Lansdowne, 9 Oct. 1786, and "Journal," pp. 318–79, 407.

2. That is, New College, Hackney, or Hackney College. Toward the close of 1785 several leading Dissenters in London met to consider the advisability of establishing a college in London or its environs for the education of Dissenting ministers. Price was a member of the original committee constituted at the London Coffee House on 13 Dec. 1785. Others were Thomas Rogers, Benjamin Vaughan, Hugh Worthington, Samuel Heywood, and Matthew Towgood. The college was instituted on 10 Mar. 1785, and the first lectures were given at Dr. Williams's Library. On 24 Nov. 1786 the committee approved the purchase of Homerton Hall in Hackney for £5,600. Price received an invitation to become a tutor, which he accepted. (Hackney College Minutes, DWL, RNC, 38.14.) For subsequent events, see R.P. to Lansdowne, 23 Sept. 1787; R.P. to Benjamin Rush, 24 Sept. 1787; and the shorthand draft of R.P. to John Howard, c. 31 Jan. 1789. See also "Journal," pp. 371–72, 385, 387.

3. Price was reluctant from the beginning to accept the position on the faculty. He prepared lectures on Newton's *Principia*, Thomas Simpson's *Treatise on Fluxions*, and Jebb's *Excerpta*, and he also taught some moral philosophy. He was helped for a time by his nephew George Cadogan Morgan, but ill-health led him to resign in the autumn of 1787 after a brief period of teaching. See R.P. to Lansdowne, 23 Sept. 1787, esp. n.3, and his "Journal," p. 385, entry for 8 June 1788.

last friday. Our determination is to erect a proper building as soon as possible, and we are now treating for a spot of ground at Hackney. We fancy that our present encouragement tho' considerable is but little compared with what it will be some years hence should the institution appear to be conducted on a plan that will, as far as its influence can reach, improve the state of Education, and promote the general interest of science, virtue and liberality.⁴

The public Funds, your Lordship sees, rise wonderfully. This is owing partly, I am afraid, to a decrease of trade; but chiefly to the expected operations of the plan of redemption, and an influx of money from Holland occasioned by the fear which the money'd people there have of commotions. My neighbours Mr Hoar and Mr Harman have lately purchased above half a million on the Dutch account.

Lord Rodney⁵ has been lately threatening your Lordship; and I have felt some pain for your Lordship tho' well persuaded there was no reason for it. I have always consider'd Lord Rodney as a most contemptible man who has been wonderfully fortunate. He is, I believe, generally despised, and his charges make little impression on any persons I am acquainted with.

Mrs Price sends her best respects. Her state is a great weight on my spirits, and I sometimes fear my health may sink under it. Her recollection and her senses are not yet greatly affected; but the cruel distemper after turning her into a corpse, is gaining upon them, and likely to take away the little that is left of her powers of speaking.

I think relief from sea=air and sea:bathing necessary for me, and therefore, should I find it possible to leave Mrs Price, I shall probably in about a fortnight go for a few weeks to East=bourn or Brighthelmston. My respectful compliments wait on Lady Lansdown. May she and your Lordship and your little Harry⁶ always partake of the best blessings. I never think without pleasure and gratitude of your Lordship's friendship and am, with great regard,

Your most obedient and humble servant

Richd Price

4. Price remained enthusiastic and optimistic about the college until his death. He did not see its decline and closure in 1796.

5. George Brydges Rodney (1719–92), first Baron Rodney, admiral. When Rodney took the West Indies island of St. Eustatius in 1782, he had large quantities of stored properties sold at auction. In 1786 the judgment of the court was in favor of the claimants to the amount of the "full, original value of Prime cost, with charges, freight, and insurance," a severe blow to Rodney which he called "cruel and unjust." He had collected every commercial letter-book and ledger he could and sent them to the office of the secretary of state in London to protect himself against such claims. All these documents, however, had disappeared during the period Lansdowne was secretary of state. Rodney blamed Lansdowne and threatened to have him impeached. See David Spinney, *Rodney* (London, 1969), pp. 356–77, 420–21.

6. Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice (1780–1863), only son of Lansdowne's second marriage. He became the third Marquis of Lansdowne in 1809 on the death, at age forty-four, of his half brother, John Henry Petty, who had become the second Marquis of Lansdowne in 1805 at

I know nothing of Mr Barre. Should he be at Bowood I beg my best remembrances may be diliver'd to him. Lord Wycombe is, I suppose, still in Germany.⁷ May he be returned in safety, and prove, what he promises to be, a credit and comfort to your Lordship. The last month has carried off several of my acquaintance; and, among others, Mr Burrow,⁸ a Clergyman of character much respected by Lord Cremone⁹ and some others of your Lordship's friends.

the death of his father, the first Marquis of these letters. The third marquis had a long, distinguished, and influential political career.

7. Lansdowne's eldest son (see Vol. I, 156) traveled extensively during this period, and subsequently. The *Daily Universal Register* (after 1787 *The Times*) reported periodically on him and his travels, which began early and recurred throughout his life. See Bentham: *Correspondence*, III, 67–68; IV, 32n, 117n; V, 49, 154–57; *Daily Universal Register*, 9 Nov. 1787, 2b.

8. Probably the Reverend Dr. John Burrows. See Vol. I, 50, n.11.

9. Thomas Dawson (1725–1813) sat for county Monaghan in the Irish Parliament from 1749 until 1768, became Baron Dartrey of Dawson's Close in 1770, Viscount Cremorne in 1785, and Baron Cremorne of Castle Dawson in 1797.

From Edward Wigglesworth

Cambridge, Massachusetts July 27, 1786.

Reverend and dear Sir,

Permit me to express my Gratitude for the obliging manner in which you were pleased to communicate to the Reverend President Willard your judicious Remarks on the Expectations of Life among the Harvard graduates; and at the same time to return you thanks in my own Name, and in behalf of the Ministers of this Commonwealth for the kind assistance you have given them in the Formation of a plan for providing Annuities for their Widows.¹

The General Court of the last year, at the close of the Sessions, passed an Act for incorporating a Society, by the name of *The Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society*, with Power to hold an annual Income, not exceeding *Three Thousand Pounds*. The annual Income of the Society is to be “applied to the Support of such Widows and Children of deceased congregational Ministers, who have been or shall be settled within this Commonwealth, and of the Widows and Children of the Presidents and Professors of the University, as in

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 345–47. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. See R.P. to Joseph Willard, 18 Mar. 1786.

the Opinion of the said Corporation shall be proper objects of the said Charity."²

The Corporation, judging it within their Province to provide a particular Fund for granting Annuities to the Widows of the Subscribers, appointed a Committee to prepare a Plan for that Purpose. The Committee, having considered the two Plans which you communicated to the President, were of opinion that the Plan mentioned in the Postscript of your Letter³ would, for the Reasons therein offered, be the more eligible of the two. They accordingly reported it to the Society, who voted to carry it into Execution; as soon as *fifty* subscribers should subject themselves to an annual payment of Five pounds Five shillings, during the continuance of their respective Marriages. The younger Ministers, I persuade myself, will generally become Subscribers. And as soon as a few Widows commence Annuitants, the Utility of the Institution will be obvious. This will have a natural Tendency to put the younger Ministers, in future, on providing Annuities for their Wives in Season.

Some of the Gentlemen of the Corporation were of Opinion that it would promote the general Design of this Institution to provide for the making single Payments at Admission, instead of the annual Payments, mentioned in the plan; For some Persons may prefer a single Payment to annual Ones. The Society accordingly referred the Consideration of this Motion to the Committee who reported the Plan. The Value of such single Payments may, I think, be found with Precision by multiplying the Value of an Annuity on two *joint* lives, found in Table XLVI of Vol. II of your Treatise,⁴ by 5.25, the annual Payment. Should I be mistaken, I shall esteem myself much obliged for your Correction.⁵

The Principles by which the Annuities in the Plan we have adopted are regulated, I do not recollect to have found laid down in your Treatise on reversionary Payments. If they are not, the Gentlemen of the Society will esteem themselves obliged to you for a mathematical Resolution of them, whenever you may find Leisure, amidst your many Engagements to attend to this Subject.⁶

That a Life so important as yours to Great Britain and America, may be prolonged, and that you may have the Satisfaction of finding a due Regard paid by the Inhabitants of both Countries to your salutary Admonitions, is the Desire and Prayer of him, who is with the greatest Esteem, Reverend Sir,

Your obliged Servant,
Edward Wigglesworth

2. "The Act of Incorporation, Regulation, and Members of the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society; with a Brief Sketch of its Origin, Progress, and Purpose (In the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six)" (Boston, 1815). The society held its first meeting on 24 May 1786.

3. See R.P. to Joseph Willard, 18 Mar. 1786.

4. *O.R.P.*

5. See R.P. to Edward Wigglesworth, 23 July 1787.

6. *Ibid.*, postscript.

From Joseph Willard

Cambridge, July 29, 1786

Reverend and dear Sir,

I am much obliged to you for your letter, in which you communicated to me your answers to the Reverend Professor Wigglesworth's queries respecting a plan for annuities for the widows of ministers in this Commonwealth.¹ The Trustees of *The Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society*, lately incorporated, have accepted the report of their Committee, viz. Professor Wigglesworth, Mr. Sullivan² and myself, recommending the plan of annuities which you suggested in the postscript of your letter; and which you say you have recommended to some societies in Great Britain. Some of the Trustees wished to provide for the making of a single payment, where desired, instead of the annual payments, and referred the matter to the consideration of this Committee. The Professor, who has looked into the doctrine of annuities more than the rest of us, has written to you directly upon the subject, whose letter I enclose,³ and which makes it unnecessary for me to enlarge upon the matter.

I wish, Sir, I could give you a favourable account of the aspect of our public affairs in these States; but unhappily, the Congress still continues unfurnished with the means of extinguishing our national debt; nor is it yet furnished with powers for regulating trade. How unfortunate that little jealousies and local considerations should prevent the general good and endanger the confederation! What the end of these things may be Heaven alone knows! May it be better than our fears! I confess, I cannot help frequently trembling for the event.

The citizens of the States feel the public taxes to be heavy, and find a scarcity of money to pay them. Some States in the union have already issued a paper currency, which seems to increase the evil instead of lessening it. The little State of Rhode Island has lately issued a large sum of paper money, a measure highly disgusting to many of its citizens.⁴ They are thrown into

PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 347–48. TEXT: *M.H.S.P.*

1. See R.P. to Joseph Willard, 18 Mar. 1786.

2. For a biographical note, see James Sullivan to R.P., 16 Oct. 1786.

3. See Edward Wigglesworth to R.P., 27 July 1786.

4. All of the states faced difficulties at the end of the war in terms of debt and taxation. These problems, in turn, had implications for fiscal policies, law, justice, politics, and economics. In Rhode Island, however, they all seemed to interact with greater force and more extreme results. Problems of indebtedness, for example, had split merchants and farmers into opposed parties. Under the control of the farmers was a strong movement for states' rights, freedom from control by a central government, and a policy of debt relief through paper money. In the 1780s seven states issued paper money at one time or another, with greater or lesser complications. Rhode Island, however, issued more per capita than any other state and had greater complications, continuing a reputation for unsound prac-

parties, and great confusion and disorder at present subsist among them. I hope the commotions *there* will be a warning to the inhabitants of this Commonwealth, and that they will learn wisdom by the sufferings of their neighbors. At the last session of our General Assembly, about a month ago, an attempt was made by some members to obtain a vote for a paper currency to be issued among us; but the number was so very small that they made no head; and I hope there will continue to be wisdom enough in the State to prevent so pernicious a measure.⁵

I had like to have forgotten to mention a mistake in the direction of your last letter to me.⁶ The letter designed for me went enclosed to Mr. Sullivan, while one designed for him came directed to me.⁷ As the letter was not directed to any person at the bottom, it was several days before I could find out to whom that of which I was possessed belonged, and recover my own. At length I made the discovery, and each of us got his own letter. However, no damage has attended the mistake, and it need give you no uneasiness.

Mr. Sparhawk,⁸ a grandson of the late Sir William Pepperrell,⁹ who is a merchant at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, and a friend and classmate of mine, is so polite as to offer to wait upon you in person with this letter when he gets to London, for which he is to sail next week. He tells me, he wishes to have the honour and pleasure of being introduced to *you*, for whose character he entertains the highest regard. If you should have any commands for America, Mr. Sparhawk, I am persuaded, will be happy to execute them.

tices from colonial times. See Frank G. Bates, *Rhode Island and the Formation of the Union* (New York, 1898), pp. 107–48.

5. After 1780 the Massachusetts legislature refused to authorize the issue of any additional paper money, rejecting the petition brought in by Bristol County in May 1786, mentioned by Willard, by a vote of 89 to 350. Willard's hope that the disorders in Rhode Island would serve as a warning to Massachusetts, however, was not fulfilled. Eric P. Newman asserts flatly, "In Massachusetts, in spite of the creation in 1784 of the Massachusetts Bank with the right of bank note issue, the refusal of the legislature to authorize paper money caused Shay's Rebellion." *The Early Paper Money of America* (Racine, Wis., 1967), p. 14.

6. See R.P. to Joseph Willard, 18 Mar. 1786.

7. Not located.

8. Nathaniel Sparhawk (1744–1814), Loyalist, merchant. He was educated at Harvard, graduated first in the class of 1765, gave the valedictory oration, and returned for a second degree with a thesis, "There is no Foundation in Natural Law for the Hereditary Possession of the Crown," which was quite different from his later political views. He carried this letter from Willard but was not successful in meeting Price, who was absent when he called to deliver it. See R.P. to Joseph Willard, 10 Oct. 1787.

9. Sir William Pepperrell (1696–1759), the "hero of Louisburg." His father had emigrated to Massachusetts and developed a fortune as a shipowner and merchant. He and his brother developed their father's business and acquired enormous wealth and vast properties. Sir William was elected to the Council of Massachusetts from 1729 until his death. In 1745 he was appointed to head a force of Maine militia and a hundred vessels to capture the French fortress of Louisburg. For his success he was created a baronet.

I wrote to you by Dr. Gordon¹⁰ in the spring, who I hear has arrived in London.

I hope this letter will find you in the enjoyment of health; and that you may long be continued a blessing to the world is the ardent wish and prayer of, Sir,

Your sincere friend and obliged humble servant.

Joseph Willard

10. For a biography of Gordon, see Vol. I, 207. The letter he delivered was from Joseph Willard to R.P., 6 Apr. 1786.

From Benjamin Franklin

Philada. July 29. 1786

Dear Friend,

I could not let this Opportunity, by Mr Nicklin,¹ pass without selecting you. I hope you continue well, as I do, my old Malady excepted, and that so useful a life as yours will be long protracted. I repeat my thanks to you for the Pamphlet you so kindly sent me. I should ere now have try'd the Remedy² indicated in it, but my Glass Instrument for impregnating Liquors with fix'd Air, being lent into the Country, I have been kept in continual Expectation of its being return'd, and am hitherto disappointed; at which I have been the less uneasy, as the Pain has been tolerable generally, and I do not find that the Malady grows worse.

Our Philosophical Society think themselves honour'd by your Acceptance of their Diploma.³ You will receive by Mrs Vaughan⁴ a second Volume of their Transactions.⁵ I see there are mischievous Spirits at work, labouring to disturb

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 348. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. Philip Nicklin, a Philadelphia merchant. In a letter dated 9 May 1783 from Paris, William Wilkinson asked Franklin for letters of introduction for Nicklin, "an English gentleman, who intends establishing, in Philadelphia, a house in the linentrade in connection with that of Dickinson, Lloyd and Nicklin in London." *Calendar of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Isaac M. Hays (Philadelphia, 1908), III, 60. On 26 Jan. 1787 Price answered this letter from Franklin, which was delivered by Nicklin.

2. See R.P. to Benjamin Franklin, 26 Jan. 1787.

3. See Vol. II, 318–19. Price was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society on 22 Jan. 1785. See *A Catalogue of Manuscript and Printed Documents . . . of the American Philosophical Society . . .* (Philadelphia, 1937), p. 38.

4. Mrs. Samuel Vaughan. See Benjamin Rush to R.P., 2 Aug. 1786.

5. See R.P. to Benjamin Franklin, 26 Jan. 1787, and Benjamin Franklin to R.P., 31 May 1789. Vol. II of *American Philosophical Society . . . Transactions* was published in Philadelphia by Robert Aitken in 1786. For a brief history of the American Philosophical Society and Franklin's role in founding and developing it, see Sparks: *Franklin*, X, 576–97.

the Peace between our Countries, but I trust they will not succeed. We are improving daily in public Prudence and true knowledge of our essential Interests; and notwithstanding some political Errors hard to eradicate I flatter myself that on the whole and in time we shall do very well: Indeed I think I see evident marks of the favourable Hand of Providence in our Affairs; for even our own Blunders, and the malice of our Enemies, are made to operate our Advantage. My best wishes attend you and good Mrs Price, being ever, my dear Friend,

Yours most affectionately,
B Franklin.

To Benjamin Rush

Newington Green July 30th, 1786

Dear Sir,

I have lately received two very agreeable letters from you, one dated in April and the other in May.¹ I cannot enough thank you for the information in these letters; and also for your Oration, and the plan for establishing public schools and the diffusion of knowledge in Pensylvania. The observation on which your Oration is grounded cannot be deny'd. You have strongly illustrated it; and a due attention to it would teach us more candour and charity to one another than we are apt to entertain. I am persuaded that the irregularities which shock us in the characters and conduct of some men not thought to be insane, ought to be ascribed to a derangement of this kind, in the intellectual and consequently in the moral faculties, produced by bodily disorders and physical causes.² You have also in your other pamphlet³ inculcated with much ability the importance of Education in general, and the proper mode of Education in a Republican state. Nothing, certainly, can be of more importance; and I heartily wish you success in all your attempts to instruct and enlighten your fellow citizens.

You flatter me much by exhorting me to address the united states and Congress, and by encouraging me to it by telling me that probably I should be attended to. But, Dear sir, you do not know how slow a writer I am, and how much I am pressed by a variety of necessary business. Sometimes, indeed, I am disposed to think it hard that at a time of life when my powers are

ORIGINAL: Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

1. See Benjamin Rush to R.P., 22 Apr. and 25 May 1786.

2. See Benjamin Rush to R.P., 22 Apr. 1786, n.6.

3. See *ibid.*, n.5.

declining fast, and when tranquillity is becoming every day more necessary for me, and when for this reason I am continually thinking of withdrawing from the world, my engagements should increase. This however, is at present my condition. I am by no means a *Franklin*, who at 80 preserves so wonderfully his abilities and vigour; but a poor weak creature, who at 63 finds himself under the necessity of considering the working time of his life almost over. My pamphlet on the American Revolution⁴ I have addressed to the united states as the last testimony of good will to them. It contains the best advice I am capable of giving them on education and other subjects; and having thus contributed my mite towards making them happy among themselves and a benefit to mankind, I must now leave others to advise them and refer the issue to that Providence which orders all events.

You observe, that in writing to the citizens of America it would be necessary that I should be silent about the disputed doctrines of Christianity, and particularly the Trinity. I am afraid that were I to write again, I should find this a hard restraint. I am likely soon, in consequence of a petition from the congregation to which I preach, to publish in this country a free discussion of these doctrines;⁵ and I hope your countrymen will learn not only to bear but to encourage such discussions. It is only vice and error that can suffer by them.

I am sorry that the convention of Episcopalians which met last year at Philadelphia did not carry their reformation of the Church Articles and service farther.⁶ If that improvement takes place among them which must be the consequence of free discussion they must in time see reason for doing this. I am informed that another convention was to meet in June last, and I wish to know what it has done.⁷ Should another application be made to this country

4. That is, *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution*.

5. *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine*.

6. In the convention of Episcopalian representatives of the middle and southern states at Philadelphia in Sept. 1785, following a preliminary meeting in May 1784 calling for a general convention, one of the main orders of business was the appointment of a committee "to consider of and report such alterations in the Liturgy, as shall render it consistent with the American Revolution and the Constitution of the respective States: and such further alterations in the Liturgy as [] may be advisable."

A committee was appointed, went to work on the first day of the convention, and presented their report within five days. They reduced the thirty-nine articles to twenty, substituted "these United States" for "the King," omitted the prayer for the Royal family, substituted "Congress of the United States" for "Parliament," removed the phrase, "He descended into Hell" from the Apostle's Creed and the Athanasian and Nicene creeds altogether, and the like. See William S. Perry, *A Handbook of the General Convention* (New York, 1814), 1–62.

7. Rush could have replied that the convention of June 1786 registered its opposition to the Scottish consecration of Seabury; drafted a conciliatory reply to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England; modified, by moderating, their new constitution; and received a long letter from the Archbishops including, among various matters, some of them critical, the information that the Archbishops had submitted a bill to Parliament, and were

for a Bishop it will probably succeed; for a Bill has lately been brought into our Parliament by our Bishops and passed, for enabling them to consecrate Bishops for any foreign states.⁸ The Bishops, before they apply'd to the King for leave to bring in this Bill, met for the purpose of holding consultation about the petition from the Convention at Philadelphia;⁹ and it was asserted at this meeting, that this petition was owing to some management of the Jesuits who, it was said, had got in great numbers into the united states and were doing great mischief there by promoting popery. This objection, however, was overruled; and the result was the resolution which I have just mentioned to apply to the King. How strange is it, that the same people who have discarded the nonsense of the hereditary right of Kings should retain the greater Nonsense of the Hereditary right (or uninterrupted succession) of Bishops; and for this reason scruple to make their own Bishops?

Virginia, I find, has given a noble example of legislative wisdom and liberality. I am indeed delighted with the act passed there at the beginning of this year for establishing intellectual and religious freedom.¹⁰ It is the first of

waiting the passage of it to provide the authority to grant the petition of the convention to consecrate bishops. See Perry, *Handbook*, 8–26. See also W. S. Perry, *Half Century of the Legislation of the American Church*, Vol. I, *Journals of the General Conventions, 1785–1821*, 17–62; Charles C. Tiffany, *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America* (New York, 1982), 52–106.

8. 26 Geo. III cap. 84. Passed 28 June 1786: “An Act to empower the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Archbishop of York, for the Time being, to consecrate to the office of a Bishop, Persons being Subjects or Citizens of Countries out of his Majesty's Dominions.” The act enabled such consecration without the king's license for the election or the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and obedience, but it forbade the exercise of such office within his domains. See *Acts of Parliament* . . . 1786 (London, 1786), II, 1567–68, and *Journal of the House of Commons* (London, 1803), vol. 41, pp. 933, 940, 943.

9. The petition was contained in a long letter signed by the clerical and lay deputies of the American [Episcopal] Church, dated 5 Oct. 1785, addressed “To the most reverend and right reverend the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Bishops of the Church of England: . . . that from a tender regard to the religious interests of thousands in this rising empire, professing the same religious principles with the Church of England, you will be pleased to confer the Episcopal character on such persons as shall be recommended by the Church in the several States here represented—full satisfaction being given of the sufficiency of the persons recommended, and of its being the intention of the general body of the Episcopalians in the said States respectively to receive them in the quality of Bishops.” Perry, pp. 20–21.

10. The preamble reads thus: “Whereas . . . our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than our opinions in physics or geometry; that therefore the proscribing of any citizen as unworthy [of] the public confidence by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which in common with his fellow-citizens he has a natural right. . . .”

The opening passages of the enactment read: “*Be it enacted by the General Assembly*, that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place or ministry whatsoever . . . nor suffer for his religious opinions or beliefs . . . all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinion in matters of religion. . . .” See R. P. to Sylvanus Urban, Editor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 26 July 1786.

the kind that was ever pass'd. It does that state infinite honour, and is a happy omen of the benefit to mankind that may arise from the American Revolution.

Your information that a convention of Delegates from the united states is to meet at Annapolis in September for the purpose of enlarging the powers of Congress has given me particular pleasure.¹¹ All that is valuable to the states depends on a just settlement of the federal government. A jealousy of power is necessary to check the tendency of all government to despotism; but it may be carried so far as to defeat its own end and to introduce evils equal to those of despotism. Of this, I fear, there is some danger in America; but you say at the conclusion of your first letter concerning property, the good sense, and wisdom of America are now coming forth and taking the direction of public affairs. This is charming News. There are, I know, in the united states some of the wisest men in the world. May it appear in the Convention, that they are indeed come forth and have obtained the lead.

I rejoice to find that Dr Franklin continues to enjoy tolerable health and spirits. His counsels and influence must be a blessing to the state over which he presides. I writ to him at the beginning of last winter,¹² and sent him a book containing an [ac]count of a remedy for his malady which had been remarkably successful in a deplorable case of the same kind which has happened to fall under my notice.

Very unfavorable impressions are made here by the false accounts which are often appearing in our News-papers of American affairs. An account drawn up by Dr Franklin of a contrary tendency has been lately circulated with good effect.¹³ I am thinking of sending to the paper a few extracts from your letters.

Under a grateful sense of your kind attention I am, sir,

Your obliged and very humble servant,
Richd Price

Mr. Peters¹⁴ when in London last winter told me that you had sent me a letter by him, but that he had lost it.

11. See Benjamin Rush to R.P., 25 May 1786, n.1.

12. See Vol. II, 318–19.

13. Probably "Internal State of America, being a true Description of the Interest and Policy of that vast Continent." See Sparks: *Franklin*, X, 461; *Franklin*: Bigelow, IX, 34–41.

14. Richard Peters (1744–1820). For a biographical note, see Vol. II, 323.

From Benjamin Rush

Philadelphia August 2nd 1786

Dear Sir,

With great reluctance I set down to write a few lines to you by good Mrs. Vaughan¹ and her family. They will leave many *friends* behind them, and carry with them the good wishes of all who have ever known them. I consider our city, and society impoverished by their leaving us, but taking every consideration into question, I cannot help approving of their preferring the highly cultivated society of old friends in England, to the less cultivated society of new ones in America. Mr. Vaughan's active and public spirit has laid our city under great obligations to him. We look forward with pain to the time of his leaving us. He has been [the] principal cause of the resurrection of our Philosophical Society. He has even done more, he has laid the foundation of a philosophical *hall* which will preserve his name, and the name of his family among us for many, many years to come.²

I refer you to the enclosed papers for political information, and beg leave, for the present, only to subscribe myself with great respect, dear Sir,

Your sincere friend and humble servant,
Benjnⁿ Rush

ORIGINAL: The American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 349. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. Sarah Hallowell (b. 1727), daughter of Benjamin Hallowell of Boston, one of the "Proprietors of the Kennebec [Maine] Purchase," popularly known as the "Plymouth Company." The immediate reason for leaving was her own illness and that of one of her daughters. It was not until they moved from London to Hackney, however, that there was an improvement in health. See Sarah P. Stetson, "The Philadelphia Sojourn of Samuel Vaughn," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 73 (Oct. 1949), pp. 459-74.

2. Samuel Vaughan (1720-1802), a wealthy West Indian merchant, friend of the Revolution, liberal, patron of the arts and sciences, contributor to the development of Philadelphia in the postrevolutionary period. Among other contributions, he developed parks and gardens, was instrumental in raising money, planning, and overseeing construction of the new hall for the American Philosophical Society, which was not, however, called "Vaughan Hall." He was elected a member of the society in Jan. 1784 and served as vice president in 1785. The close association of the family with the society is indicated by the admission to membership of his sons, John, in Jan. 1784, Samuel, Jr., and Benjamin, in July 1786, William, in Apr. 1830, and his grandson, Benjamin's son, Petty, in July 1842. See "Reminiscences of the Vaughan Family . . ." by John H. Sheppard (Boston, 1865), and *American Philosophical Society Proceedings*, vol. 27 (1889), esp. "Commemoration of the Centennial Anniversary of the American Philosophy Society's Occupation of its Present Hall, November 21, 1889," pp. 4-18, and "List of the Members of the American Philosophical Society," pp. 123-200.

P.S. The essays subscribed Nestor in the enclosed papers have been ascribed to your friend.³

3. That is, Benjamin Franklin, who was called "Nestor of America," particularly by the French.

To the Marquis of Lansdowne

Newington-Green Sept 20th 1786

My Lord

The reflexion on the long friendship with which your Lordship has honored me will not suffer me to be easy without informing you of an event which I have been long expecting, but which at present overpowers my spirits. The dear partner of my life to whom I have owed a great part of the happiness of it was dismiss'd this morning after languishing for more than three years under the Palsy, and being at last reduced to the lowest state of debility. The anguish I feel on this occasion is inexpressible. I am now to wait by myself till some distemper takes me after her. She had, I believe, as little guilt to endanger her as most human beings; and I cannot but indulge the hope of finding her again in some better state. I am incapable of writing a long letter. May Heaven abundantly bless your Lordship and Lady Lansdown.

I seem now to have done with this world. With gratitude for all the instances of your Lordship's attention to me I am ever

your Lordship's most obedient servant.

Richd Price

ORIGINAL: Bowood. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

From the Marquis of Lansdowne

Bowood Park, 21st Septr, 1786

My dearest Friend,

I did not answer the kind letter which I receiv'd from you at Weymouth, expecting to do it in person, as I generally go to town from Wycombe, but as I

PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 350. TEXT: *M.H.S.P.*

found it impossible to do so this year, I was thinking of writing to you tomorrow, just when I receiv'd the melancholy account you have taken the trouble of sending me of the irreparable loss you have sustain'd.¹ I am very sensible of the confidence you must have in my affection by the early communication of this heart-breaking event, and, tho' the post only allows me a moment, I cannot delay a day to assure you that you have not a relation who feels more sensibly the loss you have sustain'd. I have no need when I write to you, particularly on this occasion, to wait for reflection, I am not afraid to let my heart dictate. Let me beseech you to command me in any shape. I will go instantly to London if I can contribute to your comfort, or will be happy to see you here, where no one shall come, but such as are agreeable to you. Lady Lansdown upon receipt of your letter mention'd this before I did, or as soon as Miss Fox² gets here to keep Lady Lansdown company I will attend you anywhere. In the mean time let me beseech you, my dear Friend, to struggle against your misfortune, and let your mind dwell as little as possible on an event which is now pass'd. One of the wisest *practical* men who ever liv'd, Philippe de Commynes,³ says in his memoirs, that the only remedye he observ'd thro' life in cases of great and heavy calamity, was first to vent the grief to some true friend, and then to have recourse to time and as hard and constant exercise as the body can endure. I am unhappily myself, not a physician and as you know have had too much experience of domestick calamity, but as I have often told you, tho' they have hurt my health fundamentally yet the calamitys I have suffer'd have made me a better and for that reason a happier man. I have not time to read over what I have wrote, as I am afraid of losing the post; I trust you will not doubt its sincerity, and accept both my wishes and my prayers that you may hereafter meet the friend you have

1. That is, the death of his wife, Sarah. See R.P. to Lansdowne, 20 Sept. 1786.

2. Caroline Fox (1767–1845), only surviving daughter of Stephen, second Baron Holland, and Mary, daughter of John, first Earl of Upper Ossory. Her mother was Lady Shelburne's sister; Charles James Fox was her father's brother. Jeremy Bentham, writing to George Wilson in a letter dated 24 Sept. 1781, says "Miss Fox . . . is sent here from Warwick Castle . . . a sister and the only one of the present Ld. Holland who is about 9; consequently niece to Ch. Fox, and to Lady Shelburne, and a great niece to the Dutchess of Bedford." See Bentham: *Correspondence*, III, 95.

3. Philippe de Commynes (c. 1445–1511), French statesman and historian. The *Memoirs* were first published in 1524 and 1525. Lansdowne refers to a passage in the fifth chapter of the fifth book. In an English translation it reads, "It is also well to unbosom ourselves freely to some intimate friends, not to keep our sorrows concealed, but to expatiate on every circumstance of them without being ashamed or reserved; for this mitigates the rigour of our misfortunes, revives the heart, and restores their usual vigour and activity to our dejected spirits. There is another remedy also, and that is labour and exercise (for as we are but men, these sorrows cannot be dissipated without great pains and application, both in public and private). . . ." *The Memoirs of Philip de Commynes*, ed. Andrew R. Scoble, 2 vols. (London, 1900), I, 321.

lost a saint in Heaven. I will write to you soon again, and believe me, in the mean time,

Your most affectionate friend,
Lansdown

To John Adams

Newington-Green Sept. 21st 1786.

Dear Sir,

The attention with which you have honoured me will not suffer me to neglect informing you of an event which at present overwhelms my spirits. After enjoying thirty years of happiness with my dear wife, she was yesterday dismiss'd from this world after long languishing under the Palsy. This is the greatest trouble I have ever met with. It will much alter the plan of my life, and interrupt for at least some time my public services. Deliver my kind respect to Mrs. Adams, and also to Col. Smith and Mrs. Smith. May you and them enjoy all possible happiness. Under a grateful sense of your friendship I am, Dear Sir,

truly yours,
Richd Price

ORIGINAL: Massachusetts Historical Society, Adams Papers, Reel No. 368. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Adams Manuscript Trust.

To George Cadogan Morgan¹

Sydenham² Sept 27th 1786

My Dear Nephew,

I think myself extremely obliged to you for the very kind sympathy expressed in your letter. The shock your dear Aunt's death³ has given me is

ORIGINAL: In the private possession of Mr. Christopher Johnson. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of Mr. Johnson. We are grateful to John Stephens for his information and for assistance.

1. One of Price's nephews. See Vol. II, 28.
2. The lodgings of William Morgan, Price's nephew (see Vol. I, 239), and family.
3. Sarah Price (see Vol. I, 53) died on 20 Sept. 1786. See R.P. to Lansdowne, 20 Sept. 1786, and "Journal," p. 366.

indeed dreadful, and the anguish I feel is inexpressible. A dismal cloud is at present thrown over my mynd and over all that used to make me happy. Time, I hope, will relieve me; but hitherto it had done little for me. My heart, however, is resigned; and my judgment submits, tho' my spirits revolt. I see much mercy mingled with this trouble. She was taken away before she got into that more dismal state which the progress of the distemper was continually threatening, and which I have been long looking forward to and dreading. I am, therefore, often chiding myself for being so much over:power'd by an event that I ought to welcome as a seasonable and happy deliverance. But my feelings bear me down; and my life is at present a constant struggle to keep off a recollection once pleasant but now bitter and distressing and incapable of answering any end. I am now to wait, in the exercise of as much duty as I shall be capable of, till some distemper takes me after her to that country where I hope to find her again, and to be completely happy with her and all my virtuous friends. The prospect of a resurrection from death united to the belief of a benevolent and perfect direction of all events is the only solid support under all trials, and particularly under such a trial as this. While I was expecting this trial I feared that it would so affect my spirits as to unfit me for all public service; and I am far from being sure this will not happen. I am, however, willing to indulge the hope that it will not; and that I may be able to go on for some little time longer with my services at Hackney. The congregation there are now thinking of chusing a successor to Mr Medcalf.⁴ During the present suspension of my services among them I intend to write them to tell them that tho' I may return to them it cannot be for any long time; and that therefore they ought to consider themselves as chusing a pastor in an afternoon preacher, and that should he be a person agreeable to me, I will equally divide the income between myself and him. Some of them, I fancy, have thought of you;⁵ but others of them (particularly, Mr Towgood⁶ and Mr Malkin)⁷ have most injudiciously and hastily engaged themselves to Mr Fawcett.⁸

I take most kindly your offer to come to me. Indeed I can scarcely think of anything that would have a greater tendency to comfort me than your company added to that of your Brother and his family; nor is it possible that I

4. William Metcalf, Price's copastor at Hackney, suffered a stroke in 1786. See *Monthly Magazine*, XXXIX (1798), 476.

5. George Cadogan Morgan was appointed afternoon preacher at the Old Gravel Pit Meeting Place and preached his first sermon there on 1 Apr. 1787. See "Journal," p. 377.

6. Probably Matthew Towgood (1723–91), son of Michaijah Towgood (1703–92), minister at Bridgewater from 1747 until 1753, afterward a merchant and later a banker in London. See "Journal," p. 407.

7. Not further identified.

8. Joseph Fawcett (1758–1804) entered academy at Daventry in 1774, appointed morning preacher at Walthamstow in 1780, resigned in 1787. He was a very popular preacher, attracting large congregations. He died young, at forty-six. See *D.N.B.*, *Gent. Mag.*, LXXIV (1804), 185, 276; Wilson, II, 304. There is an interesting account of him in *The Autobiography of Thomas Holcroft*, 2 vols. (New York, 1968), II, 127–28.

should be in any circumstances that can need more all the aid you can give me. If, therefore, you can contrive your affairs so as to come up the beginning of next week and stay with us about a fortnight, you will much oblige me. Deliver my kindest remembrance to your Nanny.⁹ She is very amiable, and her sympathetic feelings will, I doubt not, make her willing to part with you on this occasion. May you and she and your little boy and girl enjoy all the happiness a kind providence can bestow.

Not being able to bear the House at Newington=Green I have fled to your Brother's lodgings at Sydenham; and there I am at present. Miss Summers and Miss Prince¹⁰ are at the Green, and I shall endeavour to reconcile myself to the House there as soon as I can. Your Brother¹¹ has been my great support and refuge in this calamity; nor do I know how my weak spirits could have got thro' it without him. I am ever affectionately

Yours
Rich: Price

Your Aunt has directed me to pay you, Mr Morgan, your mother,¹² etc., etc., £ 10 each at her death.

9. Anne Hurry, whom George Cadogan Morgan married in 1783. See "Journal," 405.

10. Miss Summers features in R.P.'s will and in Mrs. Chapone's letter to R.P. of 10 Dec. 1786. The Miss Prince could be either Jane Ewer Prince or her sister, Sarah Prince, both of whom feature in R.P.'s will. See "Journal," 401.

11. That is, William Morgan, see n.1, above.

12. Mrs. Sarah Morgan (1726–1803), Price's sister, widow of William Morgan, and mother of William and George Cadogan Morgan. After Sarah Price's death, and after Price had moved from Newington Green to St. Thomas's Square, Hackney, Sarah Morgan and her daughter Sally came to Hackney to keep house for him.

From the Marquis of Lansdowne

Bowood Park 29th Sept, 1786

My dear Friend,

I was going to write to Mr. Vaughan or some other friend to enquire about you, but upon recollection I chuse to address yourself, as I think it the duty of every friend you have to incite you to exert yourself, to prevent the calamity which you have lately undergone taking too much hold of your mind. Recollect the advantages of your situation for example over mine, the longer scene of uninterrupted domestick felicity which you have enjoy'd, the great happiness of a middle station which you have often told me, and which I am

perfectly sure, is the happiest, when properly understood, as it has been without the least compliment by you, who have never debas'd it by a meanness nor committed it by a petulance, but always supported the dignity of it; but above all the lively sense of religion, which you must have had early impress'd upon your mind, and which I am free to own by all I have observ'd is worth the knowledge and riches of the whole world; for how can a man who firmly believes in another life and in the divine mission of Jesus Christ lose his time in regretting any event in a short and contemptible life like the present? It gave me great satisfaction to find in your letter before the last, that you were occupied about some moral treatise, for anxious as I am for the permanent dignity of your character I wish morality to form the predominant feature of it; and tho' as long as a sinking fund exists, (and when it ceases, the country must do so too) your name must be connected with it, yet I am not afraid that if you apply your mind to the great line of morality, you will leave some still better legacy to mankind, by which you will be still better characterise'd; but allow me to speak my mind freely, that it should turn upon such general principles as may embrace the Turk or the Gentoo equally with the Christian, and not to suffer yourself to be diverted by controversies, which are better left in the hands of conceited men who live by them, and who have neither your comprehension of head or heart, and which do not contribute to make mankind essentially better in the several relations of life. You see that you make me almost commence preacher, but you need not be afraid that if you will venture here, that I will tire you with that or any other subject. You will find Lady Lansdown and me nearly alone for two months to come. I am in the habit of riding from ten to thirty or sometimes forty mile a day. We dine at 5 o'clock as plain as you do in your own house, Lady Lansdown plays for an hour on the harpsichord, not very well but without any pretensions, and we go to bed at eleven. We'll consider and treat you as a father. Every person about the house reveres and respects you, and you'll make us very happy, which is the next thing to being happy yourself. In the mean time I hope to know that you have fix'd upon some of your relations to live with you, for you must not live alone, and that you exert yourself.

Believe me, my dear Friend, most affectionately yours.

Lansdown

To the Marquis of Lansdowne

Oct: 2d 1786

My Lord

I can scarcely express how much I have been impress'd by the great kindness of your Lordship's letter. It convey'd to me a pleasing tho' very affecting consolation. The event for which I am grieving has indeed given a dreadful shock to my feelings. The friend I have lost had been for near thirty years unspeakably pleasant and useful to me; but I believe a benevolent and perfect direction of all events, and I look forward to a resurrection from death and a reunion of all the virtuous in a better world. I am often recurring to the sources of consolation, and also chiding myself for being so much cast down by an event which I had been so long expecting, and which, all circumstances consider'd, has so much mercy mingled with it, for she retained her senses and memory to the last and was taken away before she got into that more dismal state which the progress of the distemper threaten'd and which I was continually dreading. My judgment, therefore, submits, and my heart is resign'd tho' my spirits are over-power'd. Time I hope, will relieve me. At present I suffer sadly, and my days and nights are spent in a constant struggle to keep off a remembrance once most agreeable, but now grievous and distressing. Your Lordship has experienc'd troubles of this kind with which mine can bear no comparison. They have a tendency to do us the greatest good by teaching us some of the most important lessons; and I hope to find myself, as your Lordship does, a better and in the end a happier man for them. My life has hitherto been almost uniformly happy, and I am truly grateful to the giver of it. This has been my first great affliction, and I should be no less base than foolish were I to murmur and repine under it, however sharp the anguish may be which it occasions.

It is impossible for me to thank your Lordship sufficiently for offering either to come up to London immediately to contribute to my comfort or to receive me at Bowood where I should be entirely private. The former is a favour I cannot think of and which would make me unhappy by being so great. The circumstances of Lady Lansdown's concurring in the letter and even first proposing it is a strong proof of her condescension and goodness. I once thought of retiring immediately to Glamorganshire to hide myself there for some time among my relations; and had I executed this design I should undoubtedly have given myself the pleasure of making some stay at your Lordship's in the way. But I have given up this design, and determined to endeavour to reconcile myself as soon as I can to the house and situation

where my duty lies. I am at present at a little lodging of my Nephew Morgan's at Sydenham to which I fled, leaving to him the management of all that was necessary to be done. To-morrow I return to Newington-Green where I hope to be able to spend the winter.

I have heard nothing lately of a person I love and respect, I mean Colonel Barre. I wish my best remembrances to be convey'd to him when your Lordship either sees him or writes to him.

What trouble must Lady Chatham,¹ Mr. Pitt and Mr. Elliot² be in? Such are the events to which great and little are all equally devoted.

My respectful compliments wait on Lady Lansdown. May she and your Lordship be long continued happy in one another.

I have attended to nothing political lately, but any thing that would divert my thoughts would be of service to me.

This letter should have been sent sooner; and I begun it some days ago; but found I could not finish it, without dwelling longer than I could bear on the subject of it.

Accept of the repetition of my acknowledgments of your Lordship's sympathy and friendship. With great regard I am, My Lord,

ever yours
Richd Price

1. Hester, the first Countess of Chatham and the mother of William Pitt.

2. In Sept. 1786 Lady Harriot Eliot, Pitt's sister, had died after giving birth to a daughter. Lady Harriot was the wife of Edward James Eliot, whom she had married in Sept. 1785. Eliot was M.P. for St. Germans (1780-84) and Liskeard (1784-97) and a lord of the treasury from July 1782 to Apr. 1783 and from Dec. 1783 to 1792. The Eliots lived at No. 10 Downing Street where Lady Harriot frequently acted as Pitt's hostess.

To John Adams

Newington Green Oct. 5th 1786

Dear Sir,

I am sorry I could not have the pleasure of seeing you and Colonel Smith when you did me the favour to call upon me. I found I could not stay in the House, and therefore fled to Sydenham, leaving my Nephew and other friends to manage a business that I could not think of without being overpowered. Tho' the event has been long expected and was indeed, in the circumstance of the late dear companion of my life, more a seasonable deliverance than a calamity, yet it has severely shocked my spirits. My life has

hitherto been almost uniformly happy, and I am truly grateful to the giver of it. This has been my first great affliction, and I shall be no less base than foolish were I not to receive it with resignation and to bow to the authority that appoints it. But my feelings I cannot yet conquer. The remembrance which my thoughts are continually forcing upon me create an anguish not to be express'd. I am now at home endeavouring to reconcile myself by degrees to the house and situation where my duty lies; but I mean to go again to Sydenham tomorrow. Next week I intend to endeavour to divert my thoughts by going an easy journey for four or five days. As soon as I am settled at home (which will be probably the week after next) I shall take the first opportunity to pay my respects to you and Colonel Smith. Next Sunday Wm. Tayler,¹ the minister of Carter-Lane meeting-house sometimes called little St. Paul's is to administer the sacrament for me at Hackney and to deliver a funeral sermon but without any particular notice of the deceased. On Sunday sen-night I shall provide a supply who probably will be my Nephew from Yarmouth;² and on Sunday fort-night I hope I shall have recover'd my spirits so far as to be able to return to my usual services. Deliver my best respects to Mrs. Adams and Mrs. and Colonel Smith. With sincere gratitude for the attention and friendship with which they and you have honoured me, I am, Dear Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant
Richd Price

1. The minister at Carter-Lane at this time was not William Tayler, but Thomas Tayler. Thomas Tayler (1735–1831) was educated at Daventry under Caleb Ashworth and became an assistant tutor there in 1757. At one time he was family chaplain to Mrs. Elizabeth Abney at Stoke Newington. In 1767 he became assistant minister and in 1778 pastor at Carter-Lane. He retired in 1816. See Jeremy, p. 169; Wilson, II, 160–63.

2. George Cadogan Morgan.

To the Marquis of Lansdowne

Newington:Green Oct: 9th 1786.

My Lord

Soon after I had sent my last letter¹ to the Post, I received the favour of your Lordship's second letter,² which I find full of kindness and the best advice. In consequence of weak spirits, an event which I had been long expecting and preparing for, and which in reality was more a mercy than a

ORIGINAL: Bowood. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

1. R.P. to Lansdowne, 2 Oct. 1786.

2. Lansdowne to R.P., 29 Sept. 1786.

calamity, has made very deep impressions on my mind. But I am now better, and hope I shall gradually recover my spirits, and be able to return to my usual employments. My resignation to the appointment of providence in this event I have never lost; but your Lordship must be sensible that there are on such occasions sufferings and feelings which convictions and principles are no more capable of removing than they can remove the pains of the gout or stone. But the author of nature has wisely and kindly formed us; and I am often asking myself whether it is probable that I should be better than the being who gave me my tender sensibilities.

The sufferings attending them are plainly necessary to prevent greater sufferings, and it is order'd that time shall in a great measure remove them. I am, at present, a good deal relieved and assisted by the company of my nephews and neices; and I myself more capable of attending to and of deriving support from the proper sources of consolation. I have sent for one of my sisters³ to town, who with one of her daughters will live with me and keep my house for me. The prosecution of two works which I have had in hand for some time; together with my professional duties at Hackney, will help to divert my attention this winter; and I hope, by these and other means, to be able to keep myself tolerably comfortable and tranquil during the short period of my survivorship, and till the time shall come when I shall follow my dear wife and meet her in a better state.

One of the works I mean is the publication of a set of discourses (deliver'd at Hackney) in compliance with the request of the congregation there.⁴ The first five of these discourses your Lordship will probably think too controversial, tho' one of my principal intentions in them is to promote candour and charity among christians by showing them that they are agree'd with respect to the information which Christianity was intended to communicate and which is most interesting to us as erring and mortal creatures. The rest of these discourses are on subjects entirely moral and practical, such as the security and happiness of a virtuous course, the goodness of the Diety etc.

The other work I mean is a third edition of my Treatise on morals.⁵ This Treatise has been long out of print, and I have been for some time busy in endeavouring to improve it by correcting some of the worst defects in the style and adding a set of notes and a Dissertation on the being and attributes of the Diety.

Colonel Barre made me particularly happy by his kind visit last week. Deliver my best respects to him. I am very much honoured by the kind manner in which your Lordship urges me to come to Bowood. I should, I doubt not, experience there every attention I could wish for; but there are several reasons which will not suffer me at present to think of any long

3. Sarah Morgan.

4. I.e., *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine*.

5. I.e., *Review*.

absence from home; and all I have intended is, to endeavour to dissipate my thoughts by going a little journey for four or five days to the seaside; but I am now doubtful whether I shall do this. My best wishes wait on Lady Lansdown and your little son. I hope good accounts continue to be received of Lord Wycombe. A Venetian Nobleman,⁶ who called upon me last week, told me he was at Vienna at the same time with him, and spoke highly of him.

I am glad your Lordship rides twenty or thirty miles every day. So much exercise added to the tranquility of the country, and domestic comfort must be the best means of preserving health. I hope, however, that the time is not very distant when I may have the pleasure of seeing you in town. Your Lordship's favourable opinion of me makes a considerable part of my happiness; and, under a grateful sense of it and with invariable respect, I am,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,
Richd Price

6. Possibly Count Soderini, member of a distinguished Italian family. He became resident in London from the Republic of Venice in Feb. 1786 and, after leaving, returned in Sept. in the company of the archduke and archduchess of Austria. Wycombe could have met him in Vienna during his extensive travels in 1786. See *New Annual Register* (London, 1786), pp. 40, 43.

From John Howard

Venice Lazaretto Oct, 13th 1786

My dear friend

I am just arrived, having been two months tossed about by the equinoctial and contrary Winds, and nearly taken by a Tunis privateer; but one of our largest cannon being fully loaded with spikes and old iron, came directly in the midst of all the Men, they then hoisted sails and to our great joy went off;¹ (I think I should have been a poor prize, the dey must have me Gardian to his Seraglio). I came out from Smyrna with a foul bill which indeed I preferred, as I should see the strictest quarantien, but as a ship is just arrived before us in which the Captain and some of the passangers and Crew died of the Plague, I was ordered to a sad infectious place and devoured with Vermin, but the magistrates have had compassion on me, and have just removed me to a

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the full permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. There are various versions of this encounter. They range from the brief factual description by Howard to the claim by one of his biographers that Howard rallied the men, got them to load the cannon, and then pointed and fired it himself. See Southwood, p. 107; also Field, pp. 373-74.

better place; my present room almost covered with water but I have a good fire and am soon to have a better habitation; my guards report being that I am well.² My calm spirits, nor resolution did in none of these instances forsake me; but alas! on the receipt of my Letters I can hardly lift up my head; I must call them accumulated misfortunes, as to the greatest, I must say with Job, "shall I receive good from the hand of God, and shall I not receive evil"—or with David "Though my House is not with God, yet I trust with me He has made etc"³

As to the other sad Event, could not my friends have stopped it, can nothing now be done? A Statue or public picture I have a great dislike to; when desired to sit for the latter I testified my aversion to it; for alas our best performances have such a miserable alloy of corruption, that the desire of praise is Vanity and presumption, and must be Pain to a thinking Mind. Highly improper, as a private Man a neglected education—a firm Dissenter anti-Ministerial Man in American and many other Affairs. and though Providence seems to cut me out a wandering Life, yet my choice and love was ever to a domestic and retired Life. These *all unite* to make such a measure improper: Oh! my friend speak to Mr Tatnell, he is sensible and knows well the world. Any advertisement you put in with my name *I will confirm*; that long friendship, that I esteem my honour and happiness to have had with you, must make you fully acquainted with my Temper. There is no picture there is no Bust and I shall never sit for any.⁴

2. For a detailed account of his forty-two days in the lazaretto in Venice, see *Lazaretto*, pp. 10–22.

3. A lament for his son, John Howard, the Younger (1765–99). As a child and adolescent, he accompanied his father on several tours. He studied briefly at several schools, Nottingham under George Walker, Edinburgh under Thomas Blacklock, Cambridge under Robert Robinson, and Daventry under Thomas Belsham. His high-spirited behavior from childhood became more and more erratic in his late teens and early twenties, prompting the Reverend Thomas Smith of Cardington, who shared the use of Howard's house, to send his father reports of young Howard's drunkenness and wild parties. Received by Howard in Venice on 11 Oct. 1786, these reports were the occasion for his quotations here from Job and David. In 1787 young Howard was confined in a private asylum in London, hopelessly mad. Later released, he was cared for by the Leeds and Whitbread families until his death. Medical, symptomatic, and historical evidence indicate he contracted venereal disease in Edinburgh and that, without treatment, it developed into dementia praecox. For details and a discussion of some of the controversy about father-son relationships and responsibility, see Southwood, pp. 98–99, and Derek Lionel Howard, *John Howard: Prison Reformer* (London, 1959), pp. 114–16, 152.

4. Dr. John Warren, an English clergyman, had met Howard in Rome. In May 1786, back in England, Warren wrote a letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine* proposing a public monument in honor of Howard and his achievements. By the time Howard learned of the project, this "sad Event," this "hasty measure," in Price's phrase, it had grown to sizable proportions. Nevertheless, Price and other friends of Howard, who knew he would be averse to it, were able to bring it to an end during Howard's life, even though the enthusiasts, led by Dr. J. C. Lettsom, prevailed after Howard died. See John Howard to R.P., 25 Oct. and 14 Dec. 1786, and R.P. to Dr. Lettsom, 3 Nov. and 8 Nov. 1786.

I have here 40 days abode, soon after I shall hasten home through Vienna and Holland. I hope not to be stopped by the German snows as all the Post Wagons were before last Christmas day.

My friend has his share of afflictions, I mourn with Him; Affect Compliments to Mrs. Price, Nephew, Neices, as most sincerely I am yours

John Howard

P S my truest, intimate, and best friends have I see by the Papers been so kind as not to subscribe to what you so justly term *hasty measure*. Indeed, indeed if nothing now can be done, I speak from *my heart*, never poor Creature was more draged out in publick. Yet I have my hopes that some happy expedient will occur to you or Mr Tatnall that after my Irish and English Tour I may retire in Obscurity.

Adieu, Adieu,
J.H

From James Sullivan¹

Boston 16th October, 1786

Reverend Sir,

I am really much indebted by your obliging letter with which I was favoured some time ago.² You were very kind in giving me liberty to communicate to you any thing respecting infringements upon the sacred rights of conscience which might happen in our Commonwealth. There is no one, Sir, on the globe to whom I should apply myself in difficulties of this sort sooner than to you. But I am very happy to inform you that the Judges of our Supreme Judicial Court, have given *at last* such a construction to our declaration of rights as sets this point upon a liberal and safe footing.³ I shall not do you justice without observing that I believe your letter did much towards it.

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 352. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. James Sullivan (1744–1808), lawyer, statesman, author, first president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, governor of Massachusetts, 1807–8. Active in a variety of fields of public improvement, he was a member of a committee including Joseph Willard and Edward Wigglesworth to establish a plan for annuities for the widows of ministers in Massachusetts. See Joseph Willard to R.P., 29 July 1786. After the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society was incorporated, Willard was its first president and Sullivan its first vice president. See Thomas C. Amory, *Life of James Sullivan*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1859), I, 359.

2. Not located.

3. Sullivan had been active in writing a constitution for Massachusetts in 1779 and 1780 along with John Adams, James Bowdoin, Samuel Adams, and others. He served as a justice

I have the honor to send you the Memoirs of the American Academy. You have no doubt received one of the books before but I wish to testify the great respect I have for you. This may enable you to give one to a friend. It will be delivered perhaps some time after you receive this letter by my particular friend Mr. Martin of Portsmouth in New Hampshire.

The enclosed paper may serve as a hint of the disagreeable situation we are in here. Insurrections increase upon us, and our troubles arising from a want of firmness in government threaten our very existence as a government.⁴ But I hope in Heaven that all may soon subside.

I am, dear Sir, with the most sincere veneration,

Your most obliged and most humble servant,
James Sullivan.⁵

of the supreme court of Massachusetts from 1776 to 1782, when he resigned to practice law. His interpretation of the laws concerning rights was, in general, along liberal and individualistic lines, both religious and political, as his remark to Price would indicate. For example, on 25 June 1785 he successfully defended the Reverend John Murray against a charge of the court requiring election "by a corporate society" in order that his parish could receive money for his teachings. In the late summer of 1786, as a member of the council to judge those who had participated in Shay's Rebellion, Sullivan recommended clemency, particularly in the case of one Jason Parmenter. See Amory, *Life of Sullivan*, I, 181–85, 202–7.

4. See R.P. to Joseph Willard, 22 Jan. 1787, n.4.

5. The following notes are written on the manuscript of this letter: "From Mr Sullivan Boston Oct: 16th 1786. Answered Jan. 22nd 1787 [not located] and a volume of sermons sent at the same time by a Captain employed by Mr. Lewis, adding that Dr. P's advice was a means of giving a liberal assertion [?] to its declaration and asserting its rights of consent [?] Banks, Camden President, First Lord of the Treasure, Secretary of State, Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir W. Watson, Henry Cav[endish], Sir William Musg[rove].]"

From Joseph Priestley

Birm. Octr 23, 1786.

Dear Friend,

I am happy to find that your mind grows more composed after the severe stroke under which you suffer.¹ I doubt not but that, in time, you will gain a great degree of tranquility, and will be able to pass the remainder of life with much satisfaction and comfort. I shall rejoice in any plan of life that is most

ORIGINAL: The Bodleian Library. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: Rutt, I, 397–98. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Bodleian Library. Rutt's conjectures are in brackets.

1. That is, the death of Mrs. Price.

favourable to your enjoyment of it, but should think that an occasional excursion from London must have a good effect.

Your retirement from the pulpit, for some time, is certainly very proper; but I would not have you *as yet* think of doing it altogether. You have still great vigour of constitution, and can hardly employ it better; and it may even have a greater effect if you be not confined to constant duty.

If I had not something better in view for Mr Morgan,² I should be sorry for the uncertainty you express of his being chosen at Hackney.³ But surely the fund of the Academy will very well admit of giving a tutor a better salary than he can expect from Hackney;⁴ and a more proper person than your nephew will not easily be found in this Kingdom.⁵ You have probably seen a letter I wrote to Dr Kippis⁶ containing some ideas of mine with respect to the plan of the intended academy. He told me he would send it to Mr Rogers. I should be glad to hear your thoughts on the subject. I [shall send] Mr Lindsey a copy of it, and in that way you will have an [opportunity] of seeing [it.] Much will depend upon [setting] out well, and I hope that [the hints I have] taken liberty to suggest [will not pass] without due consideration. As I [value your] happiness, I cannot help being con[cerned at the] idea of your engaging in so troub[lesome and] laborious [a] business as that of a *Tu*[tor.] You can hardly have a just idea what [it is. An] occasional discourse from a person of [your] character might have an excellent effect and⁷ would better become your dignity, and you might always choose your subject.⁸ But I ramble too much. With every good wish for your great happiness, I remain, Dear Friend,

Yours most affectionately,
J. Priestley

2. George Cadogan Morgan.

3. New College, Hackney.

4. The Gravel Pit Meeting House, Hackney.

5. Rutt omits these two sentences.

6. Not located.

7. Rutt reads, "... effect. It ...".

8. For details about Price and the college at Hackney, see R.P. to Lansdowne, 26 July 1786, 23 Sept. 1787; R.P. to John Howard, c. 31 Jan. 1789.

From John Howard

Venice Lazaretto October 25th 1786

I know my kind friend will excuse me for writing a week after my last letter, wherein I desired He would see Mr. Tatnall, and that I would consent to, and confirm what you both thought proper; I write to him this post to inform him of your Visit, and that I know not the person who first put it in the Magazine, as I saw but a few people at Rome; but this I am sure of, he (or she) knew little of my disposition; for as I now told Mr. Tatnell, the request to my executor was not to exceed Ten Pounds in my burial; and my Tomb to be only a plain slip of marble placed under my Henrietta's in Cardington Church, with this Inscription, John Howard Died—Aged—My Hope is in Christ.

And as I knew I was going on a dangerous enterprise; the last words I said to my Servant which I left at Cardington was relative to my Tomb, that my executor (and my Son) might know that my mind was fixed and unaltered. I am vexed and distressed, humbled and abased with the affair. Surely the Committee will at my earnest request postpone it till my death? and that when the present enthusiasm is over, and reason takes place, my dying request may have some weight. I truly am very underserving of such (disagreeable) encomiums; I bless God I know myself too well to have the least degree of pleasure in them; I now see my Path strewn with Thorns, and that it requires a far superior Wisdom than my own, to act a wise, honourable and proper part: I am happy to have such friends in whom I confide.

I am pretty well, my spirits flowing in their usual stream; I am in an upper room but very cold, very offensive; I shall next Week privately try the lime and boiling Water, for on my mentioning it; They cry out of the impropriety and unhealthiness of it; and would not lay in the room for a Month after it; but I shall the same night; as I am persuaded it is an excuse for their Neglect, inattention and dirtiness.

I have sent six of my Plans of Lazarettos etc. to be engraved in Holland, but I fear I shall not be at Amsterdam till the end of January. Seeing in the Paper (which our Consul sends me) the high price of Provisions, My Mind reverts to Turkey Greece Dalmatia etc. I noted down what I saw paid for fine fat Beef, 3 paras 1 Asper (= 2 pen 1/2 penny) an Oke = 2 lbs 12 1/5 oz (40 Okes = 112 lb.) Mutton the same price (but in the Morea 6 per oke) a Live calf 6s and 8, 8 fine fowls 3s and 1 1/2. Grapes many of which I measured 4 in. by 3 1/4 I paid 1 para and 1 Asper an oke (but they are not so sweet as the smaller sort) an Asper is 1/3 of a Para. 215 Para = a Venetian Sequin. 20 fine figs 3/para, Claret 2 paras about 3 pints, this is so cheap as you know the Turks drink no

Wine, and are very temperate in eating; many disorders that other Europeans are subject to, are hardly known among them; as Gout, stone, etc, it is so fine a Climate, that they would increase beyond conception, if it was not for that dreadful Scourge; they are fond of Children, the Women always wishing for Twins; if you say, how will you maintain them, they answer, I know the Plague will take half of them.

But I shall tire you. I ever remain affectionately yours,

John Howard

PS When Mr. Leeds¹ and Mr. Whitbread² were applied to, I hear their Answer was "That they were too much my friend to subscribe to a Thing that they knew would be disagreeable to me." such an Answer surely should have satisfied reasonable Men.

Adieu, adieu,
JH

I am under a Promise by Letter to two or three of the Irish Members, that soon after my return I would visit the Gaols that they wrote to me about a year ago. I shall perhaps cross into Scotland and I intended a present (of which I had spoke to some booksellers) of a Bible I will [have] chained to every County Goal in England etc., as my farewell Legacy.

Yours,
JH

1. Edward Leeds (1728–1803), brother of Henrietta, Howard's second wife. Master in Chancery, sheriff for Cambridgeshire, M.P. for Reigate (1784–87).

2. Probably Samuel Whitbread (1720–96), a wealthy brewer.

From Benjamin Rush

Philadelphia October 27th 1786

Dear Sir,

This letter will be handed to you by the Reverend Dr. White¹ of this city who goes to London in order to be consecrated Bishop of Pennsylvania. He is

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *Rush Letters*, I, 408–9. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. William White (1784–1836) was the first Protestant Episcopal bishop of the diocese of Pennsylvania. A graduate of the College of Philadelphia in 1765 (later, in a way, the University of Pennsylvania), he was ordained deacon in London in 1770 and priest in 1772. He returned to America as assistant minister of Christ Church and became rector of the parish during the Revolution when the Loyalist rector returned to England.

a gentleman of a most worthy and respectable character. With prospects of an affluent fortune, and with the most liberal connections, he early devoted himself to the service of the sanctuary. He has officiated as one of the ministers of the Episcopal Churches in our city for upwards of fourteen years with the utmost reputation. In every stage of the late war he was a consistent Whig. In the most doubtful stage of the war, he acted as Chaplain to the Congress. He is almost the only man I ever knew of real abilities, and unaffected purity, and simplicity of manners, that had not a single enemy. He carries with him the good wishes and prayers of thousands of his fellow citizens.

Accept of my thanks for your very agreeable favor of July 30th.²

I lament that your declining health will not permit you to undertake a second address to the citizens of America upon the subject of a new federal government. You will perceive by the papers that the Convention which was to have laid the foundation for that salutary measure in September last adjourned, from the want of sufficient powers for that purpose, till next May, *then* to meet in the city of Philadelphia.³

Some of our enlightened men who begin to despair of a more complete union of the States in Congress, have secretly proposed an Eastern Middle and Southern confederacy, to be united by an alliance offensive, and defensive. These confederacies they say will be united by nature—by interest—and by manners, and consequently they will be safe—agreeable and durable. The first will include the four New England States and New York. The second will include New Jersey—Pennsylvania—Delaware—and Maryland, and the last Virginia—North and South Carolina—and Georgia. The foreign and domestic debt of the United States, they say shall be divided justly between each of the new confederations. This plan of a new continental government is at present a mere speculation.⁴ Perhaps necessity—or rather divine providence, may drive us to it. Whatever form of political existence may be before us, I am fully satisfied that our independance rests upon a firm basis, and that Great Britain will never recover from any of our changes in opinion or government her former dominion or influence in this country.

The commotions in New England have happily subsided without the loss of a life or the effusion of one drop of kindred blood.⁵ If your countrymen should shew a disposition to rejoice in hearing of these commotions, it will

2. See R.P. to Benjamin Rush, 30 July 1786. Butterfield comments, "This letter, which is in the Rush MSS, XLIII, contains extremely interesting comments on American cultural progress." See *Rush Letters*, I, 410, n.1.

3. See Benjamin Rush to R.P., 22 Apr. 1786.

4. Butterfield notes, "A plan of regional confederation was being publically discussed as late as Apr. 1787; see Carl Van Doren, *The Great Rehearsal* (N.Y., 1948), 21; also Warren [Charles Warren], *The Making of the Constitution* (Boston, 1928), 205–206."

5. Rush was premature in his judgment that Shay's Rebellion had subsided without loss of blood. See R.P. to Joseph Willard, 22 Jan. 1787, n.4.

only be necessary to remind them of the present distractions in Ireland,⁶ or of the late mob conducted by Lord George Gordon in the city of London,⁷ to convince them that stability—contentment and perfect order, are no more the offsprings of monarchical, than of republican forms of government. The kingdoms of Europe have travelled into their present state of boasted tranquility thro' seas of blood. The republics of America are travelling into order and wise government, only thro' a sea of blunders.

Our venerable friend Dr Franklin has found considerable benefit from the use of the remedy you recommended to him,⁸ joined with the Blackberry Jam. He informed me a few days ago that he had not enjoyed better health for the last 30 years of his life than he does at present. His faculties are still in their full vigor. He amuses himself daily in superintending two or three houses which he is building in the neighbourhood of his dwelling house. One of them is for a printing office for his grandson—a promising youth who was educated by him in France.⁹

An important revolution took place on the 10th day of this instant in favor of the wisdom—virtue—and property of Pennsylvania. Mr Robert Morris—the late financier of the United States is at the head of the party that will rule our State for the insuing year.¹⁰ This gentleman's abilities—eloquence—and

6. The "Whiteboys" of southern Ireland, so called because of their white cockades and frocks, were opposed to enclosure of land and tithing. Originating as early as 1727, they were more or less numerous or active depending on laws and practices of farming and tithe-proctoring. See W. E. H. Lecky, *A History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, abridged by Lewis P. Curtis, Jr. (Chicago, 1972), pp. 115–28. In 1786, about the time of this letter from Rush, they "committed depredations which threatened to reduce a great part of Ireland to absolute anarchy" (*ibid.*, pp. 122–23).

7. The "Gordon Riots." Lord George Gordon (1751–93) organized and made himself head of the Protestant associations formed to effect the repeal of the Catholic Relief Act of 1778.

8. See R.P. to Benjamin Franklin, 5 Nov. 1785.

9. Butterfield notes, "On these activities of Franklin, see [Carl] Van Doren, [*Benjamin Franklin*] (New York, 1938), p[p]. 739–41, 769. The grandson was Benjamin Franklin Bache (1769–1798), who had been secretary to his grandfather abroad and who later founded the violently Anti-federalist Newspaper, the *Aurora* (DAB)" (*Rush Letters*, I, 410). He was the son of Franklin's only daughter, Sarah.

10. Robert Morris (1734–1806). After brief schooling in Philadelphia, he joined the shipping firm of the Willing family. He rose to become a member of the firm and devoted himself for thirty-nine years to Willing, Morris, and Company and its successors, including active direction for most of that time.

The exact meaning of Rush's remark is not clear. Benjamin Franklin was certainly titular head of the "Republicans" and president of the council from 1785 to 1788 under the state constitution of 1776. Morris was active in the Republican party that made substantial gains in the state elections in autumn 1786 but could be called the head of that party only in some informal sense. See Robert L. Brunhouse, *The Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776–1790* (Harrisburg, Pa., 1942), pp. 191–93; cited in *Rush Letters*, I, 410. See also William Graham Sumner, *The Financier and Finances of the American Revolution*, 2 vols. (New York, 1841).

integrity place him upon a footing with the first legislators and patriots of ancient and modern times. It is expected the charter of the Bank of North America will be restored,¹¹ and that the College of Philadelphia (seized by fraud and force by Dr. Ewing and his friends) will be given back to its original and just owners.¹²

If you should conclude to publish any part of my letters, I have only to request that you would not connect the extracts from them with my name.

With the greatest respect, and the most fervent wishes that your useful life may be prolonged for *many—many* years to come, I am Dear Sir your

sincere friend and most humble servant.

Benjn Rush.

11. Rush's optimism was in fact based on Morris's membership in Pennsylvania's General Assembly. He was there for the specific purpose of working to restore the charter that had been granted by the assembly on 26 Mar. 1782 but annulled on 13 Sept. 1785. Morris, with the help of others, was successful in getting a new charter on 17 Mar. 1787. See Lawrence Lewis, Jr., *A History of the Bank of North America* (Philadelphia, 1882), pp. 24–74.

12. The complication indicated by Rush was a part of the general difficulties created by the Revolution for American colleges. In this case it was not only that the building had been occupied for a time by provincial forces with all the consequent disruptions, but a significant change had occurred in the political and social structure of the state, roughly from "aristocratic" to "democratic." Members of the new assembly disliked what they considered the loyalist tinge of the college, its half-hearted support of the Revolution, and its Anglican connections, which carried over to doubts about the patriotism of its provost, William Smith. On 2 Jan. 1778, sitting at Lancaster during the British occupation of Philadelphia, they passed an act "For suspending the powers of the Trustees of the College and Academy for a limited time."

In the consequent reorganization, the old trustees and administrators were dismissed, new ones appointed or elected, the name was changed to the University of the State of Pennsylvania, and Charles Ewing was elected provost by a margin of one vote by the new trustees. See Edward P. Cheyney, *History of the University of Pennsylvania, 1740–1940* (Philadelphia, 1940), pp. 17–125.

These seem to be the facts of the matter in what Rush calls seizure "by fraud and force by Dr. Ewing and his friends." As Butterfield remarks, "For a number of reasons, not all of them clear, BR conceived an implacable hatred for Ewing, of whom he used stronger language than he did of any of his other antipathies." See *Rush Letters*, I, 297.

To John Coakley Lettsom¹

Newington-Green Nov: 3d 1786

Dr. Price presents his respects to Dr. Lettsom and requests his attention to the

ORIGINAL: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

1. John Coakley Lettsom (1744–1815), physician, philanthropist, Quaker.

following copy of part of a letter which he has just received from Mr. Howard. He hopes it will engage Dr. Lettsom and the other gentlemen belonging to the Committee for erecting a Monument in honour of Mr. Howard to give up this design, and to apply the whole money subscribed to the fund for prison charities and reforms. But should they not consent to this, Dr. Price will think himself bound to publish, for the information of the public, the letter he has received, and to employ every other method in his power to prevent a design from being carried into execution which he knows will hurt Mr Howard extremely.

Copy of part of a letter from Mr Howard to Dr Price dated from the Lazaretto at Venice Oct 13 *th* 1786²

My difficulties have hitherto left me in possession of my usual resolution and calm spirits. But alas now, since the receipt of my letters from London, they have forsaken me and I can hardly lift up my head. Could not my friends have prevented this sad event? Can nothing now be done? To a Statue or public picture I have a great dislike. When desired some time ago to sit for the latter I declared my aversion to it. Any advertisement you will put into the papers with my name against this design I will confirm. That long friendship with which I esteem my honour and happiness must make you fully acquainted with my temper. I will have no bust; nor will I ever sit for any picture etc. etc."

P.S. "My truest, and best and most intimate friends have I see by the papers been so kind as not to subscribe to what you so justly term a hasty measure. Indeed indeed, if nothing can be done (I speak from my heart) never was a poor creature more dragg'd into public view. Yet I have my hope that some happy expedient will occur to you."

2. A comparison with John Howard to R.P., 13 Oct. 1786, will show that the copy is not exact.

From Samuel Vaughan, Jr.¹

Philadelphia 4th November 1786

My dear Sir,

I am favord with your acceptable letter of 1 August,² and feel with strong sensibility the affliction You must be under for the helpless and deplorable state of Mrs Price; happy it is that Your philosophy and christian fortitude is so well calculated to support You under so distressing dispensations of providence in this transitory state, resting on well grounded hopes of a future just and merciful retribution when you will assuredly have Your full reward. I most sincerely hope Your trip to Brighton may establish your health, spirits and usefulness for a long, long period.

Before my departure from England, You wished to retire from part of Your pastoral care and labours; Your now undertaking to give lectures in the rising Accademy,³ is an illustrious proof of Your unabated, persevering zeal for extending Your usefulness, nor do I think you could have found a better line to render essential service to the rising generation than by employing Your credit and labours in promoting that Young and so much wanted Seminary of learning, for the extention of useful knowledge on rational principles, at a period when the Dissenting Interest is rapidly declining and many academies that were designed for like purposes faln to decay.

I am rejoiced to hear that after so long solicitation of Your friends, You are at length persuaded to publish a volume of Sermons, in perusal of which I promise my self much pleasure and profit. I also rejoice to hear the amiable Miss Priestley⁴ is so well married, but under great concern to hear the return

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. The editors of *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 354n, "The writer of this letter (born June 22, 1762, died Dec. 4, 1802) was one of the numerous children of Samuel and Sarah (Hallowell) Vaughan, and brother of Benjamin and John Vaughan. (See N. E. Hist. and Gen. Regist., vol. xix., p. 355.) He was a member of the American Philosophical Society."

There is no doubt that Samuel Vaughan wrote the letter, but the date of his death is not clear. In the "List of the Members of the American Philosophical Society" (Philadelphia, 1865), p. 12, we find "Samuel Vaughan, Esq., Died December 4, 1802 aet. 83," and on p. 13 we find "Samuel Vaughan, Jr., of Jamaica. Died ". John H. Sheppard, "Reminiscences and Genealogy of the Vaughan Family," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (Oct. 1865), p. 26, gives 4 Dec. 1802 as the date of death of Samuel, Jr., but does not give a date for Samuel, Sr. Robert E. Schofield, *A Scientific Autobiography of Joseph Priestley* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), p. 372, gives a brief biography, but no dates.

2. Not located.

3. New College, Hackney.

4. Sarah Priestley (1763–1803), Priestley's first child and only daughter, married William Finch (1756–1831) of Heath Forge. See Ronald A. M. Dixon, "Priestley's Daughter and Her Descendants," *T.U.H.S.*, vol. 5 (1931–34), pp. 43–68, 289–98, 411–16.

of the Doctors complaint.⁵ God grant his valuable and useful life may be prolonged to pursue his rapid, valuable, original discoveries and researches into the works of Nature; he is indeed a most wonderful and good Man, without a parallel. Many here wish he would drop his Theological pursuits and stick to Philosophical.

I spend many agreeable evenings with our good friend Doctor Franklin, who except for the Stone, which prevents his using exercise, except in walking in the house up and down stairs, and sometime to the State-house (which is one eighth of a mile distant) still retains his health, spirits and memory beyond all conception, insomuch that there are few transactions, subjects or publications, Ancient or Modern, that are of any note but what he retains and when necessary in conversation will repeat and retain with wonderful facility. He bathes twice a week stately (for hours) in a hot bath, instead of Relaxation, he enjoys and finds benefit from it. He desires his kind remembrance to You and the members of the Club. He has been again chosen President unanimously.⁶

I hope Mr Courtland⁷ will succeed in Albany, tho the soil (except at a distance from the Mohawk River and near Fort Stanwick) is generally poor and but little Society even in the City except Young Lawyers training for the Bar.

My opinion and expectations respecting America are not altered; true it is, that many improvements are wanted, and the Constitution of this State and some others very deficient; it however requires much time to reform States, but the evils will in due time remedy themselves, when Commerce, etc., comes to a level; Taxes at present lies heavy on the people, tho' their debt is a drop of the bucket when compared with their Resources of land and produce as the Continent becomes better settled. The improvements making in many of the Seminaries of Learning and provisions made by grants of land for many others about to be established in the back States will defuse general knowledge; Suffering and experience will open the eyes of the people, and it may be expected in due time that habits of sobriety, industry and frugality will promote good morals and I have the pleasure to inform You, that the inconsistent acts passed and often repealed by the Assembly of this State since their Independence have already roused the people's attention, insomuch that the faction called the Constitutionalists, who since the Revolution have ruled with despotic sway, met with an unexpected defeat the last election for members of Assembly, by the Whigs, who go under the name of Republicans, whose interest will yearly encrease by the young Quakers arriving at age, who are not subject to the iniquitous Test Law, and who are perhaps the most moderate and

5. Probably gallstones. See Gibbs, p. 174.

6. He was elected president of Pennsylvania, in effect, by being elected president of the Executive Council by the members of the council. In 1785 the vote was 76 to 1 for Franklin, but in 1786 it was unanimous. See Isaac M. Hays, "The Chronology of Benjamin Franklin, Founder of the American Philosophical Society" (Philadelphia, 1904), p. 26.

7. Not further identified.

valuable set of people in this State.⁸ It is now thought there is a majority of Whigs in the Assembly, and it is expected that a charter for better regulating the police of this City will be obtained, the charter of the Bank restored and hopes of the repeal of the Test Law,⁹ with other reforms, but it yet may be feared from the number of Country Members, who are yet uninformed, jealous of and opposing the Cities and people in Trade, from an erroneous opinion of their having separate Interests, and for want of knowledge and experience have hitherto led by a few designing Men, that Business will not be conducted as well as could be wished; however from the provision made for defusing of knowledge in the several Counties and the power being where it should be, that is, in the hands of the people, it may be hoped and expected the evils when felt will remedy themselves. And indeed this may be expected from a recent instance in the Reforms made here in the Prayers, Psalms and Service of the Church of England¹⁰ (as soon as in their power) and that in fewer Months than has been done by enlightened Nations in Centuries, and it may be hoped that it will have further reforms yet, and that the example will stimulate and open the eyes of that perswasion in England to act likewise. You will see Doctor White,¹¹ who is gone in the packet for Consecration, and who has bore a uniform excellent Character and more liberal than most of his Brethren.

I hope ere this that Mrs Vaughan and family are safe arrived¹² and that You will often favor them with Your company, which will add much to their pleasure and happiness as well as greatly oblige, Dear Sir,

Your ever affectionate friend,
Saml Vaughan.

8. Dissatisfaction with the state constitution of 1776 led to opposition between those who wanted to retain it, with relatively few modifications (the "Constitutionalists"), and those who wanted major revisions or a new constitution (the "Republicans"). An example of the kind of inconsistency Vaughan may have had in mind was a motion of the legislative assembly in 1777 calling for a convention, opposition from the people, and the rescinding of the motion by the assembly in 1778. See *Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal, a History, 1608-1903*, ed. Howard M. Jenkins, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1903), II, 103-21.

9. See Benjamin Rush to R.P., 22 Apr. 1786, n.1.

10. See R.P. to Benjamin Rush, 30 July 1786, nn. 6 and 7.

11. See Benjamin Rush to R.P., 27 Oct. 1786.

12. See Benjamin Franklin to R.P., 29 July 1786, n.4, and Benjamin Rush to R.P., 2 Aug. 1786, n.1.

To John Coakley Lettsom

Newington Green Nov: 8th 1786

Dear Sir,

I have received with pleasure your letter and return you thanks for your attention and candour. I know so well the delicacy of Mr Howard's feelings and the purity of his views as to be assured that a perseverance in the design to erect in any form a statue or monument in honour of him would be a discouragement and punishment to him. He has authorized me to endeavour to prevent such a measure; but I am glad to learn from the letter with which you have favoured me, that I need not give myself any farther trouble.¹

The establishment of a Fund for prison charities and reforms must I apprehend, give him pleasure; and he will probably (should a kind providence continue to protect him till his return about Christmas next) be very ready to give his advice and assistance with respect to the best method of carrying such a design into execution. But I fear he will not admit of its being called the *Howardian* Fund.² It would undoubtedly be best, as you observe, to preserve the principal of this Fund and to apply only the interest. The chief objectio[n] to this seems to be the smallness of the capital; and consequen[tly] the insufficiency of the interest to give any considerable relief but it may be well hoped that the capital will in time become much larger than it is.³

With great regard I am, Dear Sir,
Your very obedient and humble servant
Richd Price

ORIGINAL: Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

1. Despite the apparent assurance in the letter mentioned by Price, which has not survived, Lettsom and others continued their endeavors. See Field, pp. 393–94.

2. Price was partly right. In a letter dated 16 Feb. 1787, published in various periodicals, Howard denied permission to call the sum raised by subscription the "Howardian Fund" and refused to concern himself with its disposal. A sum of £1,533 had been subscribed. The committee, which included Alderman Boydell, John Nicholls, Samuel Whitbread (Elder and Younger), the Rev. Dr. Pridden, and Mr. Willoughby, as well as Lettsom, offered to return whatever was reclaimed and to invest the remainder to be used later, either to complete the original plan or to promote some of Howard's plans. In the event, £500 was returned, £200 was used to liberate fifty-five prisoners in London, a medal was made for each contributor, and the remainder held in reserve to provide a monument after Howard's death. See Field, pp. 394–95.

3. It was not enlarged until after Howard's death. Then it was expanded by subscriptions and used to erect a monument by John Bacon, R.A., the famous sculptor, in St. Paul's Cathedral. It was the first statue of an individual in St. Paul's. James Johnston Abraham, *Lettsom: His Life, Times, Friends, and Descendants* (London, 1933), p. 249, implies that the statue of Samuel Johnson preceded Howard's. "Dr. Johnson's statue, by the same sculptor,

and also in St. Paul's was a single figure. It was thought that Howard's should be a single figure too, for the sake of uniformity." Bacon was in fact working on both statues at the same time, and uniformity was a consideration, to be sure, but Howard's statue was unveiled on 23 Feb. 1796 and Johnson's in Mar. See Ann Cox-Johnson, *John Bacon, R.A.* (London, 1901), p. 176.

To John Acland¹

Newington Green, Nov. 20, 1786

Dear Sir,

I have considered with much attention your Plan for making a general Provision for the Poor. It is impossible that the Principle on which it is founded, should not be universally approved; nothing being more plainly equitable and reasonable than "that the Poor, while young and in Health and Vigour, should be obliged by small Savings to contribute towards their own support when disabled by Sickness, Accident or Age". The many Clubs established for this Purpose, in different Parts of the Kingdom, however ill-informed their Plans generally are, prove this to be the Sense of the Poor themselves; and, therefore, afford a particular Encouragement to the Legislature to think of establishing some Plan of this Kind, and thus to ease the Public of a Burden that is grown almost intolerable. This is a Case in which the Powers of Compound Interest may be applied to the greatest Advantage, as will appear from the following Calculations.

A Body of 48 poor People aged 20 (and kept up to this number by Admissions at 20 or less) may, if they will save Wages by 2d per Week, and this saving is properly improved at no higher Interest than 3 *per Cent*, provide for themselves an Allowance of 2s per week for Life should they survive the Age

PRINTED: *A Plan for Rendering the Poor Independent of Public Contribution.* TEXT: *A plan for Rendering.* . . .

1. John Acland (d. 1796) was instituted to the vicarage of Broad Clyst in Devon in 1753. His *A Plan for Rendering the Poor Independent on Public Contribution* set forth a scheme to provide benefits for old age and for time of sickness and accident. All healthy persons over twenty-one and under thirty could participate on a voluntary basis. (For further details, see Sir Frederick M. Eden, *The State of the Poor* 3 vols. [London, 1797], I, 373ff.) Price's letter is a response to Acland's invitation to draw up the necessary actuarial tables. A bill incorporating the main provisions of the plan was drawn up and presented to Parliament. (See John Acland, *A Bill for the more effectual Relief of the Poor and Ascertaining the Settlement of Bastard Children* [Exeter, 1787].) The Select Committee of the House of Commons concerned with the management of the bill invited Price to draw up actuarial tables. These were later published after Price's death by William Morgan in his editions of Price's *O.R.P.*, 6th ed., pp. 473-94. *The Bill for the more effectual Relief of the Poor* passed the Commons on 8 June 1789 (*H.C.J.*, XLIV, 441) but it was allowed to lapse in the Lords. Although Acland's scheme failed to pass into law, Price's work did not prove fruitless, for his figures constituted the first attempt to provide probability tables for sickness. See Peter H. J. Gosden, *The Friendly Societies in England, 1815-1875* (Manchester, 1961), p. 100.

of 65; and also an Allowance of 4s per Week during Incapacitation by Sickness or Accident before that Age, supposing one or other of them (that is a 48th Part) to be always so incapacitated.

Your Plan, after the first Year, requires all the Poor to become Contributors, either at or before, or very soon after the Age now mentioned; and as far as it includes such Contributors, I cannot doubt of its Sufficiency for its own Support, without any Aid from the Poor Rate, provided only Care is taken to improve properly all Surplus Monies. I should also have no doubt of the Competency of your Plan, were it at its commencement to admit all under 30, or even 31, provided that for ever afterwards it admitted none whose Ages exceeded 21 or 22. But after 31, the Contributions of the lower Classes in your Plan become deficient; and from 50 to 55 they are extremely so, as will appear from a Table I have given below. But there are in the Plan some Advantages which probably will more than compensate this Deficiency. Particularly the Entrance Money required of all turned of 35; the gratuitous Subscriptions; and the Contributions of the highest Classes, which you have so contrived as to exceed greatly the Value of the Allowance promised. It is impossible to discover what the Proportion will be of the Numbers in these highest Classes to the Numbers in the lowest classes, perhaps it may not be very considerable, the lower People in every State being vastly more numerous than the higher. But there is Reason to expect that this Proportion may at least be considerable enough to compensate the Deficiency I have mentioned. Should it, however, fall short of this; the only Consequence will be, that the Poor Rate, which would have been otherwise almost annihilated, will be obliged to bear a small Part of the Burden now upon it.

In short; it seems to me, that your Plan has a Tendency to do the greatest Good, by affording, in the best Manner the most agreeable and useful Relief to the Poor; by encouraging Frugality, Industry and Virtue among them; and by promoting the Population of the Kingdom, and removing many of the Evils which attend our present Poor Laws. I will add what appears to me a further Recommendation of it, that it will substitute, in the Room of the present dangerous Plans of the Friendly Societies scattered through the Kingdom one general Plan of the same Kind, well-formed, substantial, and permanent. But you are better able than I am, to represent the advantages of your Plan; and therefore I will only add, that I admire your Zeal and public Spirit, and wish you more Success than Mr. Baron *Maseres* and myself met with some years ago, in endeavoring to procure the Establishment of such an Encouragement to industry and Support of the Poor in Old Age, as you are now proposing;²

With great Respect, I am,
Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

2. In the early 1770s Price had helped Francis Maseres prepare a national plan to provide annuities in old age for the working poor. Published by Maseres under the title *A Proposal for*

The Allowance in your Plan for Children exceeding two in Number under 8 Years of Age I have not noticed. It is impossible to calculate its Value: But I suppose that the Excess, which will appear in the following Table, of the Contributions required by your Plan from young Subscribers, for the Allowances on Account of Age and Sickness, must be more than equivalent to this Value.

Table. (showing the Values in Weekly Contributions of the Weekly Allowances for Old Age and for Sickness in Mr. Acland's Plan) [not included].

Establishing Life-Annuities in Parishes of the Industrious Poor (London, 1722), it provided the basis for a bill that passed the Commons but was defeated in the Lords in Mar. 1773. See Vol. I, 99–101, and D. O. Thomas, pp. 140–42.

From the Marquis of Lansdowne

Bowood Park, 22d Novr, 1786

My dear Friend,

It's very long since I have heard from you. I want to know how you go on, and hope to hear that the late changes of weather have not affected you too much.

I have taken the liberty of giving Mr. Playfair¹ a letter to you. He is the author of some commercial tables which you may have seen, as well as of one to shew the operation of a Sinking Fund. He is going to publish one to shew the different operation of annuities and perpetuities, with a treatise he desires to dedicate to me, but wishes to communicate his opinions first to you. When you have seen him, I shall be glad to have your opinion of him and his book. He is a Scotsman.

I have been much entertain'd with a *Life of Mr. Turgot* by Mr. Condorcet.² They are both great pedants, but the first was certainly a great man. I don't imagine he would have made a minister in any country, but he was a greater character. His virtues and good qualities overballance very far his failings. I am captivated with one of his ideas, that of establishing certain fix'd fundamental principles of law, commerce, morality and politicks comprehensive enough to embrace all religions and all countrys. It is to the inculcating these principles I want you, my dear friend, to dedicate your whole time, to cry down war throughout the world, which nothing can ever justifie, and to

ORIGINAL: The Bodleian Library. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 357. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Bodleian Library.

1. James Playfair (1738–1819), principal of St. Andrews, demographer, historian, statistician.

2. *Vie de M. Turgot* (1786). Despite a London imprint, it was published in Paris.

prove the advantages of peace, and the right which all countries have to require it of their sovereigns. If sovereigns are offended with each other, let them fight singlehanded, without involving their people in their silly quarrels. You have talents and character peculiarly adapted to give weight to these principles. Every one is sufficiently agreed about the existence of God and about his attributes, except some conceited men of letters, who are delighted to reason in the dark, and think themselves superior to the rest of the world, because they think they know what the rest of the world don't think worth knowing. I want you to keep better company. I cannot help thinking that the want of taste, observable in the present age for several matters of controversy, is not entirely owing to love of dissipation but that good sense has its share of the motive. But I am afraid of saying more upon a subject upon which you may very reasonably think I have no right to say any thing.

I observe the political world is entirely occupied about the French treaty.³ I need not tell you that as far as it goes it is perfectly agreeable to my principles. I am at a loss to account for the motives of either side in adopting the principles of armed neutrality. If it arises from no little secret motive, but is done with a view to soften the great evil of war, I must highly approve of that also, and can only wish that they had gone still further, and follow'd the example set by the late King of Prussia's treaty with America.⁴ But writing to you confidentially I own I am at a loss what to conjecture about its fate when Parliament meets.⁵ Our publick is so ignorant and so changeable, that its present popularity goes with me for nothing, and when I see on the one hand

3. The Anglo-French Commercial Treaty, more widely known as the Eden Treaty of 1786, after William Eden, later Lord Auckland. It was signed by Eden and Rayneval at Versailles on 26 Sept. 1786, debated in Parliament during Feb. 1787, ratified by the king in Mar., and went into effect on 10 May 1787. It was divided into distinct parts that covered navigation, commerce, and treatment of foreign traders and residents. It provided for "a reciprocal . . . liberty of navigation and commerce" under its conditions within the two domains and complete religious liberty for those visiting the other country. See John Ehrman, *The British Government and Commercial Negotiations with Europe, 1783-1793* (Cambridge, 1962), ch. 2, esp. pp. 60-62. See also David B. Horn, *Great Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 67-68.

4. "A Treaty of Amity and Commerce, between his Majesty the King of Prussia and the United States of America." It was signed for the United States by Benjamin Franklin in Passy on 9 July 1785, by Thomas Jefferson in Paris on 28 July 1785, and by John Adams in London on 5 Aug. 1785. It was signed for Prussia by F. G. de Thulemeier at The Hague on 10 Sept. 1785 and ratified by the United States Congress on 17 May 1786.

5. The treaty was received favorably at first, but opposition developed as the parliamentary session approached. On neither commercial, political, nor diplomatic grounds, however, were counterarguments of any great strength marshaled. During Feb. and early Mar. 1787 the treaty was debated on seven occasions in the Commons and on three occasions in the Lords. It was presented to the king on 8 Mar. Ports were opened on 10 May, only thirteen months after Eden had arrived on his mission to France. It was a remarkable achievement, in effect the first official act of the British government to make available foreign markets for the extensive products of their industrial revolution. See Ehrman, pp. 62-68, and Horn, *Great Britain and France*, p. 68.

however agreeable the whole treaty may be to me, several of the clauses contradicting directly the spirit of several laws pass'd only last session, other clauses founded on principles directly opposite to those which were maintain'd with the utmost violence in the Irish treaty by the very man who signs this,⁶ and the tendency of the whole very opposite to the passions and dispositions of some who have the most to say at present, I cannot conceive what is to come of it, or if it does pass in its present form, what can have produc'd such an incredible change. I know that a great deal is to be said for its passing besides its merits, and when I write to you upon this as well as many other subjects, I only think aloud, and wish for many reasons my private reflections to remain with you only. I shall be vastly troubl'd if it fails, for prejudice will get a new lease, and we shall be drove so far back in error.

I don't find any of my correspondents able to account for the late fall of the funds.⁷

Lady Lansdown desires her kind compliments and wishes much that you would spend at least a part of your holidays here. You would find only your friends, and no ladys except Miss Vernons,⁸ the eldest of whom is an extraordinary good young woman. They and Miss Fox are leaving the Dutchess of Bedford,⁹ and are to live with Mrs. Vernon.¹⁰ The old Dutchess as long as she can't keep her great houses does not care about keeping any thing else, and least of all her temper, which does not endure any thing which looks like retiring from power and greatness.

I am, dear Dr. Price, most affectionately yours,
Lansdown.

6. That is, William Eden. Lansdowne is calling attention to an irony. Eden is now vigorously promoting liberal commercial policies with France, many of them similar to those he had attacked with great skill, penetration, and power in the case of Ireland during 1785.

7. See R.P. to Lansdowne, 25 Nov. 1786, for Price's explanation.

8. The "Miss Vernons" were the daughters of Lady Shelburne's mother's second marriage, to Richard Vernon (1726–1800), known as "father of the turf." There were three daughters from that marriage, Henrietta (1760–1838) (married, in 1776, George Greville, second Earl Brooke of Warwick Castle and Earl of Warwick), Caroline Maria (1761–1833) (married, in 1797, Robert Percy Smith), and Elizabeth (1761–1830) (who did not marry). At the time of this letter Caroline and Elizabeth were at Bowood, along with Caroline Fox, as companions of Lady Shelburne. See Bentham: *Correspondence*, III, 49, 51.

9. Gertrude Leveson-Gower (1719?–1794), daughter of John Leveson-Gower, first Earl Gower. Married John (Russell), fourth Duke of Bedford. John (eleventh) Duke of Bedford, writing in 1959, said she "became very much the dominating dowager. . . ." *A Silver-Plated Spoon* (London, 1959), p. 109. Lansdowne's second wife was her niece.

10. Evelyn, also a daughter of the first Earl Gower, the youngest. The widow of John Fitzpatrick, Earl of Upper Ossory, she married Richard Vernon in 1759 and was mother of "the Miss Vernons" of whom Lansdowne and many others were so fond. See above, n.8.

To John Jay

Newington Green, Nov 25th, 1786.

Dear Sir,

I have received both the letters with which you have honoured me, and I return you many thanks for them.¹ I know your time must be much engaged by the duties of your office, and therefore I can not but feel very sensibly your kind attention which exceeds all that I could have any reason to expect. Your civility and friendship to Mr. Courtauld² deserve my particular gratitude. His mother and family are much impressed by them. . . .

I am a sad stranger to myself, if my pamphlet³ address'd to the United States is not an effort of well meant zeal to promote their best interests, and thro' them the happiness of mankind. Though I have given offence in some places, I have reason to be very well satisfied, on the whole with the reception it has met with. Were I to write again I should lower some expressions in it; for I am sensible that I have been too hasty and sanguine in my expectations. I cannot, however, despair while I know that such a person as you are, and many others of whose wisdom integrity and liberal principles I have a high opinion, are members of the United States and concerned in advising and directing them. I now see that such an improved state of society in America as I wish for must be the work of more time than I imagined; and, perhaps, the result of severe struggles and conflicts still to be gone thro'. Affairs between this country and yours wear a dark complexion. It is unhappy for us that the coalition between Lord North and Mr. Fox prevented the makers of the peace from completing it. Our councils are now under a different direction, nor is there any probability of a change. I lament continually our wretched policy. We are throwing away the trade and the friendship of a world rapidly increasing, and forcing it into the scale of France. Should the issue be of a total alienation and the conversion of the extreme of love into the extreme of hatred, the fault will be chiefly ours, and we shall be the greatest sufferers. Trade is essential to *our* existence. On the contrary, the rage for trade is one of your greatest enemies; and all events that check it may do you the greatest service. Were even all your ports shut up, you would be only rendered more

PRINTED: *The Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay*, ed. Henry P. Johnston, 4 vols. (New York, 1890–93), III (1782–93), 219–21. TEXT: *The Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay*.

1. See John Jay to R.P., 27 Sept. 1785 (Vol. II, 305–6), in which Jay mentions a letter “in one of the last vessels” thanking Price for his political pamphlets. That letter has not been located.

2. Probably George Courtauld, a former resident of Braintree and Essex who emigrated to America and died on 13 Aug. 1823, apparently in Pittsburgh. See *Monthly Repository*, vol. 18, no. ccxiv (Oct. 1823), p. 605. See Vol. II, 292–93.

3. *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution*.

independent and secure; and in a course of years you might, with the aid of simple manners, general liberty, plenty produced by agriculture, and a *strong federal union*, become the most powerful and happy people on earth. At present your affairs, I am afraid, are far from being in this train. God forbid that, in consequence of luxury, mercantile service, and the feebleness of the federal government, the United States should ever become the image of our Europe. I ask pardon, for entering into these reflexions. I did not intend them when I began this letter. I am very happy in the friendship of Mr. Adams. He will send better information than I can give.

All (as you observe at the end of your letter) that the best men can do is to persevere in doing their duty to their country, leaving the consequences to the Disposer of all events. The happiness attending the consciousness of such conduct is the greatest any of us can enjoy. This is a happiness which I doubt not, you will enjoy. Wishing you, Dear Sir, every possible blessing I am, with great respect,

Your oblig'd humble servant.
Richd Price.

To the Marquis of Lansdowne

[25 November 1786]

My Lord

I take the liberty to send you these lines chiefly to recommend to your notice a weekly paper which will probably be soon advertised under some such title as the following—*The Armed Neutrality; or an impartial account of the present time, as they are distinguished by politics, literature and manners.*

The writer is Dr Thomson,¹ the continuator of *Watson's History of Philip the II^d*. I have known him sometime; and think highly of his abilities, principles, liberality, and candour. He is ambitious to communicate his design to your Lordship, and he has requested me to do this for him, not doubting but he shall be honoured with your recommendation should his plan and the execution of it appear to deserve it. His intention, he tells me, is to maintain a perfect impartiality in his account of men and measures, and to address

ORIGINAL: Bowood, Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

1. William Thomson (1746–1817), writer. After early education in Scotland, support from Thomas Hay, eighth Earl of Kinnoull, and an attempt at the church, he went to London to try his fortune as a writer. Unsuccessful at first, he became much in demand after completing the *History of Philip II of Spain* (London, 1783), which was begun by Robert Watson, principal of the United Colleges of St. Andrews, but left incomplete at Watson's death in 1780. Thomson wrote extensively, on many different subjects, but there is no indication that he was successful in launching the weekly paper, *The Armed Neutrality*.

himself to that part of the public which is independent of party and faction, for that there is still such a public and that it forms a kind of fourth state in the kingdom, he thinks the late general election has gloriously proved. But he does not mean, I find, to confine himself to politics His plan extends to the vicissitudes and progress of literature and manners and the advancement of religious truth, and, particularly, the connexion between the progress of knowledge and the increase of Piety and peace and goodwill among men.

This is certainly an important design. Your Lordship will, probably, hear more of it from other persons. I cannot help entertaining considerable expectations from the execution of it.

The stocks, your Lordship has observed, have lately fallen sadly. This, I suppose, has been owing chiefly to their having been run up almost to a bubble some time ago by Jobbers and Speculators. A notion also which prevails, that the Revenue does not answer to Mr. Pitt's sanguine expectations and that there will be a loan, contributes to it. The French Treaty, likewise, by drawing off more money to trade, may be another cause.²

Many thanks to your Lordship for your kind remembrance of me by the presents of game and Pine=apples which I have received. In a few days I shall desire your Lordship's acceptance of a Volume of Sermons which a petition from my Congregation at Hackney has induced me to publish.³

The Committee for establishing the new Academical institution have just purchased the largest and strongest and best house at Hackney which they are to accommodate to the purposes of the institution, and with which we are in general much pleased. The first cost of this house was £29,000. We have given for it £5,500.⁴

I have had for the last fortnight a bad cold and cough upon me; and I cannot say I have yet recover'd my former spirits. A remembrance is continually forcing itself upon me which wrings my heart. I now live in hopes of soon seeing your Lordship in town; but probably this will not be till after the Holy:days. My best respects wait on Lady Lansdown. I hope your little Henry is well, and that you continue to receive good accounts of Lord Wycombe.

With great respect and every good wish I am,
Your Lordship's most Obedient and humble servant
Richd Price

Soon after writing this letter I received the great pleasure of your Lordship's letter.⁵ I have not yet seen any work of Mr Playfair's; but I will carefully consider the work which he wishes to dedicate to your Lordship should he bring it me. I have been pleased and instructed by the reflexions in your

2. See Lansdowne to R.P., 22 Nov. 1786, n.7.

3. *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine*.

4. Homerton Hall.

5. See Lansdowne to R.P., 22 Nov. 1786.

Lordship's letter on the life of *Turgot*, the treaty with France etc. I admire the principle of reciprocity on which this Treaty is founded; and am inclined to look upon it as one proof that the world is improving, and advancing towards that state in which there will be no more war. There is, if I may judge by such men as *Turgot*, Neckar, etc., a liberality in France that accounts for this treaty; but I cannot say the same of our own people. Your Lordship does me too much honour by thinking me qualify'd for writing on those general principles of law, commerce, morality and politics which comprehend all religions and countries; and which would were they universally adopted, exclude war and make the world happy. But I feel an increasing insufficiency; and I consider my writing days as over and the work of my life as done. After the publications of this winter it is probable I shall think of no more; except, perhaps, another volume of those discourses which I have spent twenty years of my best days in composing. But this will depend on the manner in which the volume just advertised is received. I dread the thoughts of going on till the imbecilities of old age come upon me without knowing it, and I am often tempted to wish I could hide myself from the world for the remainder of life. I am much obliged by Lady Lansdown's and your Lordship's invitation to Bowood in the Holy:days. But I am fixed at home for the winter.

From the Marquis of Lansdowne

Bowood Park 29th Novr, 1786

My Dear Friend,

I am very glad to hear of the Intended Publication you mention. I have long wish'd to see something of the sort, and actually propos'd to the very gentleman whom I mention'd in my last¹ to undertake a paper under the title of the Neutralist. The arm'd neutrality may be a more popular title and better. I therefore beg that you'll tell Dr Thompson with my compliments, that if his object be to inculcate your principles regarding Liberty in general, and his countryman Mr Adam Smith's regarding Liberty of Commerce, I shall think it a duty to do every thing I possibly can to encourage his undertaking, in short that he may freely command me in any shape. But its Success will depend upon the Impartiality and ability with which it is conducted. I have often thought that Dr. Maclean² at the Hague was a person very capable of

ORIGINAL: The Bodleian Library. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 358–60.
 TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Bodleian Library.

1. That is, James Playfair.

2. Probably Archibald MacLaine (1722–1804), student of Francis Hutcheson in Glasgow. In 1746 he became assistant to his maternal uncle, Robert Milling, a pastor of the English Church at The Hague. In 1747 he became copastor. He was greatly respected in Holland for his learning, and for a time he was preceptor to the Prince of Orange.

assisting the foreign part of such a work, but I don't know how far he might be dispos'd to embark at his time of Life in any thing of the sort.

So far you may tell Dr Thompson. It may perhaps be as well not to tell him that I can scarce conceive a Scotchman capable of Liberality, but utterly incapable of Impartiality. That nation is compos'd of such a sad set of Innate, Cold-hearted, Impudent Rogues, that I sometimes think it a comfort when you and I shall be [able] to walk together in the next world, which I hope we shall as well as in this, we cannot possibly then have any of them sticking to our Skirts. In the mean time it's a melancholy thing that there is no finding any other people that will take pains, or be amenable even to the best purposes.

I have an account of the Revenue of the year up to the last quarter. I have given it to William to copy, and it shall be forwarded to you either tomorrow or Fryday, but I am very much inclin'd to attribute the late Fluctuations to Stock-jobbing, only assisted by the state of things in Holland.³

I am very glad to hear that your new academy is like to prosper. I only hope that more regard will be paid to modern Languages, German as well as French, and less to ancient, than has been usual in such Institutions, that there will not be such long vacations as is generally practis'd, and from time to time some very Publick Examinations.

I have been so much struck with Mr Turgot's Life, that I have sent it to a friend of ours to get it translated and publish'd.⁴ I take Mr. Necker's Book⁵ [to] be a singular Instance of the power of mixing a great attention to Popularity, Court Favour, and almost all the reigning Prejudices, not only with great Brilliancy of Sentiment, but with a very honourable regard to good Oeconomy, order and several very Liberal Principles. However, it must be allow'd that Mr Turgot's Principles are made of sterner stuff. One seems to have been calculated to do good to the present age, the other to posterity. It's a pity that their respective Partizans in France do not rather chuse to dwell on those points, where two such respectable authorities agree, especially as there are

3. The state of things in Holland—in fact, throughout the seven United Provinces—was one of political and armed chaos bordering on civil war. The events leading to this situation are complex and go a long way back in the history of the Netherlands. Basically, and generally, at this point it was the outcome of a deep opposition between the principles and practices of royalty represented by William V, of Orange, as Stadholder, and the forces of change toward more liberal principles and practices represented by the "Patriotic Party"; put perhaps even more controversially, between "aristocracy" and "democracy." With the Netherlands as important as they were in the finances of western Europe, such unsettled conditions may well have contributed, as Lansdowne suggests, to fluctuation in stocks. See Simon Schama, *Patriots and Liberators: Revolution in the Netherlands, 1780–1813* (New York, 1977), ch. 3.

4. See Lansdowne to R.P., 22 Nov. 1786, n.2. The translation, dedicated to Lansdowne, was published in London in 1787. The translator is not identified.

5. Presumably *De l'Administration des Finances de la France* (Paris, 1784). It was translated by Thomas Mortimer with the title, *A Treatise on the Administration of Finances in France* (London, 1785). This translation also was dedicated to Lansdowne, and the style of dedication is similar enough to suggest that Mortimer may have done both.

very important ones, which come under this Predicament, rather than on those where they oppos'd each other, but I hope Posterity will be wiser than the King of France and will in the long run avail itself of the joint labours of both these Men. There is certainly more Liberality among Official People in France than in England, while on the other hand our Middle Class of People are far better inform'd and more liberal than theirs. I consider the conduct of the present Opposition as a great misfortune, as they make it a principle to oppose every thing right or wrong, and by that means stifle the real Publick Voice and mislead strangely.

I will read your Sermons I am sure with great pleasure, as I do every thing which comes from you. I want you to live hereafter with the Turgots and the Neckers, and to leave the Doctors and the Archdeacons to dye by the hands of one another. I am sorry to find you complain of any low Intervals, and that it should ever occur to your mind to think of retiring from your friends at a time that you should retire to them. I am a few years younger than you, I believe, and certainly have not the same Philosophy as you, yet I am glad to find myself so far on my road, and so far well over, especially since my Eldest Son is of age and has given a tolerable earnest of good dispositions. I have no uneasy Intervals except when I think of my second Son, which I am convinc'd is owing in great part to my having indulg'd my grief for him to an excessive degree.⁶ I would give a great deal that I had not done it, as it can do him no good. God knows my Heart, it is not for want of tenderness for him, as my Tears sufficiently witness while I am now writing, but painfull as it is to me to recurr to the subject, I cannot help doing it to warn you My Dear Friend against incurring a disease in which you may find at first a melancholy comfort, but in the end you'll find lowering and incapacitating to a great degree. You'll be tir'd of my Hand Writing, but I hope not of the Truth and Regard with which

I am affectionately yours. Lansdown

6. Lansdowne's second son, William, died in Jan. 1778 at the age of nine.

From William Bingham¹

New York Decemr 1 1786

Dear Sir,

You were So obliging as to indulge me with the Promise of your Correspondence, on my Return to this Country.² I have been prevented (from various avocations) from availing myself of many opportunities that have offered, to inform you of my Arrival.³

I must confess that I did not find the United States in as flourishing a Situation as I had reason to expect. Many Circumstances have combined to check their Prosperity. Their immense consumption of foreign Manufactures has greatly injured them, by involving them in a heavy Debt to Europe, which they will not be able to extinguish in many Years. In the mean while, the Specie of the Country, which after the War constituted its only circulating Medium, has been almost wholly exported, and many of the States have had recourse to the dangerous Expedient of Paper Money, which by not being in general well funded has in many Instances greatly depreciated.⁴

The Confederation is likewise an Evil of an alarming Nature. It does not possess Sufficient Powers to constitute a firm, vigorous, and energetic Government, Such as So extensive a Country demands. The Individual States, from the Sufferings they are exposed to from the Weakness and Inefficiency of the Confederacy, Seem disposed to vest Congress with Such Authorities as are necessary to pursue and preserve the general Interests of the Union. This will make their Administration respectable abroad and vigorous at home.

There is often a Turn in human Affairs which baffles the Foresight of the wisest Men. After the immense Expences that G Britain incurred in the Prosecution of the War, her most Sanguine Friends had no Idea of her Affairs being So Soon retrieved, and her Situation So prosperous as it now appears to be. She is indebted for these Advantages to the Wisdom of her Councils and the Energy of her Government.

I hope the Turn will soon take place in our affairs. Our Resources are

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 360–62. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. See Vol. II, 192.

2. Bingham was in Europe during 1783–86 where he became acquainted with many leaders, including Shelburne-Lansdowne and Price.

3. The Bingham's were presented at Court in mid-Feb. 1786 and sailed for America in Mar. By Dec. Bingham was in the process of building and finishing an elegant mansion modeled on the London residence of George Montague, the fourth Duke of Manchester, in Manchester Square, later known as Hertford House, where he and his wife had been frequent visitors. Robert C. Alberts, *The Golden Voyage: The Life and Times of William Bingham* (Boston, 1969), p. 157.

4. See Joseph Willard to R.P., 29 July 1786.

great, the Industry and Intelligence of our People are not to be Surpassed, and I do not believe there exists a greater Fund of public and private Virtue than in this Country. Nothing is wanting but a good Government to direct these Advantages to public Good and private Benefit.

We have daily Accessions of Inhabitants from Emigrations from different Parts of Europe, particularly Germany.⁵ It is a pleasing Circumstance to a benevolent Mind to contemplate the advantageous Situation this Class of People is placed on their arrival here. From being in a State of Vassalage in their own Country, mere Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water, they find themselves entitled to all the Rights of Citizenship in a free Country, and with a Small Pittance enabled to purchase a Freehold Estate for themselves and family.

It is really fortunate for human Nature, that there is a Country where the oppressed of all Nations may find a Secure asylum.

I know no State in the Union that would be So envied as Pennsylvania, if it was not So defective in its Constitution and Form of Government. By possessing but a Single Branch of Legislature, Subject to an annual Change, its Laws are very often crude and indigested, and its Conduct governed by no System. a few factious and designing Men, possessed of popular Talents, may at any Time thro' the Councils of the Country into Confusion, and, if their Views are Selfish, bend the public Business to meet their private Convenience.

However, as our Constitution has wisely fixed a Septennial Period, when its Defects may be remedied by a Council of Censors and a Convention, I hope the Citizens of the State will take Advantage of this Circumstance, and adopt a more perfect Form of Government.⁶

Having the honor of being appointed to represent the State of Pennsylvania in Congress, I shall reside here for the greatest part of the Ensuing Year.⁷

5. Not surprisingly, estimates of the number of Germans in and entering Pennsylvania at this time vary enormously. There is general agreement, however, "that the Germans at any and every period between 1730 and 1790 constituted about one-third of the total population." Frank R. Diffenderffer, *The German Immigration into Pennsylvania* (Baltimore, 1979), p. 103.

6. The attempt to remedy the state constitution of 1776 by the "Republicans" in 1783 failed because not two-thirds of the censors favored a convention. It was not until 1790 that the office of governor was restored, the executive council and board of censors abolished, and a bicameral legislature established. See Jenkins, *Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal*, II, 103-21.

7. Bingham presented his credentials to Charles Thomson, secretary of the Continental Congress, on Monday, 20 Nov. 1786. The Bingham took a house in New York for the winter where he attended Congress regularly unlike many members, including President John Hancock who never attended, and worked vigorously for the "firm, vigorous and energetic government [that] so extensive a country demands." For his efforts to promote the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and subsequent role in Pennsylvania's ratification of the new constitution, see Alberts, *Golden Voyage*, pp. 170-90.

Please to make my Compliments to Mrs Price, and believe me to be with great Regard, Dear Sir,

Your obedient, humble servant,
Wm Bingham

P.S. Please to inform me if there are any new political Publications of any Note.

From Mrs. Hester Chapone¹

Carlisle 10th Decr 1786

Dear Sir,

I have read the volume of sermons² you was so good to send me with all the eagerness which the importance of the subjects and the high opinion I entertain the author could excite; and I cannot enough thank you for the pleasure and satisfaction I have recieved from your truly valued present. The five first sermons (which present such various opinions drawn from the same source, with so much mystery and difficulty in them all!) have, I believe, afforded me as much light as I am to expect, on a subject which would often greatly distress me, were it not for the comfortable doctrine you inculcate, and which has my entire assent, that an honest heart sincerely desirous to know the truth and to act agreeably to it, is alone requisite to salvation. Your middle Scheme appears to me the most rational of the three, and most consonant to Scripture. Yet the incarnation of an angelic or a super angelic Being, seems to partake of some of the difficulties that attend on the Athanasian scheme. For here also two very different Natures make but one person—"not by Conversion of the Angel into Man, but by taking the Manhood into the Angel."

That a heavenly Being should disguise himself in the form of a Man, or appear as such to our Senses, we may conceive, but that he should really take the human Nature—soul as well as body—and thereby become liable to pain and sorrow and death, is not much less inconceivable of an archangel than of a God. The manner in which the death of Christ is the means of our redemption, seems also a ground on which you are obliged to tread lightly. But I beg pardon. I mean only to expose to you (and to you only) the state of my own mind—not to lead you into any more trouble, after all you have formerly taken with me which I shall always remember with gratitude.

ORIGINAL: The Bodleian Library. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Bodleian Library.

1. See Vol. I, 50.

2. *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine*.

I am exceedingly charmed with the Sermon on the happiness of Virtue. Here you are indeed a most powerful Orator. You speak of what you thoroughly know, and with all the energy and moving eloquence that benevolence can inspire. Those on the Goodness of God were also very delightful to me, but I almost wish'd you had not built so much on an assertion which perhaps would not be granted by all people, that Happiness so greatly prevails and preponderates in this World. If you were to ask all your acquaintance (who nevertheless are among the best and therefore the happiest part of Mankind) whether they would choose to live their lives over again, exactly as they have pass'd, rather than remain insensible till the General Resurrection, perhaps they would not embrace the proposal as readily as you would expect. For my part, I think the belief of God's goodness does not rest upon this. As I know not how much of our suffering arises from our own fault, how much is Chastisement, how much is trial, nor how it may conduct to our future and eternal Good, the miseries of life, even if shewn to be greater than it's enjoyments, would not stagger my faith in the Goodness of God. "Tho' he kill me yet will I trust in him," for were He not Good, I must have been *wholly Evil*. I cannot be better than my Maker. Therefore, whilst I feel *one spark* of benevolence in myself, I must attribute that quality to him in boundless perfection.

Upon the whole I sincerely admire your book and venerate the Author; most particularly for that unlimited Charity and Candor which is the genuine spirit of Christianity.

I am very sorry to hear (by Miss Summers's³ letter) that your Cold continues so bad that I must not hope to see you soon. I wish to know that your Nephew⁴ is settled in your Neighborhood which must be a great comfort to you. Mr. Barker's⁵ accession of fortune gives me pleasure. I beg my kind compliments to Miss Summers and am Dear sir with great esteem, your much obliged servant,

H. Chapone

3. At the time of this letter Miss Summers was in the Price household. By the time Price wrote his will, 25 May 1789, she was living in Hadley. Price gave her £50 in money and £100 of a Reversionary Bond. See "Journal," p. 401.

4. George Cadogan Morgan.

5. Possibly William Barker of Hackney. Price also remembered him in his will, giving him £25 in money and £200 of the Reversionary Bond shared with Miss Summers and others. See "Journal," p. 401.

To William Adams

Newington=Green Dec: 10th 1786

Dear Sir:

Your present of a Collar of Brawn I received yesterday. Accept my best thanks for honouring me by so kind a token of your attention. There are few whose favourable remembrance I value so much; but at the same time the trouble to which it puts you gives me much pain. I received much pleasure from seeing Miss Adams at Mr Beaufoy's and hearing from her that you continue tolerably well. Deliver my respectful compliments to her. I hope she got home well, and that the book I requested her to take with her did not burden her too much. This publication has been extorted from me by a petition from my congregation at Hackney.¹ It contains my confession of faith delivered freely and without reserve, but at the same time I hope in a manner that ought not to offend any of my fellow=christians whose sentiments are different from mine. Dr Priestley, Mr Lindsey, and some others of my *Socinian* friends are full of zeal, and it is probable they will be writing against me; but nothing shall draw me into a controversy.

I think I mention'd to you in a former letter² the new College for education which the body of liberal Dissenters are going to establish. This has lately engaged a vast deal of the time and attention of many of my Friends. We have just agree'd to give £5500 for a House at Hackney which we reckon well fitted for our purpose, and the first cost of which was near £30,000.

The loss of the companion of my life³ to whom I have owed a great part of its happiness has lately given a dreadful shock to my spirits. I was once thinking of pouring out my grief to you; but I consider'd that it would be only giving you an unavailing and fruitless trouble. may God enable me to improve properly the short period of my survivorship, and unite us all in a better state. The bad cold and cough of which I complained when Miss Adams saw me continue still upon me, and render me at present languid and spiritless. Wishing you, Dear Sir, as happy a reminder of an useful and important life as possible, I am, with great respect and affection,

Your obliged Friend and very humble servant
Richd Price

ORIGINAL: Gloucestershire County Records Office. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of Gloucestershire County Records Office.

1. *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine*.

2. Not located. See R.P. to Lansdowne, 26 July 1786, including nn.2 and 3, for some details about the founding of New College, Hackney, and Price's role.

3. That is, Mrs. Price.

To John Acland

[Extract]

11 December 1786

Upon the whole, I can at present see no Reason to doubt, but the Aid your Plan will receive from the higher Classes and the gratuitous Subscribers, will render it, as it is constructed, adequate to its own Support, provided the Fund be properly improved.

PRINTED: *A Plan for Rendering the Poor Independent of Public Contribution*, p. 61. TEXT: *A Plan*. . . .

From John Howard

Vienna Decr 14, 1786

My dear friend

I received your Letter at Venice and that of the first of this month, this morning.¹

I came here only last Tuesday, a slow Hospital fever brought on by my confinement in the Lazaretto at Venice detained me 10 days at Trieste, I propose setting out the beginning of next week, the roads very bad, several posts of only 2 German or 10 English miles 4 and 5 hours.

My Son is indeed a bitter affliction to me, and to all our family. Nothing but religion could prevent my sinking under it.

I thank you for your kind exertions in my favour, Your Advertisement would have expressed the real feelings of my mind and should have approved entirely of it;² I have wrote to Mr. Willoughby, with the lines as here copied to the Committee: happy now to think that the ill judged zeal of some Persons is now quenched, and that no Monument will *ever* be erected for me. Shall leave this City in a few days, directly for Amsterdam: a long journey, quite alone, and a slight fever most nights; but God has in many instances, disappointed our fears and exceeded our hopes.

I am, Most truly,
Your Affectionate Obligated friend,
John Howard

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. Not located.

2. See R.P. to Dr. John Coakley Lettsom, 3 Nov. and 8 Nov. 1786.

A copy of what Mr W will deliver to the Committee at their next Meeting
To The Committee for Delivering Prisoners and reforming Prisons
Gentlemen

I shall think it an Honour to have my weak endeavours approved by so many respectable Gentlemen who devote their time and so generously subscribe toward a Fund for relieving Prisoners and reforming Prisons. But to the erecting a Monument permit me, in the most fixed and unequivocal manner, to declare my repugnancy to such a design: and that the execution of it will be a punishment to me; it is therefore, Gentlemen, my particular and earnest request that so distinguished a Mark of me may *for ever* be laid aside.

With great Respect, etc.

JH

Vienna, December 15, 1786

From the Marquis of Lansdowne

B.P. 19th Decr, 1786

My Dear Friend,

I have read your volume of Sermons¹ with that Interest which I must ever take in whatever comes from you.

The First² reflects back my own opinions so forcibly upon me, that I am of course struck with it, and think it should not only be read but *taught* in every school of every Sect in England. Children should learn to spell out of it.

I never read thirty pages of any book whatever more happily express'd, or with which I was more captivated than I am with your seventh Sermon.³

ORIGINAL: The Bodleian Library. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 362–64. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Bodleian Library.

1. *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine*. Lansdowne is commenting on a copy of the sermons sent to him by Price before they were published in 1787.

2. In the Boston edition of 1794 published by Weld and Greenough Price's first sermon is entitled "Of the Security of a Virtuous Course." Its text, Prov. 10:9, reads: "He that walketh uprightly walketh surely." In effect, it is a version of "Pascal's wager" and concludes that if we live a virtuous life and religion is false, nothing is lost; whereas, if religion is true, the gain is infinite. Price draws this conclusion from a nice analysis of "walking uprightly," arguing that candor, fairness, and honesty are included in its meaning, and for the sureness with which this shows that honesty is the best policy.

3. The seventh sermon is entitled "Of the Christian Doctrine as held by Trinitarians and Calvinists." Its text is 1 Tim. 1:11. "The glorious gospel of the blessed God." Price identifies these main creeds: "Athanasianism and Calvinism" at one extreme, Socinianism at another, and a "middle scheme" to which he does not apply a name. In terms of criteria generally used for this purpose, however, it would be classified as a version of Arianism. After a brief statement of points of agreement and differences, he devotes the rest of the sermon to an

At the same time that I take the liberty of particularizing these two, I must say that I read all the rest with the greatest pleasure.

I admire the repeated cautions you give against uncharitableness in matters of opinion, as well as your declining in such express terms against all desire of proselytism, your object being to assist enquiry, it not being requir'd of us to find out Truth so much as to endeavour to find it out and practice it, which last alone can give satisfaction to a Christian Mind, and your absolution of those innocent people who fall into involuntary Error, but above all, the very fair manner in which you confess at the end of your fifth Sermon to doubts which have occur'd sometimes to your own mind upon some Important principles, which gives so much weight to those, still more important, upon which you profess never to have entertain'd any in any circumstance of Life. These are truly Christian Sentiments, and accompanied with such proofs of Sincerity and unaffected candor, as I imagine must make an Impression on whoever hears or reads them.

I am highly pleas'd too with the Spirit with which you acknowledge the obligations which the Dissenters owe to the *Publick* for not executing the Penal laws, and the Warning you give the Hierarchy, who appear so stupidly insensible to the Danger as well as Duty of their Situation.

The concise and plain manner in which you expose the absurdity of the two Extremes is full of Information to such people as me, who want either time or patience to read the volumes which I see daily publishing on these subjects, and seems well calculated to prevent people from wasting their time in reading such useless Books, tho' I suppose it may not be so easy a matter to check the ardour of those who write them. The Idea of a Spontaneous Instrumentality is perfectly new to me, and, if I was not afraid of going out of my depth, I should suppose it capable of accounting for a great deal indeed.

If I was desir'd to find an objection to any part of the whole, and could venture to risque speaking impertinently upon a subject to which I am so little competent, which nothing but your Friendship could encourage me to do, I should be led to doubt, whether you do not bestow too much pains in inculcating the middle Line, and whether you do not descend almost to controversy, if it was not for the very wise advertisement you have plac'd after your Title Page.⁴ I am almost sorry upon this account for a severe expression or two

analysis and criticism of Calvinism. He examines and criticizes Socinianism in the eighth sermon, and in a further critical evaluation of its inadequacies in the ninth and tenth sermons he indirectly sets forth the "middle scheme," that is, his version of Arianism. For a perspicuous discussion, see D. O. Thomas, pp. 34-38.

4. These sermons represent an important contribution to the growing liberal and humanizing influences of the time. It is a bit difficult to see, from our point of view, how Lansdowne would consider them "nearly descending to controversy," that is, to the kind of controversy he deplored. Consider two passages from the seventh sermon he admired so much: "Without all doubt, neither virtue nor good sense belongs exclusively to any one religious sect. We see continually that wise and worthy men fall into great mistakes, and are

which you have let Drop in your second Sermon. There is nothing of which I am more convinc'd than that the Effect of all Church Controversy as the world stands must be the making Christians Deists and Deists Atheists. To what else can the Conceit which you say poor Dr. Priestly has pick'd up in his flight. If it was to get the length of forming a Sect, I know of no other name to give his Followers except that of Atheistical Christians, Men who would not believe in a God if it was not for Jesus Christ. You know better than I do that the Deists have their advantages. All negative advantages are on their side, which is a great deal in any dispute. They have nothing to prove except the simplest of all things, which commands conviction upon the first mention of it, supported as it is by our very instinct. For tho' I have met with many who have call'd themselves Atheists, particularly in France, I never met with any who upon reasoning with him turn'd out any thing but a mere Sceptic. How natural is it when two Vulgar People are fighting, for a gentleman passing by to see that they are both in the wrong, and to get as soon as he can out of the Bustle, especially if there is a great deal of good company inviting him with every expression, which Wit, Humour, Refin'd Learning, Benevolent Professions, easy arguments furnish. It is impossible that Men will not go from Brambles and Thistles and walk in a plain open country so richly ornamented. Modern Controversy appears to me always like a Mob taking possession of the Seat of Justice, by which means large descriptions of Men are depriv'd of that consolation which can alone come from Christianity, of which you give so true a picture in your fifth Sermon. For no Man of the least experience or observation but must acknowledge that it is not only a consolation but a sure support such as there is none like it in the Hour of Distress. But if Prejudice once take a wrong turn Belief, as I believe many Men experience, can never be recover'd. *Peace on Earth, Good Will towards Men* should be written over every Divinity School of every Sect in the World, but in the largest letters over every parish Church Meeting House, etc. No controversy should be allow'd to enter there. I do not mean that it should be prevented by Law but other means should be found. No Controversial Writer or Preacher should be

capable of receiving as sacred the grossest absurdities. But this is of little consequence; our acceptance with God depending on the sincerity of our hearts, and the faithfulness of our endeavours to find out the truth, and not on the rectitude of our judgments" (p. 171). And again, "liberal sentiments . . . open our hearts to all about us, and communicate Catholic dispositions. By connecting the favour of God with nothing but an honest mind, and causing us to think of him as a friend to every sincere inquirer, they leave room for all the kind affections. They extirpate the wretched prejudices which make us shy of one another, and enable us to regard, with equal satisfaction and pleasure, our neighbours, friends, and acquaintances, be their modes of worship, or their systems of faith, what they will" (p. 175).

The "wise advertisement" Price placed after his title page reads: "Before the Reader enters on the following Discourses, I think it necessary to acquaint him, that, being determined not to engage in Controversy, I shall make no reply to any Animadversions on the Account which, in the first five of them, I have given of the Doctrines of Christianity; except by acknowledging the mistakes into which I may have fallen, when convinced of them."

allow'd to rise in the Church. Let them stay in their Closets and Colleges, and live upon their own Conceits, or share those allowances only which are appropriated to promote Learning. They do no good to mankind, and have no right to reward. For where they make one Proselyte to their respective opinions I am sure they let loose twenty. Let, what would be still more comprehensive, Eminent Men on all occasions discountenance them and their Works. Publick Opinion, happily for all of us, is sure sooner or later to Govern Government, and there are Men who can go a great way in leading Public opinion. Let all discourses of a controversial nature be printed sepe-
rate, except where they are merely calculated to cry down the very principle of it, and expose its folly absurdity and pernicious Effects. All Governments have been perfectly wise and right in endeavouring to preserve Peace in the Church, but as is mostly the case with Power, they have been right as to the Object but wrong as to the means. Let the Law be only made use of to prevent one Sect from denouncing Vengeance against another, exactly upon the same Principle upon which Men are imprison'd for a Breach of the Peace. But I believe by this time you think my Sermon quite long enough. I know your Friendship will put the best Interpretation upon it, and you may laugh at it, provided you believe me, what I really am,

Very affectionately your,
Lansdown

From William Adams

[Extract]

Gloucester, 21st December, 1786

Dear Sir,

I owe you a thousand thanks for your valuable present. I have read your book with great pleasure.¹ It has indeed answered my highest expectations, and I yet expect more good from it than from any or all the things that I have read on the same subjects. There is a modesty and candour throughout, and something so conciliating, especially in the introduction, as will, I hope, gain it a serious attention from all parties. And this with a little reason and reflection is all that is wanting to gain proselytes to your cause. At least I find daily, that the more I think on these subjects, the more I incline to almost all your opinions. The seasonable check which you have given to Socinianism will win you some favour from the fiercest Athanasians: and there is an argument in your book which I think will operate with great force against the peculiar doctrine of that creed, etc.

To The Marquis of Lansdowne

Newington Green Dec 30th 1786.

My Lord

Your Lordship has done me a greater honour than I had reason to expect by the attention you have bestow'd on my sermons;¹ and the approbation you express of them gives me particular pleasure. They contain my confession of faith deliver'd in a manner which, I hope, can give no just offence to any of the parties among Christians; and I shall be amply rewarded should they contribute in the smallest degree to give comfort to honest but doubting minds and to promote an amicable discussion of truth and the practice of virtue. Some parts of them have, I acknowledge, a good deal of the air of controversy; but my design render'd this necessary, nor do I think there is any harm in controversy. On the contrary; when conducted with decency and temper, it must always be useful. Like the collisions between bodies light will be struck out by it and the improvement and, consequently, the happiness of the world will in the end be promoted. The proper business of civil power, in this case, is, as your Lordship intimates, to keep the peace and to secure equal liberty to all sects professing and maintaining their opinions in the best manner they can. It would be treason against the sacredness of truth to suppose that it can suffer by this.

It is true that church=controversies have driven many into Deism; nor indeed do I think there is a more contemptible character than that of a furious polemic Divine who, not satisfy'd with argument, calls for the aid of the State and consigns heretics to damnation.

Christendom was formerly full of such Divines: but their number is now continually lessening. Even the great church champion Dr. Horne² the Dean of Canterbury in his sermons lately published on the Trinity in Unity and the duty of contending earnestly for the faith seems to have felt the humanizing influence of the times; and tho' he says, that his favourite doctrines require and demand the support of the State, yet at the same time he declares himself willing to have them subjected to discussion and disclaims the use of pain and penalties. The tendency of Polemic Divinity to make Deists is owing to inat-

ORIGINAL: Bowood. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

1. See Lansdowne to R.P., 19 Dec. 1786.

2. George Horne (1730–92), B.A., Oxford, and Kentish fellowship at Magdalen College where he passed the greater part of his life. Bishop of Oxford, junior proctor, and president of Magdalen, dean of Canterbury, bishop of Norwich. The sermons referred to by Price were "The Duty of Contending for the Faith: a sermon [on Jude 3] preached at the primary visitation of . . . John [Moore], Archbishop of Canterbury. To which is subjoined a Discourse [on Matt. 28:19] on the Trinity in Unity" (Oxford, 1786).

tention and unfairness. It is wrong to judge of any cause by the conduct of its abettors. Nothing is so clear as not to have been the subject of controversies the most violent and the most senseless. Christianity ought to be examined as it is the Code itself without regarding the litigation among its Professors and the rubbish which has been thrown upon it by the civil establishments of it. I derive my chief comfort from believing Christianity. Those who reject it lose a fund of unspeakable satisfaction; but they will not in my opinion be sufferers hereafter if they are honest enquirers and practice virtue. But I am making my letter a *sermon* which, I am afraid, will not give your Lordship half the pleasure that the letter has given to me which your Lordship has called by this name.

Mr. Playfair has been with me, and he has sent me his Manuscript on the national debt which I have read carefully. His observations appear to me just, and his method of representing to the eye in charts the progress and the amount at different periods of the national debt and the operations of a Sinking Fund is agreeable and may be useful. But that you may know better how I think of his work I have given a copy of the greatest part of a letter which I have just writ to him.³

Being now in my 64th year, and considering the work I am capable of as done, and also fearing the imbecility of old age, I have been for some time thinking of retiring into the country there to wait (in hope) for the great teacher. But my people at Hackney have just laid me under an obligation to continue among them for some time longer, by an application which they have made to me, and by appointing my Nephew, Mr. George Morgan of Yarmouth, to be my assistant and partner, and thus very kindly contributing to make the duties of my profession easier to me. This obliges Mr. Morgan to remove to Hackney with his pupils: and I am now looking out for two houses there one for him and one for myself. On some accounts I hope to find this change agreeable to me; but a recollection I cannot avoid makes it painful; and I am distress'd by the apprehension that it will launch me more into the world at a time when tranquillity is becoming more and more necessary to me.

I have employ'd my life in studies of various kinds. To Politics I owe little. To Divinity, most of all. To mathematics, much and, particularly, the pleasure I am now deriving from seeing the prosperous state of the Society at Black-fryars Bridge, and the ample provision it is making for my Nephew who transacts its business,⁴ and who has within this half year, made many thou-

3. See extract dated c. 30 Dec. 1786 to Mr. Playfair.

4. In *Equitable Assurances* (London, 1962) M. E. Ogborn writes of Morgan's becoming actuary of the Equitable Life Assurance Society: "So began an unparalleled period of service which within his own lifetime established the Society as one of the wealthiest corporations of the world" (p. 101). On his election in 1775 he was paid £120 a year. In the early 1780s after his marriage to Sarah Woodhouse he was paid well enough to build a handsome house in Stamford Hills (pp. 195–96). In 1816 his salary was £800 with a bonus of £700 (p. 161), and in 1829 he retired on his full salary of £2,000 for life (p. 204).

sands of different calculations in order to determine correctly its true state. From this examination it appears, that, after paying the value of all the claims upon it, there is a balance in its favour of more than £150,000 all acquired within the last seven years. This has determined the court of Directors to reduce (from the present Christmas) the payments for Assurances 15 *per cent.* which, added to two former reductions, will make us in the whole a reduction of more than 40 *per cent.* There is now a million assured on lives in this society; and it is increasing fast, and likely to be of unspeakable use to the public.⁵ I have been led to mention these particulars by reflecting on your friendship, and the reason I have to believe that what is interesting to me is not indifferent to your lordship.

My respectful compliments wait on Lady Lansdown. Shall we not soon have the pleasure of seeing you both in town? I have communicated to Dr Thomson⁶ what your Lordship said in a former letter about the weekly publication which he has in view; but I have not heard from him since.

I am ever, Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant

Richd Price

The account of the Revenue for the year to Michaelmas last which you have sent me,⁷ I have been very glad to receive. Lord Wycombe, I hear, is returned. My best respects to him.

5. Ogborn gives credit to Richard Price for showing "how the business of a life office should be arranged and valued," and to William Morgan for being the first actually to make such a valuation, in 1776 (p. 104). He did it again in 1787, as the letter indicates. His last valuation of the Equitable was in 1829 (pp. 201–4).

6. See R.P. to Lansdowne, 25 Oct. 1786, and Lansdowne to R.P., 29 Oct. 1786.

7. For a discussion of Price's work in finance and the role played by the information sent by Lansdowne, see D. O. Thomas, pp. 234–59.

To Mr. Playfair

[Extract]

[c. 30 Dec 1786]

Your observations on the danger that attends the national debt seem to me very just. I have been for many years inculcating the same doctrine, and endeavouring to show the necessity of entering into measures for saving the kingdom from this danger by the establishment of a Sinking Fund render'd, as far as possible, unalienable and consigned to Commissioners. I had last

winter much communication with Mr. Pitt on this subject; and a Sinking Fund has been at last established; but not entirely in the manner I wished, and which seemed to me necessary to give it a sufficient chance for saving us. Strong measures being, in our circumstances, necessary, I wished for an administration that could have collected the whole force of the kingdom to this object, and made an appropriation of a larger sum. I also wished for a particular measure which would have given the Fund at its outset ten times the force that the present fund possesses; and I disliked extremely the clause in the Act of Parliament which directs that its operations shall be checked and its increase by compound interest stopp'd when with the additions of the temporary annuities it shall have risen to four millions *per Ann*; that is, when, 27 years hence, it shall have paid about half the expence of the American war.¹

1. See R.P. to Lansdowne, 30 Dec. 1786. This letter to Playfair neatly summarizes the respects in which he found Pitt's implementation of the Sinking Fund proposals inadequate and disappointing.

From Joseph Priestley

Birm. 7 Jan'y 1787

Dear friend,

I have received the valuable present of your *Sermons*,¹ and cannot express how much I admire the greater part of them, especially the first. But indeed in every thing that relates to *candour* I never expect to find your equal. The discourse on the resurrection of Lazarus is very excellent. I wish also our unbelievers would read it.

These sermons of yours are sure to be universally read, and cannot fail to make a great impression; and as your defence of Arianism is calculated to strike the generality of your readers, who are more attentive to the subject, we Socinians cannot but think ourselves called upon to make some reply; and tho' *you* may not chuse to enter into the controversy, others may be induced to take it up.

Your very particular and highly respectful notice of *myself*, by which I think myself highly honoured, will be thought to be a call upon myself to say something in defence of what I have advanced; and as you have no object but

ORIGINAL: The Bodleian Library. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: Rutt, I, pt. I, 400–401. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Bodleian Library.

1. *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine*.

truth, I am confident you will not be displeased, if I address a friendly letter to yourself, at the close of some that I have written to Dr Horne.² It is so seldom that controversy is conducted with decency and propriety, as becomes Christians, that I think a fair opportunity of giving a specimen should not be omitted. We have already given one example of this,³ which I hope has had its use, and you may be assured that this letter will not be inferior to anything that I have ever written in personal respect.

I am glad to have the opportunity of writing in a respectful manner to Dr Horne, and at the same time I address the students for the ministry at the two universities. These letters are very serious, and tho' without any just cause, will perhaps give more offence than anything, that I have yet published of this kind.

I am printing my *Letters to a philosophical Unbeliever*,⁴ but we are hindered by the reprinting of the former letters, in order to make the whole one volume. With this work I have taken a good deal of pains; and yet I cannot say that I am at all sanguine in my expectations from it. Unbelievers will not read these things. However, if the faith of believers, who will read, be strengthened, a good end will be answered.

I congratulate you on the settlement of your nephew⁵ at Hackney, as I doubt not it will much contribute to the satisfaction of the remainder of your life. But I hope this will not prevent Mr Morgan being chosen tutor in the New Academy, for which he is so eminently qualified. It will, at least, release you from what you have undertaken, and which I fear will be more than you apprehend it to be. I have lost a valuable friend, and assistant in the conduct of the *Repository*, in Mr Palmer,⁶ who was buried on monday last. Tomorrow I

2. *Letters to Dr. Horne, Dean of Canterbury; to the young men, who are in a course of education for the Christian ministry, at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge: to the Rev. Dr. Price and the Rev. Mr. Parkhurst: on the Subject of the person of Christ* (Birmingham, 1787).

For a discussion of the differences between Price's Arianism and Priestley's Socinianism, see D. O. Thomas, pp. 34–40.

3. Priestley presumably refers to *A Free Discussion of the Doctrines of Materialism and Philosophical Necessity, in a Correspondence between Dr. Price and Dr. Priestley* (London, 1778).

4. *Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever, Part I. Containing an Examination of the Principal Objections to the Doctrines of Natural Religion and Especially Those Contained in the Writings of Mr. Hume* (Bath, 1780).

Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever. Part II. Containing a State of the Evidence of Revealed Religion with Animadversions on the Last Two Chapters of Mr. Gibbon's "History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," 2nd ed. (Birmingham, 1787).

5. George Cadogan Morgan. See R.P. to Lansdowne, 26 July 1786, nn.2 and 3.

6. John Palmer (1742–86). He entered Warrington Academy in 1759 where Priestley was his tutor from 1761. In 1779 he moved to Birmingham from Macclesfield where he had resigned as minister of King Edward Street Chapel. There he renewed acquaintance with Priestley and was a member of a fortnightly clerical club that prepared material for the *Theological Repository*. He died of paralysis on 26 Dec. 1786. Priestley preached his funeral sermon on 8 Jan. 1787.

preach a funeral sermon for him. The suddenness of his death is a striking warning to be *always ready*.

I am, Dear friend,
Yours most affectionately,
J. Priestley

P. S. Mrs Priestley desires her affectionate respects. I expect my daughter soon. She is to all appearance happily connected.⁷

7. See Samuel Vaughan, Jr., to R.P., 4 Nov. 1786, n.3.

From John Howard

Amsterdam Jany 18th, 87

I would acquaint my good friend that I came here only last Night as the fever that I got in the Lazaretto did not leave me till ten days after my arrival at Vienna, the emperor¹ honoured me with a private audience in which I fully spoke my Mind relative to His Prisons and Hospitals, and He favoured me in making some alterations in the former.² The first 500 miles being alone I only stopped to change Horses and take my Tea once a day, the remaining 300 miles I indulged myself some nights, they being so very cold. I am I bless God pure well, my Spirits flowing in their usual Channel. I propose being in Town about the 7th of February hope then to find the Statue pulled down and destroyed.

My unhappy young Man is often in my thoughts; the ways of God are unsearchable and past finding out. Yet all His, I know are uniformly right and good.

In hopes of the real pleasure of so soon seeing you well, I am with the truest esteem.

Affectionately yours,
John Howard

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. Joseph II (1741–90), Holy Roman emperor; emperor of Austria; coregent with his mother, Maria Theresa, 1765–80; emperor, 1780–90. Frequently referred to as “the revolutionary Emperor” because of his many extensive reforms. “Josephinism,” an important strand in the cultural history of Austria since his time, derives its name from him.

2. Howard criticized the food, sanitation, and especially the policy of solitary confinement. See Brown, pp. 275–77. Joseph II did institute some reforms in the prisons, such as greater cleanliness and better food, but these were minor compared to his reforms in religious tolerance, emancipation of the peasantry, spread of education, secularization of church lands, and reduction of religious orders.

PS Your Acquaintance Dr. Ingenhouze,³ I saw two or three times in Vienna, He I understand, has a Pension, and this is one of the very few that the emperor has not destroyed. The Monasterys at Vienna are allmost pulled down, to enlarge the streets and He has lessened the Papal annual revenue 25 thousand florins a year:⁴ The Electors of Cologne, Treves, and Mentz are going a step further, The Clergy to be permitted to marry.⁵

3. Jan Ingenhousz (1730–99). See Vol. II, 53. He was selected by Sir John Pringle in 1768 to go to Vienna to inoculate several members of the royal family. He received a pension for life of nearly £600 from Joseph II in 1769 when he was appointed body physician to the emperor and his mother, Maria Theresa, and aulic counselor. Such a position, so close to Joseph II, presumably accounts for the retention of his pension, which was more like payment for services rendered. For Joseph II's "destruction" of pensions, see Jans Wagner, "The Pension Payments and Legal Claims of Maria Theresa and Their Withdrawal by Joseph II," in Stanley B. Winters and Joseph Held, eds., *Intellectual and Social Developments in the Habsburg Empire from Maria Theresa to World War I: Essays Dedicated to Robert A. Kann*, East European Monographs, no. 11, New York, 1975), pp. 5–29.

4. Robert A. Kann says that Joseph II eliminated 700 "parasitic" monasteries (those whose members spent a wholly contemplative life, not contributing to education or caring for the sick), roughly one-third of all the monasteries. See *A History of the Habsburg Empire 1526–1918* (Berkeley, Calif., 1974), p. 191. William A. Johnston gives the number as 400. See *The Austrian Mind* (Berkeley, Calif., 1972), p. 16. The elimination of monasteries and the reduction of papal revenue were a part of Joseph II's religious reforms, closely tied with the Edict of Tolerance of 1781, which provided the Protestants with near equality to the Catholics and formulated policies that were central in developing state control of the church.

5. During the reign of Joseph II, jurisdiction in marriage questions was fully transferred to the state. See Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire*, pp. 180–91. Howard presumably refers to a recommendation made by Joseph II's Commission on Ecclesiastical Affairs that the requirement of celibacy be done away with in order to attract vigorous young men into the Catholic clergy to act as teachers in a reorganized curriculum that included secular knowledge and natural science. Joseph II objected to the commission's proposal, however, and encouraged students to enter the ministry by granting stipends, reducing or abolishing tuition fees, and modifying academic standards. See Saul K. Padover, *The Revolutionary Emperor* (London, 1934), p. 230.

To James Bowdoin

Newington=Green Jan'y 22 1787

Dear Sir

You will receive with this a volume of sermons¹ which I have just publish'd in compliance with the request of the congregation to which I preach. Should you honour it with a perusal you will probably think me wrong on some

ORIGINAL: Massachusetts Historical Society. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

1. *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine*.

points, but I can rely on your candour. I have deliver'd my confession of faith with freedom; but, at the same time, I have endeavour'd to do it with charity and respect for all my fellow-christians of different sentiments. The chief object of my zeal is, not making Proselytes, but promoting liberality and virtue and fair and amicable discussion.

It is, with particular concern, I have heard lately of the tumults in your state and in new Hampshire;² of the vile measures employ'd in *Rhode=island* to give a currency to the paper issued there,³ and of many other events in the united states which damp the hopes of their friends and make their enemies triumph. It is not possible they should prosper till they have learnt more to seek true independence by despising foreign luxuries and finding all they want within themselves; and till also they can see the necessity of giving more energy to their federal government.

All hope of a commercial treaty with this country seems now to be over.⁴ One consideration which I know influences greatly our ministers in this instance is, that a treaty can answer no end because there is no power in the united States that can enforce the observance of it.

But I ask pardon for these remarks. Perhaps it is the purpose of Providence to make your country pass thro the school of errors and sufferings in order to make it at last, with more advantage, such an example and benefit to mankind as the friends of liberty and virtue wish to see it. Great indeed is the trust committed to it.

Under a grateful sense of your kind attention, and with great respect I am, Sir,

Your obliged and very obedient servant
Richd Price

I have sent you by the desire of our Astronomer Royal his Advertisement of the Comet expected next year.⁵

2. See R.P. to Joseph Willard, 22 Jan. 1787.

3. See Joseph Willard to R.P., 29 July 1786.

4. The Americans wanted a commercial treaty that would ease and encourage trade between the United States and Great Britain and its possessions, something that was presumably to be worked out to complete the preliminary articles of peace signed on 3 Sept. 1783. See Vol. II, 193, 297, 319. There were numerous difficulties, in addition to the weakness of Congress mentioned by Price, that not even John Adams was able to overcome, as subsequent letters between Price and Adams show.

5. Neville Maskelyne circulated to astronomers in England and America an advertisement of the expected return of the comet of 1532 and 1661.

To Joseph Willard

Newington-Green, Near London

January 22d, 1787

Dear Sir,

I beg your acceptance of the volume of Sermons which accompanies this letter as a testimony of my respect.¹ I cannot hope that you will approve some of the sentiments in the first five of these sermons; but I can safely rely on your candour. You will find that I have taken the middle path between the different sects of christians and declared my charity for them all; but I expect, that the consequence of this will be, that I shall be opposed and censured by them all. My Friend Dr. Priestly (who you know is a zealous Socinian) is now preparing an answer to me. But nothing shall engage me in a Controversy.²

Dr. Maskelyne, our Astronomer Royal, having desired me to convey to America a few copies of his Advertisement of the expected return of a comet next year, I have sent one copy to you and another to his excellency the Governor.³

The convulsions in your state and in New Hampshire have given me great concern.⁴ I hope that by this time they have been quieted. Sufferings are

PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1909–10), 625. TEXT: *M.H.S.P.*

1. *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine.*

2. Price did eventually answer some of Priestley's objections in an appendix to the second edition.

3. See R.P. to James Bowdoin, 22 Jan. 1787.

4. What has come to be known to history as Shays's Rebellion was an epidemic of uprisings in central and western Massachusetts in 1786 and 1787 in opposition to tax policies. In Northampton, Great Barrington, Concord, Springfield, and elsewhere, in the face of many rejected or ignored petitions for redress, armed citizens prevented courts from sitting on the theory that if the courts did not sit, they could not levy taxes, demand payment, or punish for nonpayment. Price's friend, Governor James Bowdoin, first called on the authorities to suppress such treason. When these measures failed, he declared that Massachusetts was in rebellion, summoned the state militia, and put Major General Benjamin Lincoln, a Revolutionary War hero, in charge. Daniel Shays, also a hero of the Revolutionary War, at the head of a force of 1,200, was badly defeated at Springfield on 25 Jan. 1787, shortly after the date of Price's letter, and his remaining forces conclusively disintegrated at Petersham in early Feb. Shays was granted a pardon 13 June 1788 and lived out his days, to the age of eighty-five. In his later years he received a pension from Congress for his services in the Revolutionary War. See Lamar Middleton, *Revolt U.S.A.* (New York, 1938), pp. 155–82.

What has sometimes been called "The War of the New Hampshire Grants" (see *ibid.*, pp. 123–53) grew out of disputes over land ownership between settlers in the New Hampshire Grants (later to become Vermont) and the colony of New York. Middleton dates the disputes from 1769 to 1791 and describes the American Revolution as an interruption. See Lynn W. Turner, *The Ninth State: New Hampshire's Formative Years* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1983), pp. 49–53.

severe teachers; and they seem to be destined by providence to be the teachers of your countrymen. What fatality is it that prevents them from seeing that their true interest consists in frugality and simplicity, in avoiding luxury, in checking a rage for foreign superfluities, in finding all they want within themselves, in obeying *their own* laws, and strengthening their federal government? But I will not enter into this subject.

I have lately been thrown into a state of the saddest grief by the loss of the companion of my life. This has given a dreadful shock to my spirits; but I consider that the term of my survivorship cannot be long, and I look forward to a resurrection of all the virtuous to a better and endless life. With sincere gratitude to you for all your attention and great respect I am, Dear Sir, ever yours

RICHARD PRICE

To Benjamin Rush¹

Newington Green, January 26, 1787

Dear Sir,

I owe you many thanks for two letters with which you have lately favoured me, one by Mrs. Vaughn and the other by Dr. White.² I do not wonder at the concern you express for the loss of Mrs. Vaughn and her daughters; but your loss adds to our happiness in this country and we hope soon to see Mr. Vaughn.

I have been happy in the company and conversation of Dr. White and Dr. Provost.³ I have no objection to bishops as merely spiritual officers. All I am

ORIGINAL: Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *Gent. Mag.* LVII (1787), 631 [extract]. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

1. This is the final version of a letter based on a shorthand draft written on the manuscript of the letter from Rush dated 2 Aug. 1786. There are numerous verbal, and some substantive, differences between it and the draft. Price made substantive changes by deleting a reference to Robert Morris as leader of the "popular party in Pennsylvania," speculations that there would be a change in the constitution of Pennsylvania, and that John Adams was preparing a publication "on this and other subjects relating to civil government."

2. See Benjamin Rush to R.P., 2 Aug. 1786 and 27 Oct. 1786.

3. Provost (or Provoost) Samuel (1742–1815) graduated from King's College (later Columbia University) in the first graduating class of 1758, studied in England (1761–66); at Cambridge his tutor was Dr. John Jebb. Member of the Order of Deacon's, Chapel Royal, St. James's palace, Westminster; priest, King's Chapel, Whitehall; assistant minister, then rector, Trinity Church, New York City; first Protestant Episcopal bishop of New York; D.D., University of Pennsylvania; chaplain to the Senate of the United States. The opportunity to meet Price came when he was in England with William White to be consecrated. See Benjamin Rush to R.P., 27 Oct. 1786, n.1.

sorry for is, that the members of the Episcopal church in America are not yet so far enlightened as to be sensible of their right to make their own bishops and of the absurdity of the notion that the validity of Christian services and ordinances depends on an uninterrupted succession of bishops nominating and constituting one another from the times of the apostles. At the same time it does your Episcopalians honour that they have directed their views to persons so worthy and liberal as Dr. White and Dr. Provost. They will now have no farther occasion for applying in this way to this country and be able to continue the succession among themselves; and I hope that in time they will see the necessity of proceeding much farther in their reformation of the liturgy and articles.

The newspapers which you sent me by Mrs. Vaughn were very acceptable to me. The essays and information they contain have contributed towards gratifying a curiosity which I am always feeling with respect to the affairs of the United States. Your federal government is a point of great difficulty and importance which, I find, remains unsettled and is likely to continue so. I dread the thought of such a division of the States into three independent confederacies as you say has been thought of. It is a pity that some general controuling power cannot be established of sufficient vigour to decide disputes, to regulate commerce, to prevent wars, and to constitute an union that shall have weight and credit. At present, the power of Congress is, in Europe, an object of derision rather than respect. It has not been able even to prevent an infraction of that treaty of peace to which the United States owe the final establishment of their independence.⁴ What encouragement then, is there to enter into a commercial treaty with it? This I know, is a consideration that influences our ministry.

Mr. Vaughn in a letter I have received from him gives me the same information that you have given me with respect to the ascendancy which the whig party have obtained in your state.⁵ The tumults in New England; the weakness of Congress; the difficulties and suffering of many of the states; the slavery of the Rhode Island legislature, etc., etc., form subjects of triumph in this country. The conclusion is, that you are falling to pieces and will soon repent your independence. But the hope of the friends of virtue and liberty is (to borrow an expression in your letter) that, whereas the kingdoms of Europe have travelled to tranquility through seas of blood, the United States are travelling to a degree of tranquility and liberty that will make them an exam-

4. Price probably refers to the refusal of the British, contrary to the Peace of Paris of 1783, to evacuate western military outposts at Ogdensburg, Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, and elsewhere, although each side claimed there were violations by the other in such matters as restitution of property and slaves and payment of debts. Matters were not resolved officially until 1794 when a Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation (Jay's Treaty) was proclaimed on 29 Feb. See Samuel F. Bemis, *The Diplomacy of the American Revolution, 1775-1783* (New York, 1935), and *Jay's Treaty* (New York, 1923).

5. See Samuel Vaughan to R.P., 4 Nov. 1786.

ple to the world, *only* through seas of blunders. God grant this may prove the truth.

You will receive with this a volume of sermons which I have just published.⁶ I must rely on your candour with respect to everything in them which you may think to be erroneous. I have delivered my confession of faith freely, but at the same time I have endeavoured to do it in a manner that can give no just offence to any persons. What I most of all wish is to promote free and amicable discussion, and to lead Christians to love and respect one another amidst all their differences.

I feel at present forsaken having lost the person who for near 30 years has divided with me the cares and pleasures of life. This has deeply affected my spirits, and made me desire more than ever to retire from all public services.

Wishing you, sir, a long continuance of happiness and success in all your endeavours to inform and serve your country, I am with gratitude to you for your attention and great regard, your sincere friend

and very humble servant,
Richd Price

6. *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine.*

To Benjamin Franklin

Newington Green, Jany 26th: 1787

Dear Friend:

Your letter by Mr Nicklin gave me great pleasure.¹ I know your time and attention must be much engaged by a variety of important business, and therefore every line I receive from you I must reckon a greater favour than I have reason to expect. Since the reception of your letter I have heard by Mrs Vaughn that you continue well; and Dr Rush has informed me, that you think you have received benefit from the remedy recommended in Dr. Faulkner's book.² Such accounts cannot but be agreeable to me; and it is my ardent wish

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. See Benjamin Franklin to R.P., 29 July 1786.

2. See Vol. II, 214–16, and R.P. to Benjamin Franklin, 29 July 1786; also see Benjamin Rush to R.P., 27 Oct. 1786. If the remedy was drinking water that had been impregnated with fixed air, as suggested in the letter from Benjamin Franklin to R.P., 29 July 1786, the "Dr. Faulkner" was probably William Falconer, M.D. (1744–1824). He studied medicine at Edinburgh, taking the degree of M.D. in 1766, and at Leyden. He practiced successfully at Chester and then at Bath. The remedy was probably suggested in one of the three pamphlets making up Falconer's *Experiments and Observations, in three parts*. "I. On the dissolvent power of water impregnated with fixable air, compared with simple water, relatively to

that your comfort and usefulness may be continued as long as possible. I have myself been a great sufferer lately; I mean, by the loss of Mrs Price, who died of the Palsy in September last after a long period of deplorable langour and decrepitude. This has made me feel like a forsaken creature and shocked my spirits sadly.

We have an acquisition here by the arrival of Mrs Vaughn and her daughters; and we hope Mr Vaughn will not stay long after them. I return you many thanks for your intention to send me the second Volume of the Transactions of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia; but, thro' some mistake, I have not yet received it.³ The value of it is, I find, much increased by your communications.

I have sent you by Dr. White a volume of sermons which I have just published. I could almost wish you would not look into them, I mean to serve the cause of truth and virtue by them; but I may be much mistaken, and I cannot but fear they are not sufficiently fit for your perusal.⁴

I have been happy in the conversation of Dr White and Dr Provost; and as it seems the members of the Episcopal Church in America must have Bishops I am glad they have directed their views to Gentlemen so worthy and liberal.

I find there are great disorders in some of the United States; but you comfort me by saying they will all end well. Your advice and counsels will, I doubt not, contribute much to this end.⁵ That you may enjoy this and every other satisfaction that can make the remainder of a life that will be one of the most distinguished in future annals, honourable and happy is, my Dear Friend, the wish of yours, most gratefully

and affectionately
Richd Price

Baron *Maseres* informs me, that in a letter to him you gave an intimation of a method of paying off the national debt which you thought easier and cheaper than any method that has been yet proposed. He has desired me to present his respects to you, and to tell you that he wishes to know what this

medicinal substances. II. On the dissolvent power of water, impregnated with fixable air, on the Urinary Calculus. III. On the antiseptic power of water impregnated with fixable air . . ." (London, 1776).

For a discussion of Franklin's health in his later years, particularly with regard to his bladder stone, see Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin*, esp. pp. 632-35, 737, 743, 767.

3. See Benjamin Franklin to R.P., 29 July 1786.

4. In Price's shorthand draft of this letter, on the ms. of Benjamin Franklin to R.P., 29 July 1786, he had written as the last two sentences of this paragraph, "I can scarcely wish you would look into this book. I shall be sufficiently gratified by your accepting it and putting it down in your *library* as a testimony of my respect."

5. Price had written in his shorthand draft, "I find there are great disorders in some of your states and some points central to their interest are being unsettled. But you comfort me by saying your suffering operates for your advantage and that all is likely to end well. Your counsel and advice must contribute much to this end."

method is. You did, he says, encourage him in your letter to expect that you would give him this information.⁶

The advertisement of the expected return of a comet next year I convey to you by the desire of Dr Maskelyne.⁷

6. See Benjamin Franklin to R.P., 18 May 1787.

7. The postscript is not in the shorthand draft.

To Joel Barlow

Newington=Green Feby 4th 1787

Dear Sir,

Having now been in possession of your poem entitled *The Vision of Columbus* near a year,¹ and not having heard from you in answer to a letter I sent you in May last² by Mr. Drake of Boston,³ I am under the painful apprehension that my letter has miscarried and that I am suffering in your good opinion. In that letter I informed you, that the Dedication to the King of France, the encomiums on France and the American army, and the censures of this country in your Poem render it improper to be published in this country, and that, notwithstanding its singular merit, no bookseller here is likely to be willing to hazard the publication of it at his own expence, or to give you any thing for the copy that will come near to the terms you have mentioned in your letter to me. I have, therefore, given my opinion that it will be your best way to get it printed either in America or at Paris. It is with pain I have given you this information; and I have been for some time expecting some directions from you in consequence of it. Your Poem will, probably, not only do *you*, but *your country* credit; and I hope, the delay and disappointment occasioned by your sending it to me will not discourage you.

Should you be acquainted with Mr Webster, *Junior*, deliver to him when you see him my respectful compliments. I received a letter from him in August⁴ last which gave me pleasure. But so numerous are my correspondents that it is not possible for me to be as attentive to them as I wish. I hope, however, not to omit much longer sending Mr Webster my acknowledgments

ORIGINAL: Houghton Library, Harvard University. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

1. See Thomas Day to R.P., 8 Apr. 1786.

2. Not located.

3. Not further identified.

4. Not located.

and thanks for his kind attention to me.⁵ I am in debt to Dr. *Beardsley*,⁶ and very deeply to Dr Styles.

With all best wishes I am, sir
Your very obedient and humble servant,
Richd Price

5. Price had written to Noah Webster, Jr., 2 Aug. 1785. See Vol. II, 297–98. If he wrote subsequently, however, the letter has apparently not survived.

6. Dr. Ebenezer Beardsley (1756–91). See Vol. II, 201.

To [Arthur Lee]

Newington-Green Feby 4th 1787

Dear Sir,

I am truly ashamed when I think, that your last letter has been so long unnoticed by me. [The] true reason has been slowness of disposition and bad spirits united to a multiplicity of engagements and particularly in extensive correspondence to which it is not in my power to be properly attentive. But I will make no farther Apologies. There are few to whom I desire more to shew my respect than to you. I think with gratitude of the acquaintance with which you honoured me in this country; and I wish you all possible happiness and, particularly, that which must arise from the satisfaction of seeing those united states of which you are so important a member prosperous and happy. They are, I find, struggling with some difficulties, and they have points of great consequence to settle. May heaven, for the sake of mankind, give them wisdom to manage properly the vast trust, committed to them. Your abilities and integrity will contribute much to this end.

I am grieved when I think of the policy of this country with respect to the united states. Our present minister when first brought forward by our Friend the Marquess of Lansdown concurred with him in beginning a plan which, had it been carried into execution, would probably have produced a family friendship and union between this country and yours, from which we might have derived greater advantages than we ever derived from your dependence. But, as far as *your* interest is co[n]cerned I believe things may be best as they are. You are now forced to check your rage for foreign trade, and to see that your greatest happiness consists in avoiding luxury, in simple manners, and that best kind of opulence and independence which arise from the plenty produced by agriculture, from finding your resources within yourselves, and a well-guarded internal liberty. In Europe, establishments and abuses which

have acquired sacredness from time, obstruct all attempts to being about reformations and improvements and render them impracticable with producing tumults and convulsions. You are upon open and free ground. The advantages of your situations are such as have scarcely ever been before known among mankind; and I rejoyce to find that in several instances they have been happily improved. I have, in particular, been delighted with the Act passed last year by the Virginia legislature for establishing religious freedom. It has been circulated here and in Ireland with an introduction which I writ to it:¹ and, I fancy, not without some effect. I have enclosed one of the papers. Mr. Adams has just publish'd here a *Defence of the American Constitutions*.² I am not sorry that I have given occasion to this publication by inserting, in my Pamphlet on the American Revolution, Mr Turgot's letter to me: [but] I wish I had added a Note to express my disapprobation of the sentiments in the passage to which Mr Adams has with so much reason objected.³ His book will probably be much read in America as well as here. There is much information in it on the subject of government; and he has fully convinced me of the point which it is his chief intention to prove. The Marquiss of Lansdown is pretty well; but I see no probability of his returning to power. I told him I was writing to you; and his reply was that *he* would also write to you by Dr. White. Colonel Barre, you know, is almost blind. A ball which never could be extracted was shot into one of his eyes in the War before the last and he has now almost lost the sight of the other eye; but he bears his calamity with much resignation. The Dissenters are going to apply with vigour to Parliament for the repeal of the corporation and test Acts;⁴ and the more liberal part of us are now establishing at Hackney at a great expence a New College for Education which, I hope, will be productive of great good.⁵

Excuse, Dear Sir, some haste, and accept my best wishes. I have lately been thrown into a state of inexpressible grief by the death of my wife, and my

1. See R.P. to Sylvanus Urban, 26 July 1786.

2. *A Defence of the Constitution of Government of the United States of America against the attack of M. Turgot in his letter to Dr. Price dated the twenty-second of March, 1778*, 3 vols. (London, 1787–88). For Adams's reasons for publishing this work, see John Adams to R.P., 20 May 1789.

3. Adams objected to Turgot's complaint that the Americans had followed the model of the British constitution too slavishly in creating their own institutions. In the phrase "remener toutes les autorites à une seule, celle de la nation" Adams understood Turgot to be advocating the replacement of governor, council, and House of Representatives with a single unicameral assembly responsible for the government of the whole state. To Adams, whose political system was based on the doctrine of a balanced constitution, this suggestion was anathema. Price's endorsement of Adams's criticism indicates his own preference for a balanced constitution.

4. On 5 Jan. 1787 the General Meeting of the Committee of the Protestant Dissenting Deputies resolved to make an application to Parliament for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts and referred the matter to the committee of the deputies. On 2 Feb. the committee resolved to request Henry Beaufoy to introduce the notion for repeal in the Commons. Minutes of the Protestant Dissenting Deputies, Guildhall MSS.

5. See R.P. to William Adams, 10 Dec. 1786.

spirits have been sadly shocked. Hoping for your candour with respect to what I have now scribbled

I am, with great regard,
Your most obedient and humble servant
Richd Price

From John Adams

Grosvenor Square, Feb. 4, 1787

Dear Sir,

I am happy to learn, by your obliging letter of the second of this month,¹ that you have found some amusement, in the volume I left with you, and that I may entertain a hope of its doing any good.² It is but an humble tho' laborious office, to collect together so many opinions and examples; but it may point out to my young countrymen the genuine sources of information, upon a subject more interesting to them if possible than to the rest of the world. A work might be formed upon that plan which would be worthy of the pen and the talents of a Hume, a Gibbon, a Price or a Priestley, and I cannot but think that the two former would have employed their whole lives in forming into one system and view all the governments that exist, or are recorded, more beneficially to mankind than in attacking all the principles of human knowledge, or in painting the ruins of the Roman Empire, instead of leaving such an enterprise to the temerity of an American Demagogue worn out with the cares and vexations of a turbulent life.

There is no proposition, of which I am more fully satisfied, than in the necessity of placing the whole executive authority in one. This I know will make me unpopular with a number of persons in every American State, but this is no new thing. Before even the government of Virginia was erected, and before the Convention that formed it met, which was several months before the Convention which made the constitution of Pennsylvania, in the begin-

PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 364-65. TEXT: *M.H.S.P.*

1. Not located.

2. The editors of *M.H.S.P.* note that this is "The First Volume of Mr. Adams' 'Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America, against the Attack of M. Turgot.' This volume was published in London in 1787 as a complete work, and was immediately reprinted in America in three editions, at Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. The second and third volumes were published in the following year." It was written, in part, as a response to the letter from Turgot that Price had published with his *Observation on the Importance of the American Revolution*. This is indicated by the full title of Adams's first volume, which continues the title given by the editors of *M.H.S.P.* "in his Letter to Dr. Price dated twenty-second of March, 1778." For details of the letter, see Vol. II, 3-19, and Peach, pp. 215-24. For a discussion of the issues, see D. O. Thomas, pp. 275-77.

ning of 1776, I wrote at the desire of several gentlemen in Congress, a short sketch of a government which they caused to be printed under the title of *Thoughts on Government in a Letter from a Gentleman to his Friend*,³ in which three independent branches were insisted on. This pamphlet was scattered through the States and was known to be mine. Afterwards in 1779 in the Convention of Massachusetts, I supported to the utmost of my power the same system in public debates in Convention, as well as in the grand Committee and Sub-Committee, and drew up the plan of their constitution, with a negative to the Governor.⁴ So that my opinion, such as it is, has always been generally known, and I am not apprehensive of any uncandid reflections in consequence of the late publication. On the contrary it is well known that Mr. Turgot's crude idea is really a personal attack upon me, whether he knew it or not, and therefore very proper that the defence should come from me.⁵

Your favourable sentiments of it oblige me very much. I have great reason to lament the hurry in which it was done, having neither put pen to paper nor begun to collect the material till after my return from Holland in September.⁶ Such a work too ought to have made use of any popular publication that happen'd to fall in my way. If apologies were not always suspected, I should have made one.

Mrs. Adams and the children desire me to make you their affectionate respects. With the highest esteem, I am, dear Sir, your most obedient servant,

John Adams.

3. Philadelphia, 1776, Boston, 1776 and 1778. According to Gilbert Chinard, *Honest John Adams* (Boston, 1933), it was written after a conversation with George Wythe of Virginia and published through Richard Henry Lee, with the aim of moving the southern government toward republicanism.

4. On 9 Aug. 1779, only a week after he had served as a commissioner to France, Adams was elected to the Massachusetts constitutional convention. As a member of a subcommittee that included James Bowdoin and Samuel Adams, he, in effect, prepared a draft of the constitution for the State of Massachusetts, a modified version of the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony: an elected governor, separation of powers, a bill of rights extending religious liberty, even a section encouraging literature. He recommended three branches of the legislature, but his colleagues in the convention established two; he recommended the power of an absolute veto to the governor ("a negative to the governor") but, again, members of the convention voted that such a veto could be overridden by two-thirds of both houses of the legislature.

5. For a discussion of Adams's disagreement with Turgot and Price's involvement, see D. O. Thomas, pp. 275–77.

6. In Aug. and Sept. 1786, accompanied by Abigail, Adams visited the Netherlands, initially to meet a deadline made close by a tardy action by Congress, for an exchange with Prussia of their mutual ratification of a commercial treaty. See *Diary and Autobiography*, III, 201–211.

To John Adams

Newington-Green Feb. 8th 1787

Dear sir,

When I writ to you last week to return you my thanks for the instruction and pleasure given me by your *Defence of the American Constitutions* I had no reason to expect that you should give yourself the trouble of making any reply to it.¹ I am therefore the more obliged to you for your letter; and I cannot make myself easy without sending you a few lines of acknowledgment. The circumstances you mention that your book was written, and the materials for it collected since September last makes me think more highly of the ability that produced it; and I cannot be sorry that I have given occasion for it by the publication of Mr Turgot's letter. At the time of this publication I was entirely ignorant that you had deliver'd any opinion with respect to the sentiment in the passage to which you have objected. I have lately writ several letters to America, and in some of them I have taken occasion to mention your publication, and to say that you have convinced me of the main point which it is intended to prove, and that I wish I had inserted a Note to signify the difference of opinion between Mr Turgot and me on that point. The subject of civil government, next to religion, is of the highest importance to mankind. It is now, I believe, better understood than ever it was. Your book will furnish a help towards further improvement, and your country will, I hope, give such an example of this improvement as will be useful to the world.

With sincere wishes that you and Mrs Adams may enjoy all that can make you most happy, and under a grateful sense of her and your kind attention and civility, I am, Sir, respectfully and affectionately.

Yours,
Richd Price.

ORIGINAL: Massachusetts Historical Society, Adams Papers, Reel No. 369. Recipient's copy.

TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Adams Manuscript Trust.

1. See John Adams to R.P., 4 Feb. 1787. See also Alfred Iacuzzi, *John Adams: Scholar* (New York, 1952), pp. 77-80.

To William Adams

Newington=Green Feby 17th 1787

Dear Sir

I ought long before this time to have returned you my best thanks for the pleasure and satisfaction you have given me by your last letter.¹ The approbation you express in it of my sermons is a proof of your candour which greatly impresses me. I was in hopes they might have shewn some of my Socinian friends that their scheme of Christianity is not the most rational or credible; but I find this not to be the case. Dr Priestley, in particular, who is continually inviting controversy, is going to answer me. He is now busy in writing letters to Dr Horne, who, I believe, has gratify'd him much by attacking him.² To these letters he is to add letters to me in defence of Socinianism.³ His first publication, however, will be a continuation of his letters to Philosophical Unbelievers.⁴ But he is so rapid that I expect to see both publications in less than a month's time.

I have finished my revisal of my Book on morals, a new Edition of which will probably be published in May.⁵ There will be an Appendix to it containing notes, and a Dissertation on the Being and attributes of the Deity. One of the Notes consists of a few remarks on *Payley's* Lectures; but it will not take up above three or four pages.⁶ The design of the Dissertation is to explain a subject which I think has been greatly mistaken by Dr Hamilton⁷ and several

ORIGINAL: Gloucestershire County Records Office. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Gloucestershire County Records Office.

1. Not located.

2. See Joseph Priestley to R.P., 7 Jan. 1787, n.2.

3. *Defences of Unitarianism for the Year 1787, Containing Letters to the Rev. Dr. Geddes, to the Rev. Dr. Price, Part II, and to the Candidates for Orders in the Two Universities, Part II. Relating to Mr. Howe's Appendix to His Fourth Volume of Observations on Books . . . and Several Other Publications* (Birmingham, 1788).

4. See Joseph Priestley to R.P., 7 Jan. 1787, n.4.

5. *Review*. This was the third edition. It was edited by D. D. Raphael in 1948 and published by Oxford University Press in 1948 and then reprinted in 1974 with minor modifications.

6. See Vol. II, 325–26, n.1.

7. Hugh Hamilton, D.D. (1729–1805), descendant of Sir James Hamilton of Finnart. Trinity College, Dublin, 1742–47; M.A., 1750; B.D., 1759; D.D., 1762; Erasmus Smith Professor of Natural Philosophy, Dublin; member of the Royal Society and of the Royal Irish Academy; successively rector of Kilmacrean, vicar of St. Anne's (Dublin), dean of Armagh, bishop of Clonfort and Kilmacdaugh, bishop of Ossory. He offered an a priori argument for the existence of God "by showing that an absurdity or contradiction would follow from supposing [certain propositions about existence and cause] false." *An Attempt to Prove the Existence and Absolute Perfection of the Supreme Unoriginated Being in a Demonstrative Manner* (Dublin, 1784), p. 126.

other very valuable writers. I mean, the *Necessity* of the existence of the first cause, and the proof it implies of his perfections. I think this argument very important, but I am afraid I shall not be able to give such a representation of it as will engage many to enter into my ideas, or to satisfy the opponents of Dr Clarke's argument, who, in his first letter, at the end of his *Evidence of natural and revealed religion*,⁸ has observed very justly, that it is an argument very difficult to express and not easy to be conceived except by very attentive minds, but at the same time more demonstrative and convincing than any other arguments to those who can and will attend. But I am ashamed of talking to you so much of what I am doing.

It gives me concern to find that you are suffering under infirmities and disorders. May God make the remainder of a life so valuable and distinguished as comfortable as possible. I have had a heart-breaking stroke, and I am now feeling it almost as much as at first; but God will I hope, unite us and all we have loved in a better state. I soon lost the cough that troubled me when I had the pleasure of seeing Miss Adams at Mr Beaufoy's, and I have been ever since as well as a man who is just turning his 64th year can expect to be. You have recommended the Bark⁹ to me. I once try'd it and thought it gave me a very agreeable relief; and I shall probably have recourse to it again. It is, I believe, as you say a sovereign remedy.

The lay Gentlemen among the Dissenters are busy in preparing for an application to Parliament for the relief of the Test and Corporation Acts.¹⁰ The Bishops met on this business last Saturday and by a majority of 16 to two resolved to oppose the repeal. The two dissentient were the Bishops of St Asaph and Landaff.¹¹

On thursday last an account was read to the Royal Society of Dr Herschel's having just discover'd that the new planet to which he has given the name of the *Georgium Sidus* has two satellites one of which revolves in nine and the other in thirteen days.¹²

Deliver my respectful compliments to Miss Adams.

I am, Dear Sir, with great respect and affection,

Ever Yours
Richd Price

8. *Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion: A Discourse Concerning the Unchangeable Obligations of Natural Religion and the Truth and Certainty of the Christian Revelation: Being Eight Sermons Publish'd in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul in the Year 1705 at the Lecture Founded by Robert Boyle* (London, 1708).

9. The bark of the cinchona tree from which quinine is obtained.

10. For the outcome of this application, see R.P. to Isaac Hawkins Browne, 3 Apr. 1787.

11. On Saturday, 27 Jan. 1787, the only favorable votes for repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in the House of Lords were those of Jonathan Shipley and Richard Watson.

12. That is, Uranus. See Vol. II, 105, 196–97. W. Herschel, "An Account of the Discovery of Two Satellites Revolving Around the Georgian Planet" (London, 1787). The satellites are now known as Titania and Oberon.

From Jan Ingenhousz

Vienna april 2th 1787

Dear Sir,

I am proud of being informed by our Philanthropic friend Mr Howard that you have not yet lost me out of sight.¹ Receive my grateful acknowledgement for this kind remembrance and information after my health, You may perhaps know that Life annuity Society of Amsterdam, of which you drew in your book a perfect judgment, broke entirely some years ago.² I lose by it, buying a considerable sum, twelve hundred gilders a year which was due to me but which I never got. My Brother lost perhaps 3000 florins or more by it a year. I see now and then in some newspaper mention of a scheme being in agitation of a conversion of some stock into life annuities with the Benefit of survivorship, on purpose to extinguish some of the public debts without paying the capital. As I thought this a reasonable scheme I ordered Mrs Drummond³ at Charing Cross to subscribe in my name for some hundred pounds if it should be carried into execution. It seems to me that two per cent added to the four and suppressed again after the life of every annuitant, would be a benefit for the state, if after a certain number of years to which human life may extend, the capital sum would be extinguished. If arithmetical calculation for such a scheme should not fall out better than the common way of sinking the capital by paying the value of the stock. it seems to me however beneficial, if the scheme was put in execution for subscribers of 50 years of age and upwards, as their lives would drop off faster. I remember your sometimes regretting that Britain had put too much confidence in applying arithmetical calculations to political undertakings, because the sinking fund establish'd in the year 1716 upon very good arithmetical ground had

ORIGINAL: The American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. See John Howard to R.P., 18 Jan. 1787.

2. Price had criticized the Life Annuity Society of Amsterdam in the introduction to the early editions of *O.R.P.*, showing in detail by actuarial calculation from his tables how "grossly defective" its operations and how unrealistic its promises were, as if it had "been contrived by persons who had no principles to go upon" (2nd ed., pp. ix-x, note). Later he wrote, "This was so wretched a deception that it was impossible it should long stand its ground; and I am told it exists no more. I have, therefore, expunged the notice I took of it in that Preface; and I will not here give any further account of it" (7th ed., I, 131-32).

3. Probably Charlotte (d. 1802—*The Times*, 28 Sept. 1802), daughter of Lord William Beauclerk, wife of John Drummond (1723-74), who survived her husband by twenty-one years and was active in the Drummond banking firm of Charing Cross. Possibly Catherine, wife of Adam Drummond (1713-86); Elizabeth, wife of Henry Drummond (1730-95); or the wife of Robert Drummond (1728-1804) who died in 1791 (*The Times*, 5 Apr. 1791). See Valentine, pp. 268-70.

continuously failed by political undertakings, the ministry never almost applying it to its destination.⁴ France would have been lost if it had not negotiated on the lives of the subscribers.⁵ I believe a great many old men would subscribe some hundred pounds upon their own live[s] if all the subscribers of nearly the same age should be placed in their own class. They would even do it for the benefit of their own children, in hopes of longevity, and of enjoying in that case a sudden increas of income. For my part (being born the 8th of December, 1730) I should not hesitate to place some money in such a scheam on my own head and on that of my brother and that of his spouse for the benefit of their children. I have seen advertised proposals of such societies lately but as I did not see they were under your Direction I did not take much notice of them. I should think, however, that people would not easily engage in such private scheams unless on the heads of very young children, but some mistrust could scarce fail to be the consequence of large sums put in the hands of private men for a long series of years. Government alone could command a full confidence in that way. If you could spare some moments of time to give me your opinion of those hints you would oblige me greatly. If ever I should have the satisfaction to see you again I could think you understand better the reason of my enquiring about such things; but prudence does not allow me to write what I think.⁶

Our common Friend, Dr Franklin, wrote me two very kind letters lately, one printed which you will have seen in the Philosophical Transactions of Philadelphia, the other in manuscript.⁷ I begin to think, with that great man, that whatever misfortunes have happened to Britain by the last imprudent War, it will at least have the effect of making the English a more quiet people, less quarrelsome with their neighbors, and they more happy by them selfe.

I am very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,
J. IngenHousz

4. Price had devoted much time and effort to the issue of the sinking fund, as these letters and his publications show. See Vol. II, 183–84, 205–6, 277, 330–37. See also *The State of the Public Debt and Finances* and *O.R.P.* (7th ed.), I, 322–35. For a perspicuous summary of his schemes, see “Journal,” pp. 373–74. For a history of sinking funds in Great Britain from 1716 through 1867, with extensive reference to Price and quotations from the fourth edition of *O.R.P.*, see William L. Sargent, *Apology for Sinking Funds* (London, 1868), pp. 5–82. For a systematic discussion of Price’s views on finance, including the sinking fund, see D. O. Thomas, pp. 234–59.

5. For Price’s response to the French sinking fund, see Vol. II, 240.

6. Ingenhousz probably refers to the “destruction of pensions” and other financial and social changes introduced by Emperor Joseph II. See John Howard to R.P., 18 Jan. 1787.

7. The first letter mentioned by Ingenhousz is dated “at sea, August 28th, 1785,” and is addressed to “Dr Ingenhausz, Physician to the Emperor, at Vienna.” It is a long discussion, twenty-seven printed pages, of chimneys, smoke, drafts, air, heat, circulation, and the like, with eight more pages of notes on the letter. See Benjamin Rush to R.P., 22 Apr. 1786, n.g. The second letter, dealing with personal matters, was dated 27 June 1786. See Smyth: *Franklin*, IX, 519–20.

To Isaac Hawkins Browne, the Younger

St. Thomas's Square Hackney¹ Ap: 3d 1787

Dear Sir

I am truly sensible of the attention to me which occasioned the letter which I received from you on wednesday last. I think most of the principles you advance in it right; but there is one about which we are not likely to agree, and it will now answer no end to enter into any discussion respecting it, the House of Commons having determined not to grant to the Dissenters the relief they wish for and to which as peaceable and loyal subjects they think they have a right.² I am sorry indeed they cannot have you for a friend in this instance; but I know you always follow your judgment and act the part of an independent and worthy member of Parliament. I must however say that the conduct of the friends to our religious establishment on this occasion is, in my opinion, imprudent. Had the Dissenters succeeded they would have been conciliated, every thing would have been quiet, the Protestant interest would have been strengthen'd and no danger would have accrued to the church. But the contrary is likely now to happen. Their disappointment determines them to stronger exertions than ever; and, trusting to the liberality of the times, they believe they must in the end succeed in their endeavours to get a discriminating and stigmatizing law on account of religion abolished, which exists in no other protestant country and which disgraces a Christian ordinance. Under a grateful sense of your friendship, and with great regard I am, Dear Sir,

Your obliged and very obedient servant
Richd Price

I ought to have answer'd your letter sooner, but I have been and still am, deeply involved in the hurry and trouble of removing from Newington-Green, to Hackney.

ORIGINAL: Trinity College Library, Cambridge. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of Trinity College Library.

1. After his wife's death, Price moved to St. Thomas's Square, Hackney.

2. On 28 Mar. 1787 the Commons had debated Henry Beaufoy's motion for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. The motion had been defeated by 176 votes to 93. Much to the disappointment of the Dissenters, Pitt spoke against repeal: "there is a natural desire in sectaries to extend the influence of their religion; the Dissenters were never backward in this, and it is necessary for the Establishment to have an eye to them" (*Parl. Hist.*, XXVI, 780–832). From this time Price became increasingly disillusioned concerning Pitt's aid for religious and parliamentary reform. According to the *London Chronicle*, 27–29 Mar. 1787, Isaac Hawkins Browne the Younger spoke briefly at the conclusion of the debate, but what he said was not recorded.

From Benjamin Rush

Philada April 6, 1787

Dear Sir,

I am encouraged by the favourable reception you have given my humble attempts to advance the interests of humanity, to send you a copy of an essay, which has for its object the happiness of a part of our fellow-creatures who 'till lately have been excluded from human benevolence.¹ I have sent a copy of it to Mr Dilly with a preface, to suit it to the taste of the citizens of your country, to be republished by him if he thinks proper. It will stand in need of the protection of all my friends—for not only the novelty of the opinions contained in it, but the rebel country of its author, will I fear expose it to obloquy and opposition. I enclose you also a copy of the laws of the Society before which it was read—of which our venerable friend Dr. Franklin is President.²

Mr Samuel Vaughan is perfectly qualified to give you a just account of the political state of our country. With great respect, I am, dear Sir,

your faithful friend and humble servant.

Benjⁿ Rush.

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 366. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. "An enquiry into the Effects of Public Punishments upon Criminals, and Upon Society. Read in the Society for Promoting Political Enquiries, convened at the House of his Excellency Benjamin Franklin, Esquire, in Philadelphia, March 9th, 1787" (Philadelphia, 1787). Rush argued that all public punishments tend to make bad men worse and to increase crimes. He proposed some interesting reforms, in which he accepted some of John Howard's proposals.

2. "The Society for Political Enquiries, Established at Philadelphia, 9th February, 1787." Its purpose as stated in its "Rules and Regulations" was "to extend and complete the revolution by freeing ourselves in our own political thought no less from the influence of foreign prejudice than from the fetters of foreign powers." Among its members were George Clymer, William Bingham, Robert Morris, David Rittenhouse, Charles Vaughan, and Samuel Vaughan, Jr.

From Benjamin Franklin

Phila^a May 18, 1787

My dear Friend,

I received your Favour of Jan. 26. with the Volume of Sermons,¹ for which please to accept my Thanks. I have read them with great Pleasure, and I think no one can read them without Improvement.

I condole with you on the Loss of that excellent Woman, so long your pleasing Companion. The being depriv'd of Dear Friends and Relations one after another, is a very severe Tax we pay for living a great while ourselves. But such is the miserable State of things in this Period of our Existence; the Rectification is only to be expected in that which is to come.

My Health continues as when Mrs Vaughan left us. My Malady does not grow perceptibly worse, and I hope may continue tolerable to my Life's End, which cannot now be far distant, being in my 82d Year.

On farther Consideration of my Scheme for sinking the National Debt, I become so doubtful of it as not to venture exposing it to Baron Maseres. I must digest it a little better.²

We have now meeting here a Convention of the principal People in the several States, for the purpose of revising the federal Constitution, and proposing such Amendments as shall be thought necessary. It is a most important Business, and I hope will be attended with Success.³

With great and sincere Esteem, I am ever, my Dear Friend.

Yours most affectionately,
B. Franklin

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 366–67. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine.*

2. Apparently Franklin did not "digest his scheme a little better," or send it to Maseres, or to Price.

3. The notes of James Madison indicate that the serious business of this very important, and only, federal Constitutional Convention in the history of the United States got under way on 25 May 1787, although the day fixed for the first meeting was 14 May. See Charles C. Tansill, comp., *Documents Illustrative of the Formation of the Union of the American States* (Washington, D.C., 1927), p. 109. The convention adjourned less than four months later. On 17 Sept. George Washington, president of the convention, submitted to Congress that remarkable document, the Constitution of the United States (Tansill, *Documents*, pp. 1003–4).

From Benjamin Rush

Philadelphia June 2nd: 1787.

Dear Sir,

I set down with great pleasure to inform you that *eleven* states have this day been represented in the Convention now assembled in this city for the purpose of revising the federal Constitution.¹ A delegation is expected in a few days from the 12th.² Rhode Island is destined to all the distress and infamy that can arise from her total separation from the Confederacy.³ Her insignificance in point of numbers, strength, and character render this event of no consequence to the general interests of the Union.

Dr. Franklin exhibits daily a spectacle of transcendent benevolence by attending the Convention punctually, and even taking part in its business and deliberations. He says "it is the most august and respectable Assembly he ever was in in his life, and adds, that he thinks they will soon finish their business, as there are no prejudices to oppose, nor errors to refute in any of the body." Mr Dickinson⁴ (who is one of them) informs me that they are all *united* in their

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *Rush Letters*, I, 418–20. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. The required number of representatives from Virginia and Pennsylvania were present on 14 May 1787. By 25 May they had been joined by representatives from South Carolina, New York, Delaware, North Carolina, and New Jersey, making the number required to form a house. Representatives from Massachusetts and Maryland arrived on 28 May, from Connecticut on 30 May, and from Georgia on 31 May. See George Bancroft, *History of the United States* (New York, 1885), vol. 6, pp. 207–16.

2. New Hampshire did not appoint representatives until 27 June. On 30 June the delegates of the other states rejected a motion to urge New Hampshire to send its representatives, who finally arrived and were seated on 23 July. See Tansill, *Documents*, pp. 55–56, 305–6, 433. See also Lynn W. Turner, *The Ninth State* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1983), pp. 68–70.

3. Butterfield notes: "The Rhode Island legislature, dominated by a popular political faction, refused to send delegates to the Federal Convention; there was talk of reading 'Rogue Island' (a name used by non-Rhode Islanders) out of the Confederation, and rumor was current a little later that the convention had done so ([Charles] Warren, *Making of the Constitution* [Boston, 1928], pp. 131–3, 198)." *Rush Letters*, I, 420, n. 1.

4. John Dickinson (1732–1808), statesman, author, patriot. Educated at home, then in the Middle Temple in London, member of the Pennsylvania legislature where he was a conservative opponent of Benjamin Franklin. He was the anonymous author of a series of important and influential papers known in pamphlet form as *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies*; he continued to work for nonviolence and conciliation up to the time of the Declaration of Independence, against which he cast his vote. He carried arms against Britain in the Revolution, fighting at the battle of Brandywine. He was a member of Congress from Delaware and president of its Supreme Executive Council, a post he also held in Pennsylvania when he returned to live in Philadelphia. At the time of Rush's letter he was an active and influential representative in the federal convention for Delaware. He also was instrumental in leading Delaware to ratify first the new Constitution on 6 Dec. 1787. During the last seventeen years of his life he held no public office but

Objects, and he expects they will be equally united in the means of attaining them. Mr Adam's book⁵ has diffused such excellent principles among us, that there is little doubt of our adopting a vigorous and compounded federal legislature. Our illustrious minister in this gift to his country, has done us more service than if he had obtained alliances for us with all the nations in Europe.

You must not be surprised if you should hear of our new system of government meeting with some opposition. There are in all our States little characters, whom a great and respectable government will sink into insignificance. These men will excite factions among us, but they will be of a temporary duration. Time, necessity, and the gradual operation of reason will carry it down, and if these fail *force* will not be wanting to carry it into execution, for not only all the wealth but all the military men of our country (associated in the Society of the Cincinnati)⁶ are in favor of a wise and efficient government. The order of nature is the same in the political, as it is in the natural world. Good is derived chiefly from evil. We are travelling fast into order and national happiness. The same enthusiasm *now* pervades all classes in favor of *government*, that actuated us in favor of *liberty* in the years 1774 and 1775, with this difference, that we are more *united* in the former than we were in the latter pursuit. When our enemies triumph in our mistakes and follies, tell them that we are *men*, that we walk upon two legs, that we possess reason, passions, and senses, and that under these circumstances it is as absurd to expect the ordinary times of the rising and setting of the sun will be altered, as

continued an active interest in public affairs. (D.A.B.) As a great admirer of Dickinson, Rush was influential in having Dickinson College named in his honor.

5. See John Adams to R.P., 4 Feb. 1787. Butterfield notes: "The first volume reached the United States as the Federal Convention was about to sit and, according to BR, was printed by Hall and Sellers at BR's instigation (letter to Adams 19 May 1812 [*Rush Letters*, II, 1134–36]). Charles Francis Adams observed that the book was 'much circulated in the convention and undoubtedly contributed somewhat to give a direction to the opinions of the members' (John Adams [*The Works [of John Adams . . . with a Life of the Author]*, ed. Charles Francis Adams, 10 vols. (Boston, 1856)], IV, 276)."

6. The Society of the Cincinnati was a hereditary, military, and patriotic organization formed by officers of the American Revolutionary Army in May 1783. It was founded to maintain and promote friendship, to perpetuate the values for which they had fought, and to aid members and their families in case of need. The name was taken from the Roman citizen-soldier, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, who, according to tradition, left his farm to lead the Romans to victory against foreign invaders and then returned to his farm.

Butterfield notes: "In some quarters it was believed that the Cincinnati as a body favored the overthrow of the faltering republican confederation and the establishment of a monarchical government with Washington as its head. . . . BR's approval of such a possibility—remarkable in view of his normal anti-militarism and his later Jeffersonianism—indicates that this belief was seriously as well as widely held." *Rush Letters*, I, 420.

For a thorough, extensive, and clearheaded treatment of this topic, see Minor Myers, Jr., *Liberty Without Anarchy* (Charlottesville, Va., 1983).

to suppose we shall not *finally* compose and *adopt* a suitable form of government, and be happy in the blessings which are usually connected with it.

The enclosed newspaper contains an address suited to our present hour of difficulty and danger. The sentiments contained in it will discover its author.⁷ I enclose you likewise a copy of the order to be observed next week in the dedication of our new German and English temple of science and religion.⁸

Accept of my thanks for the copy of your Sermons by Dr White.⁹ I have read them with great pleasure. I have even done more. I have transcribed part of one of them for the benefit of a pious and accomplished female correspondent in a neighbouring State.¹⁰ I am pleased with the moderation with which you have discussed the controverted doctrines in the first five discourses. I confess I have not and cannot admit your opinions, having long before I met with the Arian or Socinian controversies, embraced the doctrines of universal salvation and final restitution. My belief in these doctrines is founded wholly upon the calvanistical account (and which I believe to be agreeable to the *tenor* of Scripture) of the person, power, goodness, mercy, and other divine attributes of the Saviour of the World. These principles, my dear friend, have bound me to the Whole human race; these are the principles which animate me in all my labors for the interests of my fellow creatures. No particle of benevolence, no wish for the liberty of a slave, or the reformation of a criminal will be lost. They must all be finally made effectual, for they all flow from the great author of Goodness who implants no principles of action in man in vain. I acknowledge I was surprised to find *you* express yourself so cautiously and sceptically upon this point. Had you examined your own heart, you would have found in it the strongest proof of the truth of the doctrine. It is this light which shineth in darkness, and which the darkness as yet comprehendeth not, that has rendered you so useful to your country and to the world.¹¹

I beg pardon for this digression from the ordinary subjects of our correspondence. I submit my opinions with humility to that being who will not, as you happily express it, punish involuntary errors, if such, have been embraced by me. I seldom distress myself with speculative inquiries in religion, being fully satisfied that our business is to be *Good* here, that we may be *wise* hereafter.

With great respect, I am, Dear Sir, your friend and humble servant,

Benjn Rush

7. Unidentifiable.

8. The editors of *M.H.S.P.* note: "The reference is probably to the opening of the German College at Lancaster, now called Franklin and Marshall College, which was incorporated March 10, 1787." *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 368n.

9. *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine*.

10. Butterfield suggests, "Very likely BR's mother-in-law, Mrs. [Annis Boudinot] Stockton." *Rush Letters*, I, 420, n.7.

11. For a summary of Rush's religious evolution, see *Rush Letters*, I, lxix. To compare Price, see D. O. Thomas, pp. 19-40.

From Benjamin Franklin

Philada June 9, 1787

Sir,

The Pennsylvania Society for promoting the abolition of Slavery and the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in Bondage have taken the liberty to request your acceptance of a few Copies of their Constitution and the laws of Pennsylvania which relate to one of the objects of their Institution.¹

From a most grateful sense of the Zeal and abilities with which you have long and successfully defended the rights of Mankind, the Society have done themselves the honor of enrolling your name in the number of their corresponding members, and they earnestly request the continuance of your labors in the great objects of their Institution, for in this business the friends of humanity in every Country are of one Nation and Religion.

I am in behalf of the Society, Sir

Your most obedient servant,
B. Franklin

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. "The Constitution of the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery and the Relief of Free Negroes unlawfully held in Bondage. Begun in the year 1774, and enlarged on the twenty-third of April, 1787. To which are added the Acts of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery" (Philadelphia, 1787).

The society, originally called "The Society for the Relief of Free Negroes, unlawfully held in Bondage" originated on 14 Apr. 1775. It was reorganized in 1784 and given a new name and this constitution in 1787. Pennsylvania granted it a charter of incorporation in 1789. The publication containing a copy of the new constitution sent by Franklin to Price also included the texts of two laws: "An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery" was enacted 1 Mar. 1780, and "An Act to give Relief to certain Persons taking Refuge in this State, with Respect to their Slaves" was enacted 1 Oct. 1781, pp. 9-15.

For information on the society and Franklin's role in it, see Lewis J. Carey, *Franklin's Economic Views* (Garden City, N.Y., 1928), pp. 61-99; and Edward R. Turner, "The First Abolition Society in the United States," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXVI (1912), 91-109.

To William Bingham¹

[Extracts]

[May–June, 1787]

I am sorry the Constitution of your government in Pennsylvania is so imperfect as it is. Mr. Adams has just published here a book, which contains much reading and information:—He has entitled it, “A Defence of the American Constitutions;” but the chief design of it is to show, that the powers of legislation ought to be lodged in more than one assembly; and he has convinced me so entirely of this, that I wish I had inserted a note on that passage in Mons. Turgot’s letter to me, which has occasioned Mr. Adam’s book, to express my disapprobation of it.

Having taken the liberty to address to the United States my sentiments of the importance of the revolution in their favour, and during the last war interested myself warmly in their cause I cannot but anxiously wish to hear they are prosperous and happy; and, notwithstanding many appearances which are very discouraging, I must believe they will prove at last such an example and benefit to mankind, as I have expected.

But before this can happen, they have much to do. The federal government, in particular, is unsettled, and I suppose will continue so, until insignificance and discredit among foreign powers, and internal distresses and wars, oblige them to give it DUE STRENGTH AND ENERGY.

Some of the states have been led to a very improper emission of paper. This, in the best circumstances of states, is a dangerous expedient:—But when the paper is not well secured on productive funds, and there is no sufficient basis of coin for circulating it, and it is at the same time made a legal tender, the emission of it becomes worse than DANGEROUS.

I have indeed been shocked to hear what has been done in this way by one or two of the American Legislatures; such facts throw a cloud over our

PRINTED: *The Massachusetts Centinel*, no. 30, vol. VII, Saturday, 30 June 1787, pp. 128–29.
TEXT: *The Massachusetts Centinel*.

1. Under the banner, “Uninfluenced by Party, we aim to be Just,” the editorial introduction to these extracts may serve as a significant sample of opinion in the United States at this time about Adams, Price, and democracy: “At a time when democratical principles have laid the foundation of some of the weakest and most inefficient governments in the American States that ever nations were afflicted with, and when Mr. Adams, a firm friend to liberty and rights of mankind, has combated these prejudices with acknowledged success, it may, perhaps, be pleasing to discover how such sentiments have affected the great and good Dr. Price, who had formerly been led away by the airy phantom of a pure Democracy, and who candidly confesses the error of his opinions in a letter to Mr. BINGHAM, from which the following are extracts.”

American prospects. I doubt not, however, but that what you say of the body of people is true. There is an ardour for improvements among them, and an acquaintance with the true principles of civil government, which united with the great advantages of their situation, must produce great effects.

To William Adams

Hackney July 13th 1787.

Dear Sir

As I know not where you now are I am at a loss how to direct this letter to you, and doubtful whether it may not miss its way to you. I cannot, however, make myself easy without writing to enquire after you, and also to acquaint you that I have sent a copy of the new edition of my *Boo[k] on Morals*¹ directed to you at Pembroke-College, and that I hope you will accept it as one farther small testimony of my great and invariable respect. There is nothing in it new except the Appendix, and all I can wish is, that you would look over this Appendix. The Dissertation on the being and Attributes of the Deity contains an argument which appears to me very impo[rtant] but, as few have enter'd into Dr. Clarke's reasonings [in] these subjects, I can have little hope that it will be [fa]yourably received.

A bad cough and the hot weather of last week h[ave] sunk my spirits so much that every business is at present an encumbrance upon me; and I am often fearing that my health is declining. I am, therefore, going in a few days to seek relief at *East-bourne* in Sussex where probably I shall stay till September. A few lines from you directed to me there and informing me of your having received this letter and being tolerably well would give me comfort. Deliver my kind respects to Miss Adams. I cannot but set a high value on your friendship; and it is my ardent wish and prayer that the remainder of a life so distinguished by general esteem may be as happy as possible.

With great regard, I am
ever yours
Richd Price

ORIGINAL: Gloucestershire County Records Office. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Gloucestershire County Records Office.

1. *Review*.

To Edward Wigglesworth

[Extract]

Hackney, near London, July 23, 1787

Dear Sir,

I am glad to be informed that a Society is incorporated in your State, for providing annuities for the widows of the congregational ministers and professors. The plan recommended in the P. S. of my former letter,¹ may I think be adopted with perfect safety: and it seems one of the most simple and equitable, and also to young ministers particularly encouraging. The calculations are all made by the rules in Qu. vii, viii. Vol. I. of my book on annuities; and the mathematical demonstration of those rules are given in the notes, at the end of Vol. II.² To save trouble I have made use of approximations; but the numbers are as nearly right, as a plan of this kind can well be made.

The proper compensation for the annual payment of five guineas, [£.5 5s. st.] is that sum multiplied by the value of the joint lives of the subscriber and his wife. But as the first of the annual payments is at admission, unity must be added to the tabular value of the joint lives before it is multiplied by £.5,25. I will only add, that every subscriber, for every *extraordinary* payment which he shall at any time make of £.4, 4s. may entitle his widow to an addition of £.1. to the annuity, to which she would have been otherwise entitled. For instance, if after living three years, and entitling his widow, by the plan, to an annuity of £.10, he make an extraordinary payment of 4 guineas, his widow from that time shall be entitled to £.12, if he lives four years, instead of £.11; to £.13, if 5 years, instead of £.12, etc., etc. Should he make 2, 3, 4, etc. such extraordinary payments, he shall, *in like manner*, be entitled to an additional annuity of £.2, £.3, £.4, etc., etc. Perhaps the members, as they grow richer, may like to enjoy a liberty of this kind, and thus be able to improve their expectations.

I wish you, dear Sir, all possible comfort and usefulness in the important station you fill, and am

Your very obedient and humble servant,
Richard Price

N. B. Interest reckoned at 4 per cent. and the probabilities of the duration of human life as they are in the Northampton Table of observations.

PRINTED: The Act of Incorporation, Regulations, and Members of the Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society . . . (Boston, 1815). TEXT: The Act of Incorporation. . .

1. See R.P. to Joseph Willard, 18 Mar. 1786.

2. *O.R.P.*

From John Howard

Belfast July 25, 1787

My dear friend

I must inform you that for several weeks I have been traveling over this Country, inspecting the County Prisons and Hospitals, the Charter-Schools and a few other public Institutions, it is lamentable to find so many of them made jobbs and private emoluments;¹ among the Gentry, few, few men of business, but to races which continue a whole week, all the Country in an uproar; this week even all this Town is deserted for races 20 or 30 miles off; in ten days other races that are nearer;² Drinking and Idleness, the Vices of this Country, and which the Gentlemen use few means to stem; Spirits, spirits wrote up on several houses in every Village and when some Gentlemen, having their Servants corrupted, have checked some such house, the Commissioners in Dublin have granted them Licenses to increase the revenue.³

I am just leaving this Country as I have finished the Northern Tour. I propose making a short stay at Glasgow and Edinburgh and then coming directly to Town; I am pretty well, as I am in a Country flowing with milk; my mind constantly reverts to my private troubles, tho' I have great afflictions, yet I experience greater mercies; and even cause of rejoicing in His Almighty hand, with whom no Instrument is weak. It is with much pleasure I hear my worthy friend's name mention'd with love and respect, I hope the recess and b[at]hing has as usual confirmed your [hea]lth. I am ashamed to think I ha[ve] accumulated your labours; yet I glory in that assistance to which I owe so much credit in the World and under providence success in my endeavour.⁴

With the most Affectionate esteem, I ever remain

Most sincerely yours,
John Howard

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. For details, see *Lazarettos*, pp. 78–124.

2. Constantia Maxwell, *Country and Town in Ireland under the Georges* (London, 1940), p. 32, says that in the mid-eighteenth century there were at least seventy-two horse race tracks in Ireland. See also James Christie Whyte, *History of the British Turf*, 2 vols. (London, 1840), vol. 1, pp. 376–84. For a recent version of horse racing in Ireland, not unlike this one of Howard's, see Brendan Lehane, *Dublin* (Amsterdam, 1978), esp. pp. 177–81.

3. Possibly with editorial assistance from Price, Howard is clearer in *Lazarettos*, p. 81n.: "In almost every village in Ireland, there are several public houses for the sale of spirituous liquors; and when gentlemen, from a regard to the morals and health of their domestics and tenants, have applied to prevent licenses to such houses, the publicans have obtained them from the commissioners of excise in Dublin, because the means of increasing the revenue."

4. As Price reveals in his journal, the assistance he gave Howard had become an increasing burden. See "Journal," p. 378, entry for 24 June 1787.

From Benjamin Rush

Philadelphia July 29. 1787

Dear Sir,

The bearer the Reverend Mr. Winchester has yielded to an inclination he has long felt of visiting London, and has applied to me for a letter to you—for Americans of every profession and rank expect to find a friend, in the friend of human kind. You are no stranger to his principles.¹ I can with great pleasure add, that his life and conversation have fully proved, that those principles have not had an unfavourable influence upon the heart. With a few oddities in dress and manner, he has maintained among both friends and enemies the character of an honest man. He leaves many sincere friends behind him. I know not how his peculiar doctrine of Universal Salvation may be received in London. But in every part of America it has advocates. In New England it continues to spread rapidly. In this city a Mr Blair,² a presbyterian minister of great abilities, and extensive learning, and equally distinguished for his humility and piety, has openly professed his belief of it from the pulpit.

Mr Winchester will deliver you two or three of our last newspapers.

With great respect I am, dear sir,

Your friend and humble servant,

Benjn Rush

PS. All will end well from the federal Convention.

ORIGINAL: The American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 369–70, and *Rush Letters*, I, 432–33. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. Winchester gives credit to Paul Siegvolk, "Chevalier Ramsey" (Andrew Michael Ramsay), and "Mr. Stonehouse" (Sir James Stonehouse) for influencing him finally to conclude that all sinners will be restored to divine favor. See *The Universal Restoration* (Worcester, Mass., 1803), p. iii. For Price's views, see D. O. Thomas, pp. 28–40.

2. The Reverend Samuel Blair (1741–1818). "Samcy" was a classmate of Rush at the College of New Jersey. Later he was elected president of the college as a second choice but resigned when John Witherspoon, the first choice, eventually accepted. He held a pastorate in Boston for several years, then settled in Germantown, Pa., and preached occasionally in Philadelphia. See *Rush Letters*, I, 19, 433.

From William White

Philadelphia July 31 1787

Reverend Sir,

A Gentleman who is preparing to embark from this City for England to submit a Mathematical Instrument to the Inspection of the Royal Society, has asked of me a Letter to some Member of that honourable Body; and on such an Occasion, who should so naturally occur to me as the Gentleman thro' whose good Offices I was admitted to one of their Meetings?

The Bearer Mr Joseph Workman is possessed of a Mathematical Instrument invented by his Brother Mr Benjamin Workman of this City for taking the Variation of the Needle; for which they propose to solicit a Patent, if it should be approved of by the Society. I solicit your Patronage for the introducing of the Work to a candid Examination: and your Zeal for the Advancement of the Arts makes me flatter myself that I shall be successful, even were I not to add (as I can do with great Truth) that the Gentlemen who will be benefited by the Success of it are worthy Characters and have served with Approbation as Tutors in the University of this City.¹

The Interest you take, Sir, in the civil Happiness of America will doubtless make you anxious to hear of the Event of the Convention now sitting for the Improvement of our federal Government. As they observe Secrecy in their Measures, I have cautiously avoided every thing which might look like a prying into their System. This much, however, I find, that Gentlemen among them whom I consider as possessed of great and enlightened Minds entertain agreeable Prospects on the Occasion. It is now well known that they have settled the Principles of the Plan which they are to propose; as the Body have lately adjourned for a short Time, leaving a Committee to digest and arrange the Business.²

I am, Reverend Sir, with great Respect,
Your very humble Servant,
Wm: White

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 370. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. Records of the College of Philadelphia, later the University of Pennsylvania, do not identify the status of Joseph or Benjamin Workman as tutors. Allibone identifies Benjamin Workman as the author of *American Accountant* (Philadelphia, 1789) and *Elements of Geography*, 5th ed. (Philadelphia, 1795).

2. White was chaplain of the Continental Congress, along with George Duffield (1732–90), so he was acquainted with many of the members of the Constitutional Convention, some of whom were members of his church. The Constitutional Convention did not have a chaplain, even though Benjamin Franklin recommended one, because they could not afford the expense. White's intimations of intimacy with the members of the convention are based, therefore, on such acquaintanceship, not on ecclesiastical position. The survey he mentions

was the consequence of a resolution passed on 9 Nov. 1775 by the Continental Congress and rigidly observed by the members of this convention. White was retained as chaplain of the new federal Congress, however, when they returned from New York to Philadelphia, and he held that position until they moved to Washington in 1801. See William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* (New York, 1866), V, 280–88.

The adjournment lasted from 26 July until 6 Aug. 1786. The committee, later known as the Committee of Detail, consisted of John Rutledge of South Carolina, chairman; Edmund Randolph of Virginia; Nathaniel Gorham of Massachusetts; Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut; and James Wilson of Pennsylvania. The business to be digested and arranged was nothing less, in George Washington's own terms, than "to arrange and draw into method and form the several matters which have been agreed to by the Convention of the Constitution for the United States." John Rutledge, for the Committee of Detail, presented the committee's report on 6 Aug. 1787 in the form of a preamble and twenty-three articles, divided into forty-one sections. The debate resumed based on this document, section by section, eventually emerging as the Constitution of the United States. See C. Warren, *Making of the Constitution*, pp. 353–91.

To [James Phillips]¹

East Bourn Sussex Aug 23d 1787

Dear Sir

I received a few days ago your letter,² and also on Saturday the parcel which you sent me by the wagon to this place. I return you many thanks for the trouble you have given yourself about this parcel and also for your letter. The printed papers from the Society for abolishing the Slave trade were a very acceptable present to me. The other papers came from the *Pennsylvania* society for promoting the abolition of slavery and the relief of free Negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and were accompany'd with a letter from Dr. Franklin,³ the President, inclosing some copies of the constitution of the society and the laws of Pennssylvania which relate to the objects of their institution. I am unwilling to put you to the expense of postage for these papers; but I will convey them to you when I return to London which I suppose will be in about a fortnight or three weeks. I had before received from Dr Rush in Philadelphia a copy of an Address from the Pennsylvania

ORIGINAL: The Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. H.M., CN139. Recipient's copy.
TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Huntington Library.

1. James Phillips (d. 1816), abolitionist publisher. The firm of James Phillips (later James Phillips and Son), 2 George Yard, Lombard Street, London, was active in the publication of books against slavery and the slave trade from the early 1780s until 1830 or later. Of the forty-five books on the subject listed in the catalog of Dr. Williams's Library, nine were published by Phillips.

2. Not located.

3. See Benjamin Franklin to R.P., 9 June 1787.

Society to the Convention of the United States assembled at Philadelphia for the purpose of reviving and strengthening the federal Government.⁴ This Address I have inclosed; and I must request the favour of you to shew it to the members of your Committee,⁵ particularly, to Mr Granville Sharp and Mr Clarkson, these two Gentlemen having been particularly mentioned in Dr Rush's letter as persons to whom it should be commun(icated.)

I think myself much honoured by the [invitation] of your Committee to add me to their number. No one [can] more devoutly wish success to their endeavours, or more heartily detest the diabolical traffick which they desire to abolish. But being already engaged in a greater variety of other important business than it is possible for me properly to attend to, I am under the necessity of begging to be excused. My best respects wait on the Committee.

I am, Dear Sir, very respectfully yours
Richd Price

4. See Benjamin Rush to R.P., 6 Apr. 1787.

5. The [London] Society for the Purpose of Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade was established 22 May 1787. Granville Sharp was chairman and Thomas Clarkson one of its most active founding members. Other founding members were William Dillwyn, Samuel Hoare, George Harrison, John Lloyd, Joseph Woods, John Barton, Joseph Hooper, Phillip Sansom, Richard Phillips, and his cousin James Phillips. See Folarin O. Shyllon, *James Ramsey, The Unknown Abolitionist* (Edinburgh, 1977), p. 85. See also Betty L. Fladeland, *Men and Brothers: Anglo-American Anti-slavery Cooperation* (Urbana, Ill., 1972), p. 59.

To The Marquis of Lansdowne

Hackney Sept: 23^d 1787

My Lord

Thinking the time long since I have had any communication with your Lordship, I cannot help writing to you. Mr King¹ informed me at East:Bourne that you had got rid of the gout and were gone from Margate to Lord Warwick's.² These lines will, I suppose, find you at Bowood, and I hope in good health.

I staid near two months at East:Bourn, and returned about a month ago to Hackney where I am now settled for the winter; but I cannot say that I am restored to my former health and spirits. A disposition grows upon me to be encumber'd by everything, and perfect tranquillity and rest are becoming

ORIGINAL: Bowood. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

1. Possibly Edward King (1725–1807).

2. George Greville (1746–1816), Earl Brooke of Warwick Castle, Earl of Warwick.

more and more necessary to me. I have been engaged your Lordship knows, by the solicitations of my friends to consent to be mentioned as a tutor in our new Academic institution. This has made it necessary for me to try to do somewhat in this way. But, after drawing up a plan and an account of the subjects on which I chose to assist the studies of the pupils, my spirits revolted, and I have been obliged to request that I might be allowed either to withdraw entirely, or to be consider'd as obliged only to direct and superintend the execution of my plan by my nephew, Mr. George Morgan. The last has been agree'd to and I am now a little easier.³ The truth is, that I am become totally incapable of every kind of new business; and that in consequence of feelings into which persons of stronger spirits and greater activity cannot enter, I can be happy only when at perfect liberty to do something or nothing, and permitted to go on slowly in the course to which I have been used. But I am ashamed of saying so much to your Lordship about myself. I have been led to this without intending it when I begun writing.

I have lately been shocked by the preparations that are going on for another war. I wonder how it can be possible that our ministers should provoke a war in the manner they have done without any other apparent reason than the support of the Stad: Holders.⁴ I should still more wonder at the applause which Mr Fox and that party are bestowing on the Conduct of

3. Price had originally planned to teach "higher *mathematics*, *fluxions*, etc. N[ewton]'s discoveries, and of assurances, life annuities, public *finances*, etc.," but found his mind oppressed, his spirits sunk, his health injured and "totally incapable of executing the plan [he] had drawn." See "Journal," pp. 380–81, entries for 6 Oct., 21 Oct., and 28 Oct. 1787. Unfortunately, Price's journal does not give details of his teaching. Some are recorded, however, in a letter from Thomas Broadhurst, one of his students, to the *Christian Reformer*, vol. 4, n.s. (March 1848), p. 172. "Mr. Cadogan Morgan generally accompanied his uncle, Dr. Price, during the short period of his Mathematical Tutorship at the New College at Hackney, to assist him if requisite. But the good Dr. had only three pupils to attend upon him, Mr. David Jones, Mr. Jeremiah Joyce and myself, these three being the only students then in the College sufficiently advanced to attend Dr. Price's lectures, which were given in Jebb's *Excerpta*, from Newton's *Principia*, and Dr. Thomas Simpson's *Treatise on Fluxions*. Dr. Price, however, gave but very few lectures at all while in his situation of Professor at Hackney College, both Tutor and pupils being better pleased to fill up the lecture hours in agreeable conversation on philosophy or on politics, rather than employ it in difficult and abstruse calculations." (I am grateful to Alan Ruston for this reference.)

4. The general nature of the preparations would be evident in the negotiations between Great Britain and Prussia. Great Britain was to intervene, in support of Prussia, if the French intervened in behalf of the Patriots, against Prussia's invasion of the Netherlands in support of the Stadholder. Among other specific preparations, Pitt asked the king to raise as large a force as possible of Hanoverians and to make extensive naval preparations. These and other preparations were actively under way, and French intelligence was aware of them.

Price is certainly right that the apparent reason was the support of the Stadholder. It is doubtful, however, given the intricate and complex economic, political, and military relations among the nations of Europe that it was the only reason. See Alfred Cobban, *Ambassadors and Secret Agents* (London, 1954), p. 176, and J. H. Rose, "Great Britain and the Dutch Question in 1787–1788," *American Historical Review*, vol. 14 (1908–9), p. 264.

the ministry⁵ in this case did I not consider that the Duke of Portland⁶ has particular connexions with the Stadholder; and also that his party may be influenced by the expectation that a war may be the means of introducing them into power. It is given out that Mr. Pitt has a secret to divulge when the Parliament meets which will justify what has been done;⁷ and certain I am that it ought to be something of very particular importance. Your Lordship must be vastly better informed in this instance than I can be; but I have some reason for suspecting that France, embarrassed as she is but unwilling to suffer herself to be insulted, is about taking measures (not sufficiently known by our ministers) for maintaining her weight and her Honour which [may]⁸ open a new scene in Europe.⁹

Deliver my very respectful compliments of Lady Lansdown. The time of the meeting of Parliament being near¹⁰ I am in hopes of soon having the pleasure of seeing your Lordship in town. I have received several presents of fruit and game which, as token of your Lordship's remembrance of me, have been very agreeable. With great respect and sincere affection I am, My Lord, Your Lordship's

Most obedient and humble servant
Richd Price

5. Praise came from other quarters as well, although later than this letter. An entry in the *Daily Universal Register* (later *The Times*) for 27 Oct. 1787, 2b, exemplifies two of Price's points: "None of the secret expeditions of that war, which, under the auspices of William Pitt the father, raised this country to the highest pitch of glory, were forwarded with more active exertions than the present preparations which are making under the ministry of William Pitt the son. The nerve of British power is waxing strong indeed and the British name is again rising to its place in the scale of glory." See also Cobban, pp. 202–8.

6. William Henry Cavendish-Bentinck (1738–1809), third Duke of Portland (1762–1809); twice prime minister (1783 and 1807–9). The Bentincks were one of the important and influential families of the Netherlands. His great-grandfather, William Bentinck (1649?–1709), first Earl of Portland, was page of honor, gentleman of the bed chamber, closest friend and confidant of king and stadholder William III of Orange, who became William III, king of England (1688–1702).

7. With great secrecy, Pitt had set in motion preliminary military preparations in late Aug. 1787 after hearing from Ambassador James Harris that the Patriots were making military moves toward The Hague and on the basis of a report from William Grenville, who had just returned from The Hague on a fact-finding mission. See J. H. Rose, *William Pitt and National Revival* (London, 1912), p. 374.

On 16 Sept. 1787 French foreign minister Montmorin issued to British foreign secretary Lord Carmarthen a declaration that France would honor an appeal from the states of Holland for assistance against Prussian troops that had invaded the United Provinces on 13 Sept. See Rose, *William Pitt*, p. 377, and Earl Stanhope, *Life of William Pitt* (London, 1861), I, 344–50.

The "secret" of Pitt to which Price refers was probably this French declaration. King George, in his speech to Parliament on 27 Nov., in fact used it as a justification of the government's military preparations, as did Pitt in subsequent parliamentary debate. See *Parl. Hist.*, XXVI, 1225 and 1226. See also the *Daily Universal Register*, 21 Sept., 2a and 2b; 25 Sept., 3a; 27 Oct., 2b; 7 Nov., 2d; and 9 Nov. 1787, 2c.

8. The manuscript is heavily blotted.

9. See R.P. to Lansdowne, 10 Nov. 1787, for an explanation of this conjecture.

10. The fifth session of the Sixteenth Parliament opened on 27 Nov. 1787. The fourth session had been adjourned on 30 May.

Has your Lordship seen the History of the internal affairs of the seven united Provinces from 1780 to June last? It was written by a person with whom I am acquainted.¹¹

I have enclosed a letter from Mr. Arthur Lee¹² which probably he designed for your Lordship's inspection. I shall be glad to receive it again when your Lordship comes to town.

11. *History of the Internal Affairs of the United Provinces from the Year 1780 to the Commencement of Hostilities in June 1787* was published anonymously in London in early autumn 1787. Price identifies the author as William Godwin in his letter to Lansdowne, dated 10 Nov. 1787 (n.2).

12. Not located.

To Benjamin Rush

Hackney Near London September 24, 1787

Dear Sir,

I have since May last been favoured by you with two letters,¹ and I return you many thanks for the kind attention to me which they discover. It is indeed highly agreeable to me to be informed of what is passing in your country. The account you give of the convention of Delegates at Philadelphia, and of the reason there was to hope for the greatest good from the wisdom and zeal of its members has been particularly encouraging to me. I am at present ignorant of the result of their deliberations, but hope to be soon informed of it. The credit and happiness and dignity of the united States depend essentially on the just formation of the federal government; and I am happy to find that the collected wisdom and weight of so many of the first men in America are now apply'd to this purpose. You, in particular, deserve the praises and thanks of your fellow-citizens for your endeavours to inform and enlighten them. I am obliged to you for sending me the Address to the States in the Pennsylvania paper, I see plainly from whom it came, and I wish it may do good.² I am also

ORIGINAL: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The Library Company of Philadelphia. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

1. See Benjamin Rush to R.P., 2 June and 29 June 1787.

2. Possibly "Proposals for Consideration in the Convention for Forming the Constitution of the United States," by Benjamin Franklin, 26 June 1787. Franklin proposed that the several states should choose an equal number of delegates to "the second governing body," that each state be equal in its role in the federal government, in appointments to civil offices, and in having a share in the treasury proportionate to its contribution in taxes or internal excises. Franklin argued for a government "by number" rather than by a single person, and he supported his argument by citing circumstances in the Netherlands. *Franklin*: Bigelow, IX, 345-48.

obliged to you for your Enquiry into the effects of public punishments on criminals and society.³ It contains many just and important observations and proposals, which tho' perhaps not all practicable to the extent you mention, are proper to be offer'd to public consideration. One of my best and most intimate friends (Mr. Howard) has, as all the world knows, attended with unparalleled assiduity and zeal to this subject, and his example of unspeakable benevolence is operating fast in this kingdom and likely to produce a general reformation in the state of our prisons by reducing them, agreeably to your plan, to penitentiary houses in which criminals are to be punished by solitude, silence and labour and such other treatment as shall have a tendency to reform them and at the same time to make them useful. There is among us a prevailing conviction of the importance of this; and many prisons are now building among us on this plan.⁴

The inclosed papers will inform you of a society which has been just establish'd here for the abolition of the Negro slavery. A great proportion of the members are Quakers; and their zeal in this instance does them peculiar honour.⁵ I was much struck with the memorial on the subject to the convention of Delegates which you have sent me.⁶ I have communicated it to the Committee of this Society and they have just ordered it to be printed. I was desired to make one of this Committee, but having already more business on my hands than my weak health and spirits will allow me to attend to properly,

3. See Benjamin Rush to R.P., 6 Apr. 1787, n.2.

4. See Howard's own work in *The State of the Prisons . . .* and *An Account of the Principal Lazarettos in Europe . . .*, and Brown. His influence continues to the present day in many ways, most recently in the formation in 1901 of the John Howard Association, a Chicago-based, nonprofit, prison reform agency. The agency's executive director, Michael J. Mahoney, writes, "Like our namesake . . . we aim to change the inhumane living conditions inside prison" (Durham, N.C., *Morning Herald*, 30 Sept. 1985, p. 7A).

5. Most of the members of the antislavery committee were Quakers. See Thomas Clarkson, *The History of the Rise, Progress and Accomplishment of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade by the British Parliament* (London, 1808), pp. 256–57.

6. Rush's efforts to abolish the slave trade and slavery went back a long way. As early as 1773 he had published "An Address to the Inhabitants of the British Settlements in America upon Slavekeeping" (Philadelphia, 1773). In 1787 he was one of the secretaries of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery; the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race (the "Pennsylvania Abolition Society"). Under the society's new constitution of 1787 he was instructed to open a correspondence with Thomas Clarkson and Abbé Raynal as well as with Price. In addition, the new committee in England asked the Pennsylvania society to furnish as much information as possible about the effects of manumission on southern plantations. They were particularly interested in Rush's account of free blacks who had shown special abilities in such fields as medicine, mathematics, and art. See *Autobiography*, pp. 82–83.

The memorial mentioned by Price expressed deep regret at the revival of the slave trade almost immediately after the American Revolutionary War came to an end, particularly since "one of the most illustrious acts of the Congress of 1774" was a resolution prohibiting the importation of slaves. *The New Annual Register or Repository of History, Politics and Literature for the Year 1787* (London, 1788), pp. 109–10.

I have begg'd to be excused.⁷ One part of this business is the establishment of a new Academical institution for the education of ministers and youth. You will learn from the inclosed discourse most of the particulars relating to it.⁸

I am obliged to you for your favourable acceptance of my sermons. You are, I find, zealous for the doctrine of final restitution and universal salvation. No doctrine can be more congenial to the feelings of a benevolent heart, and I wish I could have expressed myself with less diffidence about it. Eternal misery there cannot be under the Divine government, and I wonder how many men of reflexion and humanity can admit a thought of it into their minds. But I am not so well satisfy'd that *extermination* may not be inflicted as a punishment for vice; and there is nothing that alarms me more, or that has a greater tendency to deter me from vice, than the consideration that it is at least *possible* this may happen.

I thank you for sending me the laws of your society for political enquiries.⁹ Such associations must be very useful. They tend to promote discussion and to diffuse light through a state, and consequently to give it the truest dignity. But I must not enlarge.

Relying on your candour I am, with great regard,

Your obliged and very humble servant,
Richd Price

I shall be obliged to you for conveying to my friend Mr. Vaughn¹⁰ that copy of my discourse to our new Academical institution which I have directed to him. We are exceedingly alarmed by the apprehension of another war with France.¹¹ Mr. Adams has just printed a second volume of his *Defence of the American Constitutions*.¹² This Volume, like the former holds forth very important lessons of warning and instruction to the united States.

7. See R.P. to [James Phillips], 23 Aug. 1787.

8. That is, the new college at Hackney. See "Journal," pp. 368, 404.

9. See Benjamin Rush to R.P., 6 Apr. 1787, n.2.

10. Presumably Samuel Vaughan, the Elder, not Charles Vaughan or Samuel Vaughan, Jr., two of his sons, who were also in Philadelphia at this time.

11. See Price's correspondence with Lansdowne during this period. The situation in the Netherlands was the basis of Price's fears. He gives further details in his letter to Lansdowne dated 10 Nov. 1787. In the event, war with France did not break out at this time. Circumstances were complex enough, however, that Price's fears are understandable. Historians write, for example, "Montmorin was bewildered at the speed of events. Before the States of Holland had rescinded their appeal [to France for aid], he had issued a declaration that France would reject it (September 16th). Two days earlier, Pitt had written to William Eden, who was still clearing up the aftermath of the commercial negotiation in Paris, that if France wished to maintain predominance in Holland she would have to fight." Carmarthen had already told Harris that France was not ready and, in his opinion, was unlikely to fight. Harris, who heard no news of French military action down to 22 Sept., concurred. *The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, ed. Sir Adolphus W. Ward and George P. Gooch, I (1783-1815) (New York, 1922), 175.

12. The second volume of Adams's *Defence* . . . was published in Sept. 1787. See Butterfield, ed., *The Adams Papers*, vol. 3, p. 202.

To Benjamin Franklin

Hackney Sept: 26th 1787

My Dear Friend,

I am very happy when I think of the encouragement which you have given me to address you under this appellation. Your friendship I reckon indeed one of the distinctions of my life. I frequently receive great pleasure from the accounts of you which Dr Rush and Mr Vaughn send me. But I receive much greater pleasure from seeing your own hand. I have lately been favoured with two letters¹ which have given me this pleasure, the last of which acquaints me that my name has been added to the number of the corresponding members of the Pennsylvania Society for abolishing the Negro Slavery of which you are President, and also brought me a pamphlet containing the Constitution and the laws of Pennsylvania which relate to the subject of the Society. I hope you and the Society will accept my thanks and believe that I am truly sensible of the honour done me. As for any services I can do they are indeed but small, for I find that, (far from possessing in the decline of life your vigour of body and mind) every kind of business is becoming more and more an encumbrance to me. At the same time the calls of business increase upon me as you will learn in some measure from the report at the end of the Discourse which you will receive with this letter.²

A similar institution to yours for abolishing the Negro Slavery is just formed in London, and I have been desired to make one of the acting Committee, but I have begged to be excused.³ I have sent you some of their papers. I need not say how earnestly I wish success to such institutions. Something perhaps will be done with this view by the Convention of Delegates.⁴ This convention consisting of many of the first in respect of wisdom

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *Franklin*: Bigelow, XI, 358–60. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. See Benjamin Franklin to R.P., 18 May and 9 June 1787.

2. "The Evidence for a Future Period of Improvement in the State of Mankind." The "calls of business" which Price says increase on him are indicated in the "Reports, 1786–1787, etc., referring to the affairs of the New College, Hackney." For details of Price's reluctance to teach, his schedule, and his complaints, see his letters to Lansdowne of 26 July 1786 and 23 Sept. 1787.

3. That is, the London Society for the Abolition of Slavery. See R.P. to Benjamin Rush, 24 Sept. 1787, n.5.

4. In *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution* . . . , Price had urged the United States to abolish a "traffic which . . . is shocking to humanity, cruel, wicked and diabolical" (Peach, p. 213). He could hardly have been pleased with the handling of Negro trade and slavery by the Constitutional Convention. He had said, in *Importance*, however, that abolition or emancipation cannot be accomplished at once. So he may have found some hope in the provision to end the slave trade after twenty years, or in the exclusion of slavery

and influence in the United States must be a most august and venerable Assembly. May God guide their deliberations. The happiness of the world depends in some degree on their result. I am waiting with impatience for an account of it.

In this part of the world there is a spirit which must in time produce great effects. I refer principally to what is now passing in Holland, Brabant and France.⁵ This spirit originated in America, and should it appear that it has there terminated in a state of society more favourable to peace, virtue, science, and liberty (and consequently to human happiness and dignity) than has ever yet been known, infinite good will be done. Indeed a general fermentation seems to be taking place through Europe. In consequence of the attention created by the American war, and the dissemination of writing explaining the nature and end of civil government, the minds of men are becoming more enlightened, and the silly despots of the world are likely to be forced to respect human rights and to take care not to govern too much lest they should not govern at all.

You are acquainted with Mr. Paradise.⁶ He is sailed with his family for *Virginia* where he is the proprietor of a good estate. His accomplishments as a scholar and his excellent principles as a citizen must make him useful there, and I hope also happy.

During the course of last spring and summer I was frequently fearing that my health was declining. In order to recover it I have spent near two months in sea-bathing and dissipation at East-Bourn in Sussex; and I hope that I have

from the Northwest Territory. He could hardly have been encouraged, however, by the clause that counted five slaves as three free persons for purposes of reckoning representation or by James Madison's resolution that the states have the authority to regulate slavery, thus, in effect granting official recognition of slavery as a local institution.

5. This is, of course, one of Price's fundamental and favorite themes. For some details of what he has in mind with regard to Holland, see particularly his letters to Lansdowne of 23 Sept. and 10 Nov. 1787 and the notes to those letters. In Brabant, a province of the Austrian Netherlands, a group of delegates from the clergy, nobility, and towns, later known as the "Estates of Brabant," were opposed to Emperor Joseph II. The issues were broadly clerical, administrative, and judicial, but centered mainly on the charter known as "*Joyeuse Entrée*," which restricted the Dukes of Brabant regarding declarations of war, formation of alliances, or coining of money. The emperor abolished the charter, but in late 1789 he was himself declared deposed by the States-General of the Austrian Netherlands.

6. Franklin had said in an earlier letter to Price (see Vol. II, 224-25) that Paradise "seems calculated by nature for Unhappiness and will be equally miserable whether with or without his wife, having no firmness of Mind." His visit to Virginia was neither as unhappy as Franklin thought inevitable nor as happy as Price hoped. He and his wife, Lucy Ludwell, whose estates were in Virginia, near Williamsburg, arrived in Sept. 1787. Letters of introduction from Thomas Jefferson enabled Paradise to meet George Wythe and George Washington, among many others of note. Returning from an extended social tour, the Parades were shocked to learn of the death from a "heart spasm" of their younger daughter, Philippa, whom they had left in a boarding school in London. They returned to England in Apr. 1788. See Archibald B. Shepperson, *John Paradise and Lucy Ludwell, of London and Williamsburg* (Richmond, 1942), esp. pp. 273-307.

gained some recruit of spirits for another winter. Be so good as to deliver my kind respect to Mr Vaughn⁷ when you see him. I am much in his debt for two agreeable letters; and I hope soon to write to him. He is, I doubt not, useful where he is; but as we have Mrs Vaughn with us, we are in hopes he will not be long absent.

Last night the Gazette told us that Turkey has declared war against Russia. It has also told us that the King of Prussia having entered Holland with his army and taken possession of Utrecht and many other towns, has reinstated the Stadholder in all his honours and powers. But at the same time our preparations for war by pressing sailors, filling regiments, creating Admirals etc. shew that our ministers expect that the French will interpose and that they are determined to join the King of Prussia in supporting the Stadholder against his constituents.⁸

With all the best wishes I am most affectionately and respectfully,

Yours,
Richd Price

7. That is, Samuel Vaughan, the Elder, who was at this time living in Philadelphia. The most recent preceding letter that has survived is dated 4 Nov. 1786.

8. See R.P. to Lansdowne, 23 Sept. and 10 Nov. 1787.

To Joseph Willard

Hackney near London, Oct. 10th, 1787

Dear Sir,

The last letter with which you have favoured me did not reach me till near a year after its date. I have wished to meet Mr. Sparhawk the bearer of it; but in consequence of not being at home when he bro't it and my own negligence, I have lost that pleasure.¹

I wrote to Professor Wigglesworth in July last a letter in which I endeavoured to satisfy his enquiries with respect to the Plan for providing annuities for the widows of the ministers in your state.² I have inclosed in the packet which conveys this letter the Appendix to the Sermons I publish'd last winter, and a new edition of which has been lately published.³ One of the copies I have directed to Mr. Clark;⁴ and I shall be obliged to you for conveying it to

1. See Joseph Willard to R.P., 29 July 1786.

2. See R.P. to Edward Wigglesworth, 23 July 1787.

3. *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine*.

4. Probably John Clarke. See William Hazlitt to R.P., 19 Oct. 1789.

him. I have also sent to you the third edition which will be published next month of my book on morals.⁵ Shall I request the favour of you to present this volume to the University of which you are President? It is more correct than the former editions, and I have added an Appendix containing new notes and a Dissertation on the Being and attributes of God. I therefore wish the University would do me the honour of accepting it, and allowing it to be substituted in their library in the room of the copy which was sent them some time ago.⁶

We are here at present trembling under the apprehension of another war with *France*. I must suppose that our governors have more reasons than I can see for provoking the French to this war and exposing us to the dreadful danger that will attend it.

Your country has, I find, still many difficulties to conquer, and very important points to settle. For your sake, for the sake of mankind and particularly for the sake of my own country, I ardently wish its prosperity. Should peace and liberty and science flourish in the united states and a wise and efficient plan of federal government be there established, we shall here know where to go when calamities come, and it will be of less consequence what happens in Europe.

I am waiting impatiently for an account of the result of the deliberations of the convention of Delegates at *Philadelphia*. I admire the wisdom of your state in rejecting the vile expedient of a paper currency; and am grieved by the disgrace into which Rhode-Island has brought itself. But I must not write a long letter. You may have learnt from the discourse⁷ which I desired Professor Wigglesworth to deliver to you, that having undertaken the work of a tutor in our new Academical institution,⁸ my engagements are much encreased. This leaves me less time than ever for my correspondence, and obliges me to contract it. It comes upon me indeed unfortunately at a time of life when I am growing less and less fit for all business, and tranquility is becoming more and more an object of my wishes. But the sollicitations of friends, the hope of being more useful, and the desire of contributing to the success of an important undertaking have determined me in this instance contrary to my inclinations, and I fear, to prudence.

Under the grateful sense of your civilities and attention I am, Dear Sir, very respectfully and affectionately Yours.

RICHD PRICE

5. *Review*.

6. Price sent copies of his own works and those of others, such as Benjamin Hoadly, to various institutions in the United States, including Dartmouth College, Dickinson College, and Harvard. See R.P. to Benjamin Rush, Vol. II, 163, 212, 233-34, 259. See also Cone, pp. 105-6, and D. O. Thomas, pp. 189-90, n.2.

7. *The Evidence for a Future Period of Improvement*.

8. New College, Hackney.

After living thirty years at Newington-Green and there losing the partner of my life, I am now removed to Hackney a village near it and at the same distance from London where I have long officiated as minister and our new institution is established.

To the Marquis of Lansdowne

Hackney Nov: 10th 1787

My Lord

I return you many thanks for the letter with which I am favoured last week.¹ The author of the History of the internal affairs of the united provinces is Mr Godwin.² He was brought up a dissenting minister at the College at Hoxton. He has given up his profession as a minister, and now subsists by writing. I am not able to get to him immediately to ask him the questions your Lordship has proposed; but I have a neighbour, a dutch minister,³ who is equally able to answer the question relating to the failure of the negotiation between the Stadholder and his opponents on account of his objecting to the words *legal* prerogative; and he tells me that the Stadholder could not consent to the use of the word *legal* without giving up the power he has usurped in elections, a power which he says in some of the States was got by force at the time of the regulation in 1674, and which cannot be pretended to be legal.⁴ As

ORIGINAL: Bowood. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

1. Not located.

2. *History of the Internal Affairs of the United Provinces, from the Year 1780, to the Commencement of Hostilities in June 1787* (London, 1787), by William Godwin, the Elder (1756–1836). Perhaps best-known as the author of *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice and Its Influence on Modern Morals and Happiness* (London, 1793), whose publication made him known as the philosophical representative of English radicalism. From 1785 when he dropped the title of "reverend," he followed a literary career that was financially precarious. He married Mary Wollstonecraft in 1797. Their daughter, Mary, married the poet Shelley in 1816.

3. Not further identified.

4. The dispute between the Stadholder, William V of Orange, the oligarchic States-General, and the bourgeois democrats (the Patriots) had its roots as far back as the Règlements of 1674 imposed on the states by William III of Orange. The inherent nature of the Stadholderate itself also contributed. The Stadholder, as Captain- and Admiral-General of the seven United Provinces, was the center of a court, "if definitely not a monarch, then certainly more than a first minister or a commander-in-chief. He also exercised vague but important powers of appointment to local offices, and although never presiding over the States-General, often dominated the Council of State." Schama, *Patriots and Liberators*, p. xvi.

For a history of the Règlements of 1674, see Pieter Geyl, "William III and the Crises of 1672," ch. 5 of his *History of the Low Countries* (London, 1964), and *Orange and Stuart (1641–1672)*, trans. Arnold J. Pomerans (New York, 1969), pp. 396–400. For details of the constitutional dispute between William V and his opponents, see Schama, ch. 3.

to the other question relating to Mr Rendorp⁵ I can take upon me to say for the author that he could have no other reason for speaking in the manner he has done of him than a dislike of him for his treachery in going over to the Stadholder after having been one of the principal means of the expulsion and disgrace of the Duke of Brunswick.

I congratulate your Lordship on the prospect we have of the continuance of Peace.⁶ It makes a happy escape for our ministers; for had they brought upon us a war by provoking it in order to support the Stadholder and to crush the rising zeal in Holland for a free constitution, they would probably have ruined their country and certainly deserved its curses. As things are, they have, thro' a wonderful infatuation among us, gained credit. But, in my opinion it is a credit they don't deserve. France has indeed suffer'd a severe humiliation; but it must be expected they will remember the affront and from henceforth be watching all opportunities and taking all measures to recover their honour and their rank. This will make our peace precarious and short-lived; and therefore all that we owe our governors in this instance is the creation, at a great *present* expence, of an ill blood which hastens the approach of another war, and produces the necessity of being always prepared for it by keeping up a peace=establishment so expensive as to leave us hopeless with

5. Godwin had written in his *History*, "the senate of Amsterdam had been in the commencement of the controversy the bitterest enemies of the Stadholder; and the most violent and precipitate measures had originated in the Stadhouse of this great city. One of the leaders, who had animated them to so peremptory proceedings, was Mr. de Rendorp, lord of Marquette; but Mr. de Rendorp had now changed sides, had entered into a correspondence with the Court of the Stadholder, and, by his superior skill in the arts of intrigue, had carried along with him in his tergiversation the majority of the senate" (p. 259).

6. Price entered in his journal for the date of 23 Sept. 1787: "There has been this week an alarm of war occasioned by the march of the King of Prussia's army into H[ollan]d to require satisfaction for the affront offered to his sister the Stad[holde]r's lady by stopping her journey to the Hague, and to obtain a restoration of the Stad[holde]r to his honours and powers. Last night's *Gazette* has told us that he has succeeded and that the state of H[ollan]d had consented to restore him. The apprehension has been that we should [be] involved in a war by supporting the Stad[holder] in opposition to the French" ("Journal," p. 380).

D. O. Thomas, in his note on this passage, gives a neat summary of some of the final phases of the Dutch crisis and the foundation of fears of war, some of which have been noted. "The Provincial States of Holland, encouraged by the French, had suspended William V from his office of Stadholder and Captain General, and on 28 June had prevented Wilhelmina, William's wife, from proceeding from Nimuegen to the Hague. To avenge this affront, Wilhelmina's brother, Frederick William of Prussia, mobilized troops in the Rhineland and on pain of war demanded satisfaction from the Provincial Estates. No apologies forthcoming, the Duke of Brunswick marched into the Dutch Republic on 14 Sept. He met with little resistance and on the 20th of the same month William and Wilhelmina entered the Hague in triumph. The fear that this incident would lead to a general conflagration was not without foundation. On 19 Sept. the British Cabinet decided to 'arm the fleet and augment the army,' and on the day Price made this entry the Marquis of Carmarthen told Barthelemy, the French *chargé d'affaires* in London, that war was inevitable if the French went to the aid of the Patriots" ("Journal," p. 406).

respect to the redemption of our debts and consequently our capacity of getting thro' another war. It is an aggravating circumstance in this case that this has been done needlessly (the French having, I am persuaded, never meditated a war) and to gain nothing: For in Holland things are only restored to the state they were in when the Treaty with France was concluded. That treaty therefore, is not broken. The connexion between France and Holland remains the same; and instead of gaining Holland we have only gained what we had before (the Stadholder and his party) by rendering the other parties more adverse to us than ever. At present Holland seems conquer'd, but its submission will last no longer than while the King of Prussia's sword is held over it. When that is withdrawn the same disputes will return with increased violence; but if not withdrawn and the King of Prussia carries his triumph so far as to annul the treaty and to falsify his declaration to France, a war must be inevitable unless indeed *France* is sunk beyond the possibility of recovering itself.

What I refer'd to when in my last letter⁷ I said that France was likely to take measures to regain her weight which would open a new scene in Europe, was a negotiation which I believed was going forward between *France*, *Russia*, and the *Emperor*. Perhaps, it is not yet given up; and our ministers are inexcusable for having without sufficient reason, provoked France to consent to enter into such a negotiation, and thus exposed us to the dreadful danger of being again involved as allies to the King of Prussia and the Stadholder in a continental war.

Such, my Lord, are my sentiments. Your Lordship's views may be different, and I am ashamed of having said so much to one who must be much better informed.

I have enclosed a paper containing an account of the management of the Sinking Fund and of the national income and expenditure for two years to Lady-day last.⁸ It was drawn up for my own satisfaction and amusement, and I have thought that perhaps it may not be disagreeable to your Lordship to see it. I wish much to know what the revenue produced for the half year to Michaelmas last. Perhaps, Mr Barre may be so good as to inform me. He has been abroad, and it is reported that he sees better. It would give me great pleasure to find this report true.

Your Lordship must have been shocked by the death of the Duke of Rutland.⁹ Is it not a sad instance of the fatal effects of irregularity and excess?

7. See R.P. to Lansdowne, 23 Sept. 1787, n.9.

8. For an account of Price and Lansdowne on finances, see D. O. Thomas, esp. pp. 234–59. The paper Price refers to is probably a manuscript now at Bowood entitled "Account of the Management of the Sinking Fund and of the National Income and Expenditure for Two Years to April 5th 1787."

9. Charles Manners (1754–87), fourth Duke of Rutland, M.P. for Cambridge in 1774, he opposed taxation of the American colonies and urged measures for peace. He was a member of Shelburne's cabinet from Feb. to Apr. 1783, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland where he worked for reform until his death at thirty-three.

The Prince of Wales has been near killing himself in the same way.¹⁰ When will the great and the little be convinced that virtue is their true interest? Dr Wren's¹¹ death has given me great concern. He was one of the best men, and will be happy in a better world.

I rejoyce in the good accounts your Lordship receives of Lord Wycombe. Deliver my very respectful compliments to Lady Lansdown.

I am ever your Lordship's

most obedient and humble servant
Richd Price

Since I writ this letter I have seen Mr. Godwin. He confirms what I have said of Mr R[endorp] but says he knows nothing of the objections made by the Stadholder to the words legal Prerogative.

10. George Augustus Frederick (1762–1830), Prince of Wales, 1762–1820; George IV, King of England, 1820–30. From an early age he was described as "addicted to lying, tippling, and low company" (*D.N.B.*).

11. Price entered in his journal for 4 Nov. 1787: "I have heard this week of the death of a valued friend, *Dr. Wren of Portsmouth*. He was taken off suddenly by an inflammation in his bowels. I have been much impressed by this event. Thus do we all follow one another to that new and unknown state from which there is no return. But I trust we sink only to rise in a better world" (p. 381).

D. O. Thomas notes, "Thomas Wren, D. D. (1725–1788), Minister of a Dissenting congregation at Portsmouth. Born at Grange, near Keswick; educated at Wellclose Square under David Jennings and Samuel Morton Savage. Appointed assistant to Mr. Norman at Portsmouth in 1757. He received the degree of D.D. at Princeton in recognition of his services to American prisoners of war."

To William Adams.

Hackney Nov 13th 1787

Dear Sir

I have been for some time uneasy under the consciousness of being in your debt for two very kind and agreeable letters of which I had taken no notice.¹ The first I received at East-Bourn. I was then anxious about you on account of the poor state of health you seemed to be in while in London, and the information that letter brought me was a great satisfaction to me. Your second letter I received after my return from East Bourn; and it brought me a repetition of the pleasure which your letters always give me. I believe I received some benefit from the sea-air and sea-bathing at East-Bourn, and I

ORIGINAL: Gloucestershire County Records Office. TEXT: Original, by kind permission of the Gloucestershire County Records Office.

1. Not located.

am now as well as I can expect to be. I often think of your recommendation of the bark to me, and I shall certainly have recourse to it when I find I want a restorative. An addition to my employments which the solicitations of the supports of our new Academical institution have induced me to make press'd my spirits exceeding a few weeks ago; but I am now relieved by the appointment of my Nephew² to assist me in going thro' a set of Lectures on Sir Isaac Newton's discoveries, the constitution of the heavens, the doctrine of Life-annuities and some other subjects. Few can enter into my feeling on such occasions. I am happy when I am allow'd to go on in my own, and at liberty to do something or nothing just as I please; but unhappy in contrary circumstances. The decline of life strengthens this disposition, and makes tranquility and freedom from all incumbrances more and more necessary to me.

I have always wished to communicate to the public my sentiments on the subject of my Dissertation on the Being and attributes of God.³ The argument I have endeavoured to state appears to me very important; and all who have objected to it seem never to have enter'd properly into its meaning. I consider myself now as having writ myself out; and I am amazed when I think that I have been able to write so much. The favourable attention with which you have honoured my writings, and the conformity between our sentiments on several important points give me particular satisfaction, for indeed there are none of whose good sense and judgment I have a higher opinion. Should I ever publish again, it will be a volume of sermons entirely practical.⁴ But, perhaps, I may never do this. I feel more than ever my own ignorance; and I am becoming more and more indifferent to every thing except satisfying myself that there is to be a future state and preparing for knowing more then.

Accept my thanks for the Catechism and prayers you have sent me.⁵ They are very good and better adapted to the capacities of little children than most I have seen. I have had occasion to examine most of the Catechisms which have been published without being able to find more than one or two that did not contain something or other that either children cannot understand or that has a tendency to mislead their conceptions. Sunday schools are undoubtedly very useful, and I am glad that you encourage them. I have the very feelings you express on the subject of the *eternity* of our future existence. When properly attended to it stuns; and seems too vast to be credible. It implies an *eternal* improvement, and this implies the attainment of a kind of infinity. And yet I do not see how it can be deny'd. The difficulties we perceive only prove

2. George Cadogan Morgan.

3. "A Dissertation on the Being and Attributes of the Deity," first published in the third issue of the *Review*.

4. In addition to *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine* Price contemplated publishing another selection of his sermons devoted more to practical matters than to theological controversy. But he did not live to see it through the press. His nephew, William Morgan, completed the edition and it was published in London in 1816 as *Sermons on Various Subjects*.

5. No published version of Adams's catechisms has been traced.

that we cannot entertain sufficiently enlarged Ideas of the extent and grandeur of the intellectual creation. I composed a few years ago two sermons on this subject. The text is, *this is the promise that he hath promised, even eternal life*;⁶ and if ever I publish another volume of sermons, these will make a part of it.

Have you not been shocked by our late preparations for war? Is it not surprising that our ministers should provoke a war without any other reason for it than supporting the Stadtholder and an aristocratical party in Holland in opposition to the majority of independent and enlighten'd citizens who were striving to gain a free constitution and a share in their own government? But I must not enter on politics. Deliver my best respects to Miss Adams. Wishing you and her all possible happiness I am, Dear Sir,

Most respectfully and affectionately yours
Richd Price

I rejoyce in the promotion of Dr. Douglas⁷ for I look upon him as a very liberal as well as able man. I have been in hopes that the Bishop of St. Asaph would have been thought of for London. He has great merit; but I find he stands no chance

6. 1 John 2:25. "And this is the promise that he hath promised us, *even eternal life*." *Sermons on Various Subjects* (see n.4 above) contained two sermons on this text under the title, "On the Eternal Happiness of the Righteous in a Future State," pp. 301–40.

7. Dr. John Douglas (1721–1807), successively bishop of Carlisle (1787), dean of Windsor (1788), and bishop of Salisbury (1791). He wrote on a wide range of topics, and his publications include *The Criterion; or Miracles Examined* (1754), an attack on Hume's essay on miracles.

From Joseph Priestley

Birm. Dec. 4, 1787

Dear Friend,

I was happy to find that you had relieved yourself from the burden of the academy.¹ I always said it was a thing that you ought not to have undertaken. It is a kind of work that suits only men in younger life, and men of good health and spirits. In about a month I shall have printed off my *Lectures on History and General Policy*² which I delivered in Warrington. If I had been near you, I

ORIGINAL: The Bodleian Library. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: Rutt, I, pt. I, 422–23. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Bodleian Library.

1. Letter not located. See, however, R.P. to Lansdowne, 26 July 1786, nn.2 and 3.

2. *Lectures on History and General Policy, to which is Prefixed an Essay on a Course of Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life* . . . (Birmingham, 1788).

should gladly have read some parts of them to you, as you are a much better judge of the subject than I can pretend to be. The first opportunity I have, I shall beg your acceptance of a copy.

I received the copy you were so obliging as to send me of the third edition of your *Treatise on Morals*.³ I was glad to find subjoined to it the *argument a priori* tho' you know it does not give me satisfaction. I wish, however, that every thing may be fairly laid before the Public, and then *valeat quantum valore potest*. You have certainly done Dr Clarke ample justice, much more than he did himself, on this, as well as other subjects.⁴

I have just finished the printing of my annual *controversial pamphlet*, consisting of Letters to Dr. Geddes,⁵ yourself, and the Candidates of Orders at the two Universities.⁶ It is a great pleasure to me to address a candid opponent; and I am confident I have said nothing that can displease either Dr. Geddes, or yourself.⁷ We unavoidably see things in different lights, and whatever be the cause of the mistake, there is little probability of our ever discovering it in ourselves. Others might see it for us; and to enable them to do it, we must represent things just as they appear to us. Mr. Walker,⁸ I hear, declines taking up the controversy, so that I really fear you will be the last Arian antagonist I shall have. I am very severe upon Mr Howes,⁹ and also on the *Undergraduate*,

3. *Review*.

4. Price says of "A Dissertation on the Being and Attributes of the Deity" that it "has been always intended for this *Treatise* [i.e., *Review*]; but was omitted in the former editions on account of the difficulty there is in giving a just explanation of the subject of it. This consideration has now less weight with the Author; and therefore, after endeavouring to make the reasoning in it as concise and perspicuous as possible, he has determined to give it a place in this edition" (*Review*, p. 5). He also says the argument "is the same with Dr. Clarke's; but it will be a little differently represented, and pursued farther" and stated more distinctly (*Review*, p. 286).

5. Alexander Geddes (1739–1802), biblical scholar, translator, historian, and critic. He referred to himself as author of "An answer to the Bishop of Comana's Pastoral Letters" as a "Protestant Catholic." Priestley's letter to him was occasioned by "Letter to the Rev. Dr. Priestley, in which the Author attempts to prove, by one prescriptive argument, that the Divinity of Jesus Christ was a primitive tenet of Christianity" (London, 1787).

6. *Defences of Unitarianism for the Year 1787, Containing Letters to the Rev. Dr. Geddes, to the Rev. Dr. Price, Part II, and to the Candidates for Orders in the Two Universities, Part II, Relating to Mr. Howe's Appendix to his Fourth Volume of Observations on Books, a Letter to an Undergraduate of Oxford, Dr. Croft's Bampton Lectures and Several Other Publications* (Birmingham, 1788).

7. Priestley's main topic, the person of Christ, has implications, of course, that range over much of theology and religion. His "letters" to Price, for example, are a running commentary on Price's *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine* and begin, drawing on an area of Price's special interest, with an examination of the antecedent probability of the Arian hypothesis. Rutt, XVIII, 425–511.

Price responded to Priestley's letter in the appendix to the 1787 edition of *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine*, despite saying he would no longer engage in controversy.

8. George Walker (1734–1807). For a biographical note see Vol. I, 99. It is said that his theology, a "tempered Arianism," did not affect his writings but is apparent in omissions and alterations in his *Collection of Psalms and Hymns* (Warrington, 1788) (D.N.B.).

9. Thomas Howes (1729–1814), educated at Cambridge, served in the army, rector of

who is said to be Dr Horne,¹⁰ but I received the information after I had written my reply.

I forget what experiments I gave you an account of in my last. I have lately determined two things of considerable consequence, one is, that a very great proportion of the weight of *fixed air*¹¹ is *water*. This I have ascertained by the loss of water in the production of fixed air from *terra ponderosa*,¹² which will not give any without water.

The other, which is of more consequence, is that by the decomposition of dephlogisticated¹³ and inflammable¹⁴ air (the former from manganese, and the latter from iron with water) I get very little *water*, but a con[sid]erable quantity of the *acid*, which appears to be the *vitriolic*. I shall next use other kinds of pure and inflammable air.¹⁵ I have also other things in view, and I assure you I am very busy, both in my *laboratory* and *library*.

With every good wish, I am,

Dear Friend,

Yours affectionately,

J. Priestley

Morningthorpe, Norfolk. The first volume of his *Critical Observations on Books, Ancient and Modern*, was published in London in 1776. In the third volume he published a sermon he had preached in 1784 against Priestley and Gibbon. Howes replied to Priestley's letter in his fourth and last volume (*D.N.B.*).

10. Priestley does not indicate the source of his information that Horne was "the undergraduate," but it may have been Theophilus Lindsey, who subtitled his book, *Vindiciae Priestleianae*, "An Address to the Students of Oxford and Cambridge occasioned by a Letter to Dr. Priestley from a Person calling himself an Undergraduate, but publicly and contradictedly ascribed to Dr. Horne, Dean of Canterbury, and President of Magdalen College, Oxford."

11. Carbon dioxide.

12. Barium monoxide (lime).

13. Oxygen.

14. Hydrogen.

15. For a fuller account of these experiments in a broader context, see "Experiments and Observations Relating to the Principle of Acidity, the Composition of Water and Phlogiston," by Joseph Priestley, LL.D., F.R.S. Read 7 Feb. 1788, *Phil. Trans.*, LXXVIII, 147-57.

To William Adams

Hackney Dec: 12th 1787

Dear Sir

I beg you would return my best thanks to Miss Adams for the Brawn which I received a few days ago. This present as coming from her gives me particular

ORIGINAL: Gloucestershire County Records Office. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Gloucestershire County Records Office.

pleasure; and I cannot but feel very happy in the approbation with which she has honoured my late sermons, and to which, I find I owe this testimony of her favourable opinion. Few presents could have been so flattering to me. I wish her, in return, all that can make her most happy. My friend Dr Priestley is just going to publish a pamphlet containing answers to me, to Dr Geddes, Mr Howes, and Dr Horne.¹ He is also going to publish a Treatise on History and general policy.² He has a most ready pen and wonderful abilities and I shall contend with him no more. Our minds have been cast in different moulds; and it is not possible we should think alike. I am not surprised that Dr Horsley³ and Mr Wilson⁴ cannot agree. We saw more than enough at the Royal Society about three years ago of the former; and had he gone on with his opposition, he would probably have been expelled. He is, however, become a favourite with the Lord Chancellor,⁵ and I hear it now said that he is to give him the living of Marybone worth above £1000 *per annum*.

I am in a situation that will allow me only to be a bare spectator of the promotions that are going forward. I neither look nor wish for more in this world than I at present enjoy; being anxious about nothing but securing a better life beyond the grave.

Deliver my very respectful remembrances to Miss Adams. I can only add that I always think with gratitude of the friendship with which you honour me, and that few can love and respect you more than

Dear Sir,

Your obliged and very humble servant
Richd Price

The Brawn is as good as possible. I have lately had a bad cold and cough but I seem at present tolerably well. About five weeks ago I directed a letter to you at Oxford, which I hope you have received.⁶

1. See R.P. to William Adams, 17 Feb. 1787, n.2.

2. See Joseph Priestley to R.P., 4 Dec. 1787.

3. See Vol. I, 160, and Vol. II, 161 and 214. Horsley is reported to have been somewhat irritable in temperament, dictatorial in manner, polemical, and argumentative; also generous, charitable, intelligent, learned, and gifted as a speaker.

4. Benjamin Wilson (1721–88). See Vol. I, 38, 40–41. Earlier he engaged in controversy with Franklin and others, including Cavendish and Nairne, about lightning rods. He was disputatious enough that even Thomas Thomson, who is very restrained in personal comments, said of him, "It was by his obstinancy and improper conduct that he introduced those unhappy divisions which had so unfortunate effect upon the Royal Society, and were so disgraceful to the cause of science and philosophy." *History of the Royal Society from its Institution to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1812), p. 444. Price's remark refers to something more than the disputatious nature of the two men; but "There is no good life of Horsley" (*D.N.B.*), and Wilson's autobiography "ends abruptly in 1783." *Life of Sir Robert Wilson* . . . , ed. Herbert Randolph (London, 1862), I, 41.

5. Edward Thurlow, first Baron Thurlow (1731–1806), Lord Chancellor 1778–92 (except for a brief period from 3 June to 23 Dec. 1783). He appointed Horsley not to Marybone but to St. David's (*D.N.B.*).

6. See R.P. to William Adams, 13 Nov. 1787.

To Elhanan Winchester

[Shorthand draft]

[1787]

Dear Sir,

I have received the letter which Dr. R[u]sh has sent me by you with the papers which accompanied it. I am obliged to you for conveying them to me and shall be glad to see you could you make it convenient to you to come this way. I am generally at home in the morning till noon except on Tuesday morning. But Friday morning till ten is the time when I am most sure of being at home.

I am, Dear Sir, your
[draft no signature]

ORIGINAL: Transcribed from shorthand notes on letter from Benjamin Rush to R.P., 29 July 1787. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

To Sir Charles Blagden

Hackney March 4th 1788

Sir,

The account which I now send you of the method of investigating the probabilities of survivorship between two persons and the values of reversions depending on such survivorships in exact conformity to any given table of observations on the rate of human mortality, contains an improvement in the Doctrine of *Assurances on lives and Survivorships* which appears to me of particular consequence.¹ Dr *Halley* was the first great Mathematician who apply'd his attention to the law that governs the waste of human life and the subject of Life-annuities; but he went no farther than to construct, from the Bills of Mortality at *Breslau* in *Silesia*, a Table of the probabilities of the duration of human life, in that town, and to calculate, agreeably to it, a Table of the values of *single* lives at an interest of 6 *per cent*. Mr *De Moivre* followed Dr *Halley*; and threw much additional light on this part of science; but he fell into some

ORIGINAL: Yale University Library. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Yale University Library.

1. "On the Probabilities of Survivorships between Two Persons of any given Ages, and the Method of Determining the Values of Reversions depending on these Survivorships. By Mr. William Morgan; communicated by the Rev. Richard Price, D.D.F.R.S. Read May 8, 1788." *Phil. Trans.*, LXXVIII (1788), 331-49.

mistakes; and, in consequence of adopting approximations which by no means deserve that name, has, in calculating the values of reversions dependent on survivorships, given rules which are totally unfit to be used. Mr *Simpson* followed Mr *De Moivre*; and there is no one to whom this subject is more indebted: But even he, by adopting approximations, has given rules for determining the values of the reversions just mentioned which, tho' in many cases nearly right, are in others extremely wrong.² This Mr Morgan has proved in the papers which now, with his permission, I have the pleasure to lay before the *Royal Society*. At the same time, Mr Morgan (rejecting all approximations) has discover'd rules which give correctly in all cases, and with less trouble than has been hitherto thought possible, the values of these reversions. This is an important service to the public in general; but it is peculiarly so to the Society for assuring such reversions whose business Mr Morgan transacts,³ and the permanency of whose credit must depend on the correctness of the Tables and rules by which its demands for Assurances are governed.

At the end of these papers Mr Morgan has observed that Mr Simpson's rules giving solutions which differ yet more from the truth in cases of survivorships between *three* lives, it becomes on this account more necessary to investigate for these cases such rules as he has discover'd for survivorship between *two* lives. I will only add, that he has made this investigation; and thus completed all that is necessary to be done in this instance; cases of reversions depending on survivorships between *four* or more lives seldom or never occurring in practice.

I am, Sir, with great respect,

Your very obedient and humble servant
Richd Price

2. For Price's discussion of Halley, DeMoivre, and Simpson, see primarily R.P. to Benjamin Franklin, 3 Apr. 1769, Vol. I, 58-79. There are briefer comments in R.P. to John Canton, 10 Nov. 1763, Vol. I, 6-35, on Thomas Bayes. Some of his more critical views, particularly on DeMoivre, developed later and appeared in later editions of *O.R.P.* See 6th ed., pp. 210-14.

3. The Society of Equitable Assurances.

To [Ezra Stiles]

Hackney near London Mch 22d 1788

Dear Sir,

I am afraid I am in your debt for letters the reception of which I have not acknowledged. I am indeed obliged to rely much on the candour of many of my correspondents in the united states to whom my various engagements united to a disposition naturally slow and dilatory render it impossible for me to be sufficiently attentive. You, I hope, will excuse me, and always consider me, notwithstanding any neglects of this kind into which I may fall, as one who truly respects and honours you. The sermon which accompanies this letter¹ was delivered near a year ago to the supporters of a new Academical institution just establish'd in this place, by which, we hope to contribute towards an improvement in the state of education among us. I ought to have sent you a volume of sermons which the importunity of the congregation to which I preach induced me to publish some time ago.² But I have been checked by the apprehension that the difference of sentiments between us on some of the disputed points of Christianity would render such a present not very acceptable to you.³ I have, however, in the controversial part of these

ORIGINAL: Yale University Library. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Yale University Library. Stiles notes: Ansd June 12 1789. (Not located.)

1. *The Evidence for a Future Period of Improvement in the State of Mankind*. . .

2. *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine*.

3. The general points of dispute would be those between Arianism and Trinitarianism, with other differences arising from the particular interpretations of the two men. Sprague classifies Stiles as Trinitarian Congregationalist. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, I, 472–79. William Ellery Channing said he was “what was called a moderate Calvinist, but his heart was on no seat . . .” (cited in Francis Parsons, *Six Men of Yale* (New Haven, Conn., 1939), p. 52. Abiel Holmes, his son-in-law, in *The Life of Ezra Stiles* (Boston, 1798), said he was Calvinistic until 1747 (p. 34); had difficulty with the incarnation, whether Christ was coeternal with the Father or the highest created being (p. 38); was unclear about the supreme divinity and atonement of Jesus; was reported an Arminian (p. 40); but, after a period of skepticism (pp. 31–41) came to the conclusion that the form of worship in which he had been educated was nearest the apostolic form and provided the religion by which he resolved to live and die (p. 42). Edmund S. Morgan, *The Gentle Puritan: A Life of Ezra Stiles, 1727–1795* (New Haven, Conn., 1962), pp. 68–71, gives Stiles's creed, consisting of twenty-six beliefs from Stiles's papers dated 11 Jan. 1752 and says that with a few exceptions he held them for the rest of his life. Some that are most relevant to a comparison and contrast with Price are Stiles's belief that the one God who is Creator and Governor of the world (Credo 1); is the only proper object of worship (credo 5); that man by disobedience forfeited the favor of God (Credo 6); but that belief in the Messiah, repentance, and unflinching resolution for future amendments in life will entitle one to forgiveness of sin, as the effect of the atonement of Jesus Christ (Credo 10). Since there is only one supreme independent mind, Jesus Christ is not strictly an independent being (Credo 22) but was created by God as the most perfect of all possible creatures (Credos 23 and 24), is the Messiah of God unto men (Credo 25),

sermons, studied so much to inculcate candour and charity; and I believe you to be so much a friend to a fair and free discussion of all controverted points, that probably I have been much mistaken in this apprehension.

These lines are to be convey'd to you by Col. Smith lately Secretary to Mr Adams the American minister at our courts. Having been happy in Col. Smith's friendship and honouring greatly his abilities and excellent principles, it is with regret I part with *him*, as well as with Mr Adams. I particularly lament that policy of our ministers which occasions their recall,⁴ and by which we seem to be likely to lose the benefit of that union of friendship and family alliance with the united states which, I think, would be more advantageous to this country than the union, lately happily broken, created by dependence.

May I, sir, congratulate you on the probability which there is that the new federal constitution will be (or perhaps already *has* been) adopted by the united states?⁵ This must save them from some of their greatest dangers, and, I hope, will be the means of blessing them with that weight and credit and well-guarded liberty which I wish them to enjoy, but which *cannot* be enjoy'd without some such efficient government and general controuling power as this constitution is meant to establish.

There *may* be omissions and there *must* be defects in this constitution, the removal of which it is at present best to trust to future time and experience. The opposition to it is, I find, in some of the states violent.⁶ I wish the leaders in such oppositions would imitate the conduct of my friend Dr Franklin in the grand Convention,⁷ and of the minority in the state of *Massachu-*

created the world, redeemed men, "and will govern this part of the Moral World till he resign it to the father, at the final adjustment of human affairs" (Credo 26). Morgan comments, after indicating that Stiles had a breadth of view that was not entirely acceptable to the Old Divinity, the New Divinity, or even to Arminians, that "his view of Christ was nearly Arian" (p. 71).

4. Price had anticipated from the beginning that Adams would have difficulty settling the various disputes between England and the United States and, in particular, in bringing about trade relations that were satisfactory to the Americans. See Vol. II, 231, and numerous comments in subsequent letters.

5. At the time of this letter six states had ratified the new federal constitution: Delaware, 7 Dec. 1787; Pennsylvania, 12 Dec. 1787; New Jersey, 18 Dec. 1787; Georgia, 2 Jan. 1788; Connecticut, 9 Jan. 1788; Massachusetts, 6 Feb. 1788.

6. Debate was violent, but there was relatively little physical violence, most of it in Pennsylvania. In Philadelphia two members of the state assembly were dragged from their lodgings and carried bodily to their seats to constitute a quorum to set a date for a ratifying convention; and fifteen days after ratification, at a celebration rally in Philadelphia, James Wilson narrowly escaped death from beating by a mob. See Catherine Drinker Bowen, *Miracle at Philadelphia* (Boston, 1966), pp. 267–81; John Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History* (Boston, 1888), pp. 327–54.

7. "The conduct of my friend Dr. Franklin in the grand convention" covers a lot of ground. He proposed that they have a chaplain and open sessions with prayers. He recommended that federal officials not be paid; this would enhance their virtue. He wanted a

setts.⁸ A contrary conduct will shew a sad want of virtue; for it is self-evident, that no state can prosper or any great good be done, if the *minority* in a society will not acquiesce in the determinations of the *majority*.

But I have not time to write more. My principal design in this letter has been to assure you of my continued and respectful remembrance; and, therefore, I will only add that I am, Dear Sir, with particular esteem,

truly yours,
Richd Price

Will you be so good as to deliver my respects to Dr Beardsley⁹ when you see him. I am much in his debt for a letter¹⁰ which gave me great pleasure.

single chamber and a plural executive, following the example of Pennsylvania. He developed an ingenious way of balancing the votes of the states, and the like. None succeeded. Price probably had in mind, however, the closing speech Franklin wrote out but asked James Wilson to deliver. It is too long to quote in full, but the spirit of it that brought Price's approval appears from a selection of lines: "I confess that there are several parts of this constitution which I do not at present approve, but I am not sure I shall never approve them. For having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged by better information, or fuller consideration, to change opinions even on important subjects, which I once thought right, but found to be otherwise. . . . In these sentiments, Sir, I agree to this Constitution with all its faults, if they are such, because I think a general Government necessary for us. . . . Thus I consent, Sir, to this Constitution because I expect no better, and because I am not sure it is not the best. The opinions I have had of its errors, I sacrifice to the public good. . . ." Tansill, *Documents*, pp. 739-40.

8. The minority was large, 168, compared to the majority of 187. Nevertheless, when the vote had been taken after nearly a month of debate, several of the leaders of the Anti-Federalists explicitly announced their acceptance. For a full monograph on the convention in Massachusetts, see Samuel B. Harding, *The Contest Over the Ratification of the Federal Constitution in the State of Massachusetts* (New York, 1896).

9. See Vol. II, 201.

10. Not located.

To [Nathaneal Emmons]¹

Hackney near London March 22d 1788

Dear Sir,

I take the opportunity of Mr. Adam's return to America to acknowledge the receipt of your letter² and the sermon³ that accompany'd it, and also the letter from the Committee of your congregation.⁴ My best thanks are due to you and to your society for the honour which you and they have done me by the favourable manner in which the present I made them of my writings has been received, and they have in return my ardent wishes that they may prosper and flourish by a constant improvement in the christian graces and virtues. and particularly, in that enlighten'd liberality of sentiment and extended charity and candour of disposition which I reckon some of the most amiable and dignifying qualities, and above all things necessary to the peace and happiness of the christian church.

I rejoice to find that they are under the instruction and care of a minister so able and candid as you are. May your usefulness and comfort among them be always increasing. It is with reluctance I tell you, that having already a much more extensive correspondence than it is possible for me to attend to in the manner I ought, I am under the necessity of declining entering into such a correspondence as you propose. The enquiry you make about my sentiments of Mr Hume's assertion that a thing may begin to exist without a cause you will find in some measure answer'd in the first chapter of my Treatise on Morals⁵ and my sentiments on most of the great disputed points of Christianity you

ORIGINAL: Yale University Library. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *Works of Nathaneal Emmons*, omitting Price's regrets. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Yale University Library.

1. Nathaneal Emmons (1769–1840), educated at Yale College and by New England theologians, in 1773 he became pastor of the Congregational Church in Franklin, Mass., originally gathered in 1738 as the Second Church of Wrentham, where he served for fifty-four years before resigning at the age of eighty-two. He received a D.D. from Dartmouth College in 1798. See Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, and *The Works of Nathaneal Emmons*, D.D., ed. Jacob Ide, 7 vols. (Boston, 1842), I, "Autobiography," ix–xxxvii.

In 1786 he delivered a sermon entitled "The Dignity of Man" in appreciation of a gift of books from Benjamin Franklin. *Franklin*: Bigelow, vol. 2, pp. 23–41. "How great our obligations to God for the unmerited and unexpected favor of a rich collection of books now received, as a mark of respect from the first literary character in America, his Excellency President Franklin" (p. 35). Thanks are due Harriet V. Leonard for help in identifying Emmons as the recipient and for locating this information.

2. Not located.

3. Possibly the sermon mentioned in n.1 above.

4. Not located.

5. *Review*, pp. 17–40.

will find in the volume of sermons which I have lately published.⁶ These sermons I beg may be accepted as an addition to the present of books which I have made to your parish and I shall take the first opportunity of conveying them.

Be so good as to inform your people how truly sensible I am of the kindness of their letter to me. With all the best wishes and great regard I am,
Dear Sir,

truly yours,
Richd Price

6. *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine.*

From John Howard

Dublin March 23d, 1788

My dear friend

My journey into this Country was to make the report of the state of the Charter schools, which Charity has been long neglected and abused; as indeed most public Institutions are made private emoluments, one sheltering himself under a Bishop, another that of a Lord and, for electionneering interest breaking down all barriers of Honour or Honesty; however, Now Parliament seems determined to know how their grants of 10 Thousand and last year 11 Thousand Pounds has been employed; and also upwards of 60 Thousand pounds from England.¹

I have been since my visits to these school in 1782² endeavouring to excite

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society, Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. See *Lazarettos*, pp. 101–24. The Charter Schools were established largely through the efforts of Hugh Boulter (1672–1742), who was appointed primate of the Protestant Church of Ireland in 1724 by George I. Supported, as Howard says, by public funds from both the Irish and English parliaments, the schools were, according to W. E. H. Lecky, “avowedly intended, by bringing up the youth as Protestants, to extirpate the religion of their parents.” *A History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, abridged by Lewis P. Curtis, Jr. (Chicago, 1972), pp. 43–44.

The king granted the schools £1,000 a year from 1747 until 1790. Parliamentary support began in 1747 when the licensing duty on hawkers and peddlers was assigned. This faded away in 1780. From 1751 to 1760 grants from Parliament averaged £3,500 annually and from 1790 to 1800 £11,850, rising to almost £20,000 in 1818. After that, funds declined sharply and were cut off entirely in 1831. See Donald H. Akenson, *The Irish Education Experiment* (London, 1970), p. 32.

2. All available evidence indicates that Howard's first visit was in 1784.

the attention of Parliament³ and some circumstances being in my favour, a good Lord Lieutenant,⁴ a worthy secretary (an old acquaintance)⁵ the first secretary of state, the Provost a steady friend,⁶ I must still pursue it, so I next week sett out for Cannaugh and other remote parts of this kingdom which indeed are more barbarous than Russia. By my frequent Journeys my strength is somewhat abated, but not my Courage, spirit or Zeal in the cause I am engaged in; it flings me back as to my publication, so that I shall not be at the Warrington Press till the end of June, but whether it comes out in September or October it is much the same.⁷ I often with pleasure think of our long

3. Howard found the schools in deplorable condition. When he appeared before a committee of the Irish House of Commons, they learned that the schools were in bad repair, some of them going to ruin: "that the children were neither well-clothed, well-fed, nor well-taught, that some of them who were at Santry School, and who had been previously Six years at Bally castle could not read . . . were sickly, pale, and such miserable Objects, that they were a Disgrace to all Society. . . . We forbear to detail at Further Length the particular Facts on which Mr. Howard's Opinions were formed." The quoted passage is from *Reports from Commissioners*, 7 vols.; vol. 3, *Education in Ireland*, First Report of the Commissioners on Education in Ireland (London, 1825), p. 7.

4. At the time of this letter, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was George Nugent-Temple Grenville, first Marquis of Buckingham (1753–1813). He was first appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland 31 July 1782 but resigned in Mar. 1783, following Shelburne's resignation. He was appointed again on 2 Nov. 1787 and served until Sept. 1789, replacing the Duke of Rutland, who had died in office the previous month. While Buckingham was sympathetic to Howard's hopes to improve the Charter Schools, it was Rutland (Charles Manners, fourth Duke of Rutland from 1754–87 and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1784 until his death in office in 1787) who gave such a mandate to the House of Commons.

5. Thomas Orde (later Order-Powlett) (1746–1807) (see Vol. II, 178) was chief secretary to the Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant, and hence chief secretary for Ireland, from Feb. 1784 until Nov. 1787. Alleyne Fitzherbert held that office, under the Marquis of Buckingham, from Nov. 1787 until Mar. 1789. Again, while it was Fitzherbert who was in office at the time of this letter from Howard, it was Orde who had been active in the attempt to improve education in Ireland. On 12 Apr. 1787 he had introduced an extensive program to revise the Irish educational system, explicitly responding to Rutland's mandate of the previous Jan. See *Parliamentary Register of Ireland*, VIII, 486–504. See also MS Top IreI. d. 2–3 in the Bodleian Library, a two volume manuscript by Thomas Orde, entitled "System of Education" (c. 1783). While Orde's program was not adopted when introduced, it is often credited with providing the foundation of the national system of education established in Ireland in 1831 by Edward G. Stanley. See Akenson, *Irish Education Experiment*, p. 59.

6. John Hely-Hutchinson (1724–94) was "Principal Secretary of State or Principal Secretary to the Council" from 1777 until his death in 1794, and from 1774 he also was provost of Trinity College. So Howard's references here may stand in apposition, rather than enumeration. In any case, Hely-Hutchinson was a longtime friend who was sympathetic to Howard's hopes to improve education in Ireland. On 6 July 1788 Howard wrote to Samuel Whitbread, "I was two hours this morning with Mr. Orde. He, with the Provost, has taken the Charter Schools under parliamentary consideration." Field, *Correspondence of John Howard*, p. 142.

7. That is, the first edition of *Lazaretos*. It appeared in Feb. 1789: *An Account of the Principal Lazaretos in Europe; with various Papers Relative to the Plague; together with Further Observation on some Foreign Persons and Hospitals; and Additional Remarks on the Present State of those in Great Britain and Ireland*. By John Howard. (Warrington, 1789).

friendship, the share I had in the esteem of your good Unkle,⁸ and that of your nearest relations; whose Society I hope ere long of enjoying for "this is not our rest, it is polluted"

It is from your kind aid and assistance my dear friend, that I derive so much of my Character and influence, I exult in declaring it, a grateful sense of it I shall carry to the last hour of my existence.

I pray God bless and preserve you, I am with all sincerity.

Affectionately Yours,
John Howard

P.S. My best respects wait on Mrs Morgan and the Ladies, tell 'em I long to make one round the fireside and if I had one of them now to make my Tea, I should have a luxurious entertainment.

8. Samuel Price (1676–1756), copastor with Isaac Watts at St. Mary Axe from 1703 until Watt's death in 1748; pastor until his own death in 1756.

To [Arthur Lee]

Hackney March 24th 1788

Dear Sir

I know not how sufficiently to thank you for the agreeable and obliging letter which I received from you some time ago.¹ I communicated it, in conformity to your desire, to the Marquis of Lansdown and Colonel Barre. The latter is now almost totally blind, but at the same time resigned and chearful. The former is well, and exceedingly happy in the satisfaction he receives from seeing his son (the Earl of Wycombe) so promising and well-disposed as he is. Both have lately been warmly engaged in opposing a Bill² for enlarging the power of a board of controul appointed by the King for governing *India* which is reckon'd almost as dangerous to our constitution as that Bill in 1783³

ORIGINAL: The Hyde Collection. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: R. H. Lee, *The Life of Arthur Lee*, II (Boston, 1829) 351–52. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Trustees of the Hyde Collection.

1. Not located.

2. Their opposition, even with considerable and powerful help, was not enough to prevent the bill from becoming law in 28 Geo. III c. 8: "An act for removing any doubt respecting the power of the comissioners for the affairs of India, to direct that the expense of raising, transporting, and maintaining such troops as may be judged necessary for the security of the British territories and possessions in the East Indies, should be defrayed out of the revenues arising from the said territories and possessions. . . ." *The Statutes at Large* . . . , 1788, p. 342. See also *Parl. Hist.*, XXVII, 65–153, 177–263.

3. Price has succinctly summarized the nature, significance, and consequences of Fox's

which, because it lodged this power not in the King but in an Aristocracy that created a kind of 4th estate in the Kingdom, was the means of throwing Mr Fox and the Coalition out of power. But in the present instance opposition has been unsuccessful; and I am afraid it always will be so whenever it contradicts the views of the crown, in consequence of the miserable inadequateness of our representation. I hope you will do better in America. I must own to you that the new federal constitution, in its principal articles, meets my Ideas, and that I wish it may be adopted.

This letter is to be convey'd to you by Colonel Smith. It is with regret I part with him and Mr. Adams. I admire their abilities and character, and cannot help deploring that wretched policy of this country which occasions their recall.⁴ How wonderful is it that our ministers, after spending a hundred millions of money and shedding torrents of blood to keep America now think it best to throw it from them? One of their reasons for their conduct has been, that Congress being a mere shadow, there is no power in the united states with which any alliance can be formed that can be of any validity or use; and as a proof of this they have urged the inability of Congress to preserve even the Treaty of peace from being violated.⁵ This is an objection which I hope will be now soon removed. But I must not enter into this subject. Being pressed by more engagements than a person so slow and so easily encumber'd as myself can properly attend to, I hope you will have the goodness to excuse haste and brevity.

My chief view in writing is to beg the continuance of your favourable remembrance of me, and to assure you, that I am, under a grateful sense of your civilities and with all the best wishes,

Your very obedient and humble servant
Richd Price

Will you be so good when you see your Brother⁶ as to remember me respectfully to him. I am very sorry that he labours under so great a calamity as the loss of his sight.

celebrated India Bill. For some of the details and their relevance to this letter, see Lucy Stuart Sutherland, *The East India Company in Eighteenth-Century Politics* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 392-414.

4. See Vol. II, 231, 300. See also R.P. to Ezra Stiles, 22 Mar. 1788.

5. See R.P. to Benjamin Rush, 26 Jan. 1787.

6. William Lee (1739-95). See Vol. II, 143.

To Joel Barlow

Hackney near London Mch 24th 1788

Dear Sir

I return you many thanks for the letter, and also the copy of your poem¹ which I received sometime ago, and which was convey'd to me by Mr Adams. Your determination to print in America was certainly right; and I am very glad you have been encouraged by so large a subscription. Your poem must give you a high reputation, and I am sorry that it has not been in my power to assist you in the publication of it. I have taken care to convey to Mr. Hayley² and Mr Day³ the copies you have directed to them. You may be assured also that I have in conformity to your request burnt the Manuscript you sent me.

This letter is to be convey'd to you by Colonel Smith the Secretary of Mr Adams the late American minister in our Court. I can scarcely tell you how much I respect the character and abilities of both these Gentlemen, and how happy I have been in their friendship.

You are probably acquainted with Mr Webster. May I desire you to deliver my respectful compliments to him, and to tell him that I consider myself as greatly indebted to him for his letters and books, and also that I rely on his candour and good nature to excuse me for omitting to write to him. The truth is that, tho' I am made happy by such letters and communications as his are, yet my engagements and the extent of my correspondence are such as will not admit of my taking such notice of them and making such replies to them as I ought. I rejoice in the service Mr Webster is doing by his publications and instructions.⁴

Wishing you, sir, all the enjoyments that can make you most happy, and all the encouragement and credit that will make you an increasing blessing and honour to your country, I am, with great respect,

Your very obedient and humble servant,
Richd Price

ORIGINAL: Yale University Library. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Yale University Library.

1. *The Vision of Columbus*.

2. William Hayley (1745–1820), poet. His many works include an ode to John Howard and an elegy on the death of Sir William Jones.

3. There seems to be no record of Hayley's response to Barlow's poem. For Day's response, see Thomas Day to R.P., 8 Apr. 1786, after Price had sent him a copy of the poem before it was published. See also R.P. to Thomas Jefferson, 26 Oct. 1788, and Thomas Jefferson to R.P., 7 Nov. 1788.

4. Despite this declination, Price had written to Noah Webster on 2 Aug. 1785 to thank him for copies of his *Grammatical Institute* and *Sketches of American Policy*; and, in return, to send Webster a copy of *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution*. See Vol. II, 297–98.

To John Adams

Hackney Ap. 4th, 1788

My dear Friend,

I have just received the favour of your letter,¹ and feel an impatience to thank you for it. Your recommendation of Mr Neckar's book² raises my expectations from it, and I will take the first opportunity to purchase it, and to endeavour to persuade some of the booksellers to get it translated.

Will you be so good as to inform Mr Bowdoin that he was balloted for last night at the Royal Society and chosen a member. There were 27 candidates on the foreign list whose recommendations had been hanging up all the winter in the room where the Royal Society holds its meetings; but near half of them were negatived.³

I had signed Mr Bowdoin's recommendation, and I am glad I have the pleasure of now reckoning him one of our number. Deliver my respectful compliments to him. I fear this letter will not reach Portsmouth before you have sailed,⁴ and therefore I will only add that my best wishes attend you and Mrs Adams, and that I shall always reflect with gratitude on the friendship with which you and her have honoured me. You are going to the new world. I

ORIGINAL: Massachusetts Historical Society, Adams Papers, Reel No. 371. Recipient's copy.
TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Adams Manuscript Trust.

1. Not located.

2. Probably *De l'Importance des Opinions Religieuses* (London and Paris, 1788). Adams had read this book while waiting in Portsmouth, Cowes, and Portland, for fair winds. He said of it that his countrymen had "much more need of arguments against errors in government than in religion" but that otherwise it appeared to him to "deserve the best translation and edition" possible. An English translation appeared in Boston in 1796. See Iacuzzi, *John Adams: Scholar*, pp. 228–29.

3. As a result of action by the council in 1766 and 1776, the number of foreign members had been reduced from 170 to 120 and by 1820 was down to forty. There also was a reduction of the proportion of nonscientific members. Other foreign members elected at the same time as Bowdoin were Charles Peter Thomborg, M.D., professor of medicine and botany in the University of Upsala; Horace Benedict de Saussure, member of the Great Council of Geneva; Antoine Laurent Lavoissier, member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris. See Sir Henry Lyons, *The Royal Society 1660–1940* (Cambridge, 1944), p. 204, and T. Thomson, *History of the Royal Society from Its Institution to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1812), Appendix IV, p. lxi.

4. John and Abigail Adams left London 30 Mar. 1788, arriving in Portsmouth the following day. They left Portsmouth on 6 Apr. for Cowes where they stayed until 20 Apr. when, attempting to sail, they were driven back to Portland Harbour. They finally sailed on 28 Apr. and arrived in Boston on 17 June after a stormy voyage. See Butterfield, ed., *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, vol. III, pp. 212–16. See also Page Smith, *John Adams* (Garden City, N.Y., 1962), pp. 730–31.

remain in the old world. May Heaven unite us again in that world beyond the grave where all the virtuous are to meet.

I am, Dear Sir,
affectionately Yours,
Richd Price

I have at last received from Dilly your 3d Volume,⁵ and thank you heartily for it. I have begun reading your remarks on *Nedham*,⁶ and expect to be instructed by it. Your country is certainly much indebted to you for the service you do them by this publication.

5. That is, the third volume of *A Defence of the Constitutions of the Government of the United States of America*.

6. See R.P. to John Adams, 5 Mar. 1789, n. 1.

To Thomas Jefferson

[ca. Apr. 1788?]¹

Dr. Price presents his best respects to Mr. Jefferson, and takes the liberty to introduce to him (Mr. Ashburnham) the young person who is the bearer of this note. He is virtuous, sensible and worthy and any little notice that it may not be inconvenient to Mr. Jefferson to take of him will be well bestowed. His business at Paris is only to employ himself there for a few weeks in learning the French language, in order afterwards to return to his father who is the governor of Bombay in the East Indies.²

The Book and Pamphlet³ which accompany this note Dr. Price presents to

ORIGINAL: Massachusetts Historical Society. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *Jefferson*: Boyd, XIII, 119–20. TEXT: *Jefferson*: Boyd.

1. Boyd dates this note before Jefferson's letter to Price of 11 July 1788, in which he thanks Price for "the Volume you were so kind to send me some time ago," presumably the *Review*, from Jefferson's reference to morality; probably the third edition, of 1787.

2. There is no record of a governor of Bombay named Ashburnham. During this period the governors were Rawson Hart Boddam (1784–88), Andrew Ramsay (1788), and William Medows (1788–90). William Ashburner, however, was a member of the Bombay Council. He resigned from the council in 1784 but was appointed again "after the arrival of General Meadows [Medows]." *Gent. Mag.*, LIX (1789), 456. He died shortly before June 1793, LXIII (1793), 577. His only daughter was "the celebrated Mrs. Boddington," LXIV (1794), 257. A son was printer of the *Gazette*, of Bombay, LXIX (1799).

A point of some interest, perhaps, is that the name was first spelled "Ashburnham" in *Gent. Mag.*, LIX, and later changed to "Ashburnor" in LXIX.

3. Probably "The Evidence for a Future Period of Improvement" (London, 1787).

Mr. Jefferson, not from any opinion of their value, but merely as a testimony of the high respect which he always feels for Mr. Jefferson, and of his gratitude to him for the satisfaction and instruction he has received from Mr. Jefferson's Notes on the State of Virginia.⁴

[No signature]

4. See Vol. II, 288, 289–90.

To Theophilus Lindsey

Hackney, May 26, 1788

Dear Sir,

I know not how to avoid writing to you a few lines to return you thanks for your book in defence of our friend Dr. Priestley.¹ I have read it with pleasure, and been instructed by it. If contrary to my apprehensions the Socinian doctrine is true, I wish you success in your endeavours to propagate it: but whether true or not, good must be done by all fair and candid discussions of it. You have done me honour by joyning me to *Dr. Butler*; but you will excuse me if I tell you that I am sorry that in your animadversions on him, you have not intimated that I do not think as he does on the subject of worshipping Christ, and that I have given an account of the Divine character and government and human life very different from that which you censure.² I am afraid that, from your not distinguishing between him and me, those who read you only will be led to very wrong ideas of my sentiments on these points, and also on the dignity of Christ and our redemption by him.

My convictions are generally only a preponderance on one side attended with a feeling of difficulties, and I am often ready to wish I was more assured of the truth of my opinions; but in forming this wish I am checked by reflecting that this assurance is most enjoy'd by those who are most in the wrong, Trinitarians, Calvinists, Papists, etc. and that, were I possessed of it with respect to my opinion of the dignity and offices of Christ, I might

ORIGINAL: Dr. Williams's Library. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: Thomas Belsham, *Memoirs of the late Reverend Theophilus Lindsey, M.A.* (London, 1812), pp. 206, 207 (incomplete). TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of Dr. Williams's Library.

1. *Vindiciae Priestleianae: An Address to the Students of Oxford and Cambridge* . . . (London, 1788). A second part was published in 1790.

2. Lindsey had written (p. 249) that "the probable reason, as it appears to me, why pious, thoughtful men, such as bishop Butler, Dr. Price, and others, have fallen into, and adhered so fixedly to this gloomy, unscriptural doctrine, that repentance alone is not sufficient to restore sinful mortals to the favour of their Maker" is "their not keeping strictly to the doctrine of scripture concerning the divine unity and the proper humanity of Christ. . . ."

possibly be led to a sad loss of candour by charging *Socinians* (as you do Arians) with resisting an evidence so insurmountable that *all* the rational are seeing it every day more and more, (p. 189) and so vast that every eye *must* see it that is not wholly blinded by prejudice, (p. 177) and also by saying of some of the ablest and best men who differ from me, but of whom I have every reason to believe that they enquire as fairly and diligently as myself, that they see things thro' a mist, that they are ignorant and gloomy; that they have narrow minds bound down to a system, and have never properly searched the Scriptures to see what Christianity is.

I am, Dear Sir, with affectionate and sincere respect,

Yours,
Richd Price

Deliver my kind respects to Mrs Lindsey.³ Have you seen what Mr Gibbon⁴ says of Dr Priestley and also what Dr Grisdale⁵ says of him⁶ and me⁷ and Mr Robinson⁸ in his sermon at the consecration of Dr Douglas. I have delay'd this letter in consequence of seeing you at Mr Hollis's.⁹

3. Hannah Lindsey, née Elsworth (1740–1812), the daughter of Joshua and Hannah Elsworth. Her mother married Francis Blackburne, Archdeacon of Cleveland, author of *The Confessional*, and a good friend of Lindsey. Hannah was brought up there from the age of four. She and Lindsey were married 29 June 1760.

4. In the conclusion of *An History of the Corruptions of Christianity* Priestley had criticized Gibbon for his account of the spread of Christianity and, in effect, challenged him to public discussion of various issues, including the role of miracles, on the basis of historical evidence and philosophical controversy. Gibbon declined, suggesting Priestley should stick to science. See Rutt, V, 480–94, and XVII, 533–36. Later, shortly before this letter, Priestley returned to the attack in “Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever . . . with Animadversions on the two last Chapters of the First Volume of Mr Gibbon’s History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.” See Rutt, IV, 535–48; V, 480–94; VIII, 327–31; *The Letters of Edward Gibbon*, ed. Jane E. Norton, 3 vols. (London, 1956), II, 320–23; and *A Bibliography of the Works of Edward Gibbon*, ed. Jane E. Norton (London, 1948), pp. 237, 243.

5. Browne Grisdale (d. 1814), prebendary of Torleton, of Norwich; chaplain in ordinary to his majesty, chancellor of Carlisle. See his “Sermon [on Phil. 4:5] preached in Whitehall Chapel at the Consecration of the Right Rev. John Douglas, D.D., Lord Bishop of Carlisle, on Sunday November 18, 1787” (London, c. 1793).

6. Grisdale considered these three Dissenters threats to the established church. He says Priestley “is honest enough to avow, that *no convulsions in the political world ought to be a subject of lamentation*, if they can be attended with *so desirable an event* as to make way for the introduction of his great improvements in religion . . . but . . . we have his own words to comfort us, *that we must wait for the fall of the civil power*, before we can realize his exulting dreams of victory, and succeed in his earnest labours to overturn our constitution in church and state. See *Corruptions of Christianity*, at the conclusion.” “A Sermon . . .,” p. 11.

7. Grisdale chides Price for saying in his *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine*, p. 63, that “the enemies of Revelation” run the risk of exposing the hierarchy to “sudden and total overthrow” by not removing “shocking blemishes from our established code of faith and worship” (*Corruptions of Christianity*, p. 11).

8. Robert Robinson (1735–90), farmer, merchant, minister, author, hymn writer. Suc-

cessively Calvinist, Baptist, and Socinian, the latter from the influence of Priestley's writings. He preached at Mildenhead and Norwich Tabernacle before forming with thirteen others an independent church in St. Paul's parish, Norwich. He preached at Stone Yard Baptist Chapel, Cambridge, and in the surrounding villages, worked against slavery, for the relief of the Dissenters, and was a productive author (*D.N.B.*). See also George Dyer, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Robert Robinson* (London, 1796). Cited by John Stephens, "The London Ministers and Subscription 1772-1779," *Enlightenment and Dissent*, no. 1 (1982), pp. 43-71, esp. p. 50, n.29; and Ruth Watts, "Joseph Priestley and Subscription," *Enlightenment and Dissent*, no. 2 (1983), pp. 83-100, esp. p. 99, n.36.

Grisdale does not quote because, he says, Robinson "pours out such a torrent of illiberal invective against our prelatical church, in almost every page of his *Plan of Lectures* [*A Plan of Lectures on the Principles of Nonconformity. For the instruction of Catechumens* (London, 1781; 5th ed., 1781)] that it seems unnecessary to select any particular page. Such an adversary is, indeed, a real friend: his malignant Calumny recoils upon himself and his party." "A Sermon . . .," pp. 10-11.

9. Probably Thomas Brand-Hollis (c. 1719-1804). See Vol. II, 198. Possibly Timothy Hollis (1708-90). See Vol. I, 177.

From Theophilus Lindsey

(May/June 1788)

Dear Sir,

As there is no one living for whom I have a higher respect and esteem than yourself I am proportionately concerned that you should think yourself at all intended or involved in what I say of Bishop Butler and his system.¹

To make what reparation I can, if my book should ever come to a second edition, I will either omit your name entirely p. 249, and I now wish I had done it; or when I publish Part II, which I hope to be able to do in the course of the next year, I will do that justice which is due to your very different sentiments to those of Bishop Butler.²

For that perhaps too vaunting stile in which I speak of Christ being purely one of the human race, and of no other order of beings, I make some apology to my young men, p. 168, and am sorry that any conclusion should be drawn from it but that of speaking from the fulness of my own mind, without the least thought of casting blame on those of different sentiments, or impeaching their judgements or understandings.

PRINTED: Belsham, *Memoirs of Lindsey*, p. 208. TEXT: *Memoirs* . . .

1. See R.P. to Theophilus Lindsey, 26 May 1788 and 2 June 1788.

2. In the introduction to his *Second Address to the Students of Oxford and Cambridge* (London, 1790) Lindsey wrote that he "takes blame to himself for having in the former part, without just grounds, included Dr. Price in Bishop Butler's gloomy conclusions concerning the character of the moral governor of the world, whose notions in this respect that excellent person is as far from approving, as from countenancing the bishop's metaphysical superficial way of introducing two new deities among Christians, without ever in any proper way consulting the Bible about them" (p. xxx).

To Theophilus Lindsey

Hackney June 2d, 1788

Dear Sir,

Accept my best thanks for your kind letter. It is entirely satisfactory to me, and leaves in my mind no room for any other sentiments than those of affection and respect which I have always entertained for you. If my letter discover'd any degree of unreasonable sensibility I hope you will forgive me. Indeed, I care not what strong expressions of dislike are apply'd to my opinions concerning Christ provided they are properly represented, and I am not understood to hold that he is *almost equal to the Supreme God*; a sentiment at which I shudder, and which probably no *Arian* now holds.¹

I am oblig'd to you for the extract from Mr Freeman's letter.² Deliver my kind and respectful remembrances to Mrs Lindsey. Wishing you and her all possible happiness

I am truly and affectionately yours
Richd Price

Having writ this letter before I had the pleasure of seeing you yesterday; I have thought there can [be] nothing amiss in sending it to you.

ORIGINAL: Dr. Williams's Library. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: Belsham, *Memoirs of Lindsey*, pp. 208, 209. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of Dr. Williams's Library.

1. For Price's Arianism, see D. O. Thomas, pp. 36–38.

2. James Freeman (1759–1835), graduated from Harvard (1777) and became reader at King's Chapel, Boston (1782). He proposed a revision of the Episcopalian liturgy to omit certain Trinitarian parts, and these revisions were accepted by the proprietors of King's Chapel in 1785. When the Episcopalian bishop refused, the senior warden ordained him, thus transforming the first Episcopal Church in New England into the first Unitarian church in the United States, 18 Nov. 1787. He continued his pastorate at King's Chapel until 1826.

The extract sent by Lindsey to Price has not been located, but on 15 Oct. 1788 Freeman wrote to Lindsey expressing thanks that he had avoided the "moral danger" of ordination by the American bishops. He mentions an earlier letter to Lindsey describing an ordination by Bishop Seabury which he and members of his congregation found highly unacceptable. The extract may have been from this earlier letter. See Henry W. Foote, "James Freeman and King's Chapel 1782–87." (Reprinted from the *Religious Magazine* [Boston, 1873].)

To William Adams

Hackney June 17th-1788

My Dear Friend

Accept my thanks for your information about Mr Woodhouse.¹ It has determined him to set out immediately for Oxford and to deliver this letter to you himself. He is no way related to me but one of the favourite pupils of my Nephew Mr George Morgan who thinks him a most virtuous and promising young person. He is intended for the law, a dissenter, and the son of a Gentleman at Norwich. There are, I believe, few who at his age have advanced so far in literary, Philosophical and Mathematical knowledge.

If Miss Adams² is with you deliver my respectful compliments to her, and tell her that I wish her change of condition may be attended with all the blessings that can make her most happy. May you enjoy a summer of health and comfort. I hope you will be able to go to Glamorganshire. I shall follow you thither, but my engagements will not permit me to leave London till the end of next month. My Nephew, Mr Price of Landaff,³ who has been lately in town will I know rejoyce in the honour of entertaining you in his house.

I am ever most affectionately and respectfully yours

Rich^d Price.

ORIGINAL: Gloucestershire County Records Office. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Gloucestershire County Records Office.

1. Robert Woodhouse (1773-1827). Although "intended for the law," he became an eminent mathematician, credited with introducing calculus into England.

2. Price is probably referring to Miss Adams's forthcoming marriage. On 10 July 1788 she was married to B. Hyett of Painswick. See *Gent. Mag.*, LVIII, 658.

3. Samuel Price, the only son of John Price of Park, Richard Price's stepbrother.

From Mathon de la Cour

Paris 27 Juin 1788

La bonté que vous avez eue, Monsieur de traduire mon Testament de fortuné Ricard vous donne un droit éternel a ma reconnaissance et a tout ce que je pourrai produire a l'avenir. C'est a ce titre que j'ose vous offrir un discours sur les moyens d'encourager le Patriotisme dans les monarchies et la collection des comptes-rendus de nos controlleurs generaux que je viens de

ORIGINAL: Cyfarthfa Castle Museum. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original with the kind permission of the Cyfarthfa Castle Museum.

publier. Je profite d'une occasion pour vous faire parvenir ces deux ouvrages sans frais et m'estimerai heureux si vous y reconnoissez l'ame et les intentions d'un citoyen

J'ai l'honneur d'etre avec la plus parfaite consideration
Monsieur

Votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur

Mathon de la Cour

Chez M le Mierre del'academie Francoise, rue de Doyenne

Translation

Paris 27 June 1788

Your kindness, Sir, in translating my *Testament de Fortuné Ricard* give you an eternal right to my gratitude and to all that I will be able to produce in the future. It is by virtue of this that I dare to offer you an address on the ways of encouraging patriotism within monarchies¹ and the collection of reports of our comptroller-generals² that I have just published. I take advantage of an opportunity of sending you these two works without expense and will consider myself fortunate if you recognize in them the soul and the intent of a citizen.

I have, Sir, the honor of being, with the most complete esteem,

Your most humble and most obedient servant

Mathon de la Cour

At the home of M le Mierre, of the French Academy, Rue de Doyenne.

1. *Discours sur les meilleurs moyens de faire naître et d'encourager le patriotisme dans une monarchie* (Paris, 1787).

2. *Collection de compte-rendus, pièces authentiques, états et tableaux, concernant les finances de France, depuis 1758 jusqu'en 1787* (Paris, 1788).

From Thomas Jefferson

Paris July 11. 1788.

Dear Sir

It is rendering mutual service to men of virtue and understanding to make them acquainted with one another. I need no other apology for presenting to

your notice the bearer hereof Mr. Barlow. I know you were among the first who read the *Visions of Columbus*, while yet in Manuscript:¹ and think the sentiments I heard you express of that poem, will induce you to be pleased with the acquaintance of their author. He comes to pass a few days only at London, merely to know something of it. As I have little acquaintance there, I cannot do better for him than to ask you to be so good as to make him known to such persons as his turn, and his time, might render desirable to him.

I thank you, my dear Sir, for the volume you were so kind as to send me some time ago.² Every thing you write is precious, and this volume is on the most precious of all our concerns. We may well admit morality to be the child of the understanding rather than of the senses, when we observe that it becomes dearer to us as the latter weaken, and as the former grows stronger by time and experience till the hour arrives in which all other objects lose all their value.³ That that hour may be distant with you, my friend, and that the intermediate space may be filled with health and happiness is the sincere prayer of him who is with sentiments great respect and friendship Dear Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

Th: Jefferson

1. See Thomas Day to R.P., 9 Apr. 1786, and R.P. to Joel Barlow, 4 Feb. 1787.

2. See R.P. to Thomas Jefferson, c. Apr. 1788.

3. For a perceptive discussion of Jefferson's view on the roles of sense and reason in morals, see Morton G. White, *The Philosophy of the American Revolution* (New York, 1978), esp. pp. 113–27.

To Christopher Harris

Hackney July 26th 1788

Dear Sir,

After thinking anxiously ever since I had the pleasure of seeing you and Mr Pearson, of the proposal made to me by the Committee for conducting the next Commemoration of the Glorious Revolution, I find it necessary to inform you that I must decline it.¹

ORIGINAL: Minutes of the Revolution Society, BL Add. MSS 64814 f. 4. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the British Library Board, and thanks to Mr. John Stephens and Dr. C. J. Wright for relevant information.

1. Michael Pearson and Christopher Harris, members of the Revolution Society and of a committee to celebrate the centenary of the Revolution of 1688, had been waiting on Price for an answer to their invitation to preach a sermon on that occasion (Minutes, 21 July 1788). When Harris received this answer, the committee resolved to "express their concern that the state of Dr Price's health will not allow his undertaking the Service requested of him, and that the Secretary be desired to communicate this resolution to Dr Price and to ask the

The Consciousness of having undertaken a service that would require so much exertion, and from which so much would be justly expected, would in the present state of my health press my spirits too much, and probably prevent the benefit which I hope to receive from that retirement into the Country for the remainder of the summer, which I have in view

It is with reluctance I send you this information, being truly sensible of the honour which the Gentlemen of the Committee have done me, and at the same time mortified to think of not being able to contribute in the manner they desire to the usefulness and celebrity of so important an occasion: with great respect I am Sir

Your very obedient and humble servant
Richd Price.

favor of his preparing some observations on the importance and utility of commemorating the Revolution, to be published by the Committee before the day of celebration" (Minutes, 28 July 1788). Price was a member of the committee but did not attend until 27 Oct. 1788.

From Sir William Jones

[Extract]

Crishna Nagar, 26 September 1788.

I have lately read with delight a book in which all Christians are interested; a volume of Sermons¹ preached by you, and showing the goodness both of

PRINTED: *Memoirs*, p. 115 (extract); Priestley: *Works*, XX, 5 (same extract); Cannon, p. 819.
TEXT: *Memoirs*.

1. *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine*. In a letter to the second Earl Spencer, 1–11 Sept. 1787, Jones wrote "Sunday 2 Sept. We have just been reading an excellent discourse by that excellent man, Price. On the subject of future punishment he expresses himself inclined to think that it will be *temporary*, that is *a length of time proportional to the offence*, but he leaves it doubtful, whether this opinion, which many pious men have adopted, and all benevolent men would wish to adopt, can be justified by the language of Scripture." Cannon, pp. 764–65. It may be doubted whether Jones fully understood Price's position. Price certainly was opposed to the view that the wicked would suffer eternal (endless) punishment, but this did not mean that he was in favor of the doctrine of the ultimate restoration of all sinners. In the *Four Dissertations* he had been prepared to argue against both the doctrine of eternal punishment and the doctrine of ultimate restoration by supposing that the fate of the unrepentant sinners would be annihilation. Later in his career, however, he came to be more doubtful as to the validity of his earlier view. See *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine*, 2nd ed., pp. 194–95, and Lansdowne to R.P., 19 Dec. 1786. Jones also refers to Price's *Sermons* in a letter to Earl Spencer, 4–30 Aug. 1787. "I have just been reading to A.M. one of Price's *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine*, and am confirmed in the opinions, which I have long formed from reading the Scripture. Such discussions, indeed, are not necessary to our happiness; since all, who believe the *essentials* of religion and act accordingly to the principles

your heart and of your judgment. I anxiously hope that I shall see you in perfect health some years hence on my return to Europe, where (despairing of public liberty) I shall, by God's blessing, pass the rest of my life in studying those parts of knowledge which are connected with the duty of good citizens and in conversing with you and a few others who love their country better than their interest.

of virtue, must be happy; but there is something so pleasing in Truth, that it becomes interesting from its own charms independently of any advantage, that may be derived from it. After this publication, by good old Price, the *Church of England*, as it is called, would inevitably fall, and the *Religion of the Gospel* be substituted in its place, if it were not the interest of so many thousand to profess a belief in riddles for the sake of rectories, prebends, the lawn sleeves." Cannon, p. 758.

To Thomas Jefferson

Hackney October 26th. 1788

Dear Sir

I cannot help embracing the opportunity which Mr. Gibson, the conveyor of these lines, offers me to pay my respects to you and to return you my thanks for the letter with which you honoured me by Mr. Barlow.¹ I was glad to see a person so distinguished by his genius and poetical powers, and I wished much I could have shewn him greater civilities while in London; but he happen'd to come here at a season of the year very unfavourable to his introduction into company, and also when, being in a poor state of health, I was going to reside in Wales for the remainder of the summer in hopes of obtaining there a recruit of health and spirits. I could not therefore obtain more of the pleasure of his company than he gave me by dining with me the day before I set out. He has probably now left London. Should he be in Paris deliver my respectful compliments to him.

What is now passing in France is an object of my anxious attention. I am by no means properly informed about the nature and circumstances of the struggle; but as far as it is a struggle for a free constitution of government and the recovery of their rights by the people I heartily wish it success whatever may be the consequence to this country, for I have learnt to consider myself more as a citizen of the world than of any particular country, and to such a person every advance that the cause of public liberty makes must be agreeable. For this reason I have been made very happy by the adoption of the new

ORIGINAL: Library of Congress, recipient's copy. PRINTED: *Jefferson*: Boyd, XIV, 38–40. TEXT: *Jefferson*: Boyd.

1. See Thomas Jefferson to R.P., 11 July 1788.

federal Constitution in America.² This constitution meets my Ideas in most of its parts; and I have been trembling under the apprehensions of its rejection. Without doubt it has defects; but it may be well hoped that time and experience will afford the means of removing them.

Mr. Necker³ seems to me to have undertaken a hard work. He will indeed be great if he should restore Finances so derang'd as those of France. The convening of the states seems to be an important step for that purpose, as well as a noble triumph to the lovers of liberty. Mr. Necker has shewn so well the folly of war, that I cannot help hoping he will not easily be drawn into it, especially as a permanent peace is no less necessary to deliver us from the danger of our debts than it is to deliver France. I see, however, with pain that our ministers do not act as if this was true. But I will say no more of politics.

I am now reading Mr. Necker's book on the importance of religious opinions.⁴ It is a very extraordinary work for a minister of state, and does him on the whole great honour. But he is too vague in his manner of discoursing about religion. He should have defined it, and taken care to distinguish the religion he means from the superstitions that go under the name of religion, and which have done unspeakable harm to the world. What he says is true only of a rational and liberal religion; that is of a religion which enforces the obligations of morality by motives drawn from the authority of a righteous and benevolent Deity and a future retribution. But he seems never to have consider'd that there has been in almost all religions a melancholy separation of religion from morality. Popery teaches a method of pleasing God without forsaking vice, and of getting to heaven by penances, bodily mortification, pilgrimages, saying masses, believing mysterious doctrines, burning heretics, aggrandizing Priests etc. Mahometans expect a paradise of sensual pleasures. Pagans worshipp'd lewd, revengeful and cruel Deities, and sanctify'd {by their religion} to themselves some of the worst passions. The religion likewise of many Protestants is little better than a compromise with the Deity for wrong practises by fastings, sacraments hearing the word, etc. Would not society be better without such religions? Is Atheism less pernicious than Demonism? And what is the religion of many persons but a kind of demonism that delights in human sacrifices and causes them to look with horror on the greatest part of mankind? Plutarch, it is well known, has observed very justly that it is better not to believe in a God than to believe him to be a capricious and malevolent being. These reflexions have struck me very forcibly in read-

2. On 17 Sept. 1787 the new Constitution was approved by thirty-nine of the forty-two delegates remaining in the convention. Adoption, in the sense of being made effective by ratification, however, did not come until later.

3. Necker was recalled as director-general of Finances following Brienne's resignation on 25 Aug. 1788.

4. *De l'Importance des opinions religieuses*. It was translated by Mary Wollstonecraft and published in Philadelphia in 1791. Necker states that the aim of the book is "to refer the duties of men to those principles which afford them the most natural support" (p. iv).

ing Mr. Necker's book. They shew how incumbent it is on all who wish the happiness of the world to endeavour to propagate just notions of the Deity and of religion. I can reflect with some satisfaction that this has been one of the studies and labours of my life.

But, Dear Sir, I have insensibly run into a talk that I by no means intended when I begun this letter, and which I am afraid you will think impertinent. I hope you will excuse it, and ever believe me to be, with the greatest respect, Your most obedient and humble servant,

Richd Price

You probably know M. Du pont,⁵ the friend of the late Mr. Turgot. May I beg the favour of you to convey the inclosed Note to him?⁶ The design of it is only to tell him that I have received the present he has sent me of his book on the Treaty of Commerce between the two kingdoms and to thank him for it.⁷ I do not know how to direct to him.

5. Pierre-Samuel Dupont de Nemours (1739–1817), economist, physiocrat, and biographer of Turgot. He published his *Mémoires Sur la Vie et les Ouvrages de Turgot* in Paris in 1782.

6. Not located.

7. *Lettre a La Chambre du Commerce de Normandie; Sur le Mémoire qu'elle a publié relativement au Traité de Commerce avec l'Angleterre* (Rouen and Paris, 1788).

To the Marquis of Lansdowne

Hackney Oct: 30.*th* 1788

My Lord

I have inclosed a letter which I received a few weeks ago from Mr Arthur Lee.¹ He mentions your Lordship and Colonel Barre in it, and expected probably that I should communicate it to you. There is now a person in town from America who has discover'd a method (by a steam engine working a pump) of making a ship move against a current without sails or oars.² The experiment has been try'd in the river Potomack in Virginia before General

ORIGINAL: Bowood. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

1. Not located.

2. James Rumsey (1743–92), inventor. He had built a house and stables for Washington and had been superintendent of construction of canals for the Potomac Navigation Company of which Washington was president. He demonstrated his steamship on the Potomac in front of Washington and others on 3 Dec. and 11 Dec. 1773 near present-day Shepherdstown, West Virginia. Out of money and in debt, he appealed to the American Philosophical Society for help. They agreed, formed the "Rumseian Society," and sent him to England to patent his various inventions and to raise English capital (*D.A.B.*).

Washington and others. It was found in this experiment that a vessel with half her burden moved against the stream at the rate of four miles in an hour.

Mr Fastenedge has been spoken to by Mr. Morgan about his father's conduct at Wycombe.³ He is very angry with his father, but I am afraid cannot influence him. I wish your Lordship may be right in reckoning upon a large majority, but I find that others doubt this and suspect that some who pretend to be favourable are not so. Mr Shrimpton,⁴ I fancy, is a strange kind of man, and I have heard his conduct accounted for by an intimation that possibly he may wish to propose himself. He is a stiff Dissenter, and one of his daughters married one of our most zealous calvinistical Preachers.

This being the end of the 100th year since the Revolution, the Society that has for many years called itself the Revolution Society and consisting chiefly of Dissenters is preparing for observing the 100th Anniversary on tuesday next⁵ with particular solemnity. Lord Stanhope⁶ has consented to be the chairman at the Feast. Mr Healey⁷ has composed an ode for the occasion. Dr. Kippis⁸ is to preach before the Society. I was apply'd to before I went to Wales; but being in low spirits and knowing that the consciousness of having undertaken such a service would burden my mind too much, I begg'd to be excused. I received a few days ago a kind Note from Colonel Barre.⁹ He is probably now at Bowood. Deliver to him my best respects. I am made very happy by his

3. Probably the father of Edward Fastnedge, who was a signatory witness to Price's will. See "Journal," p. 402. See also Ogborn, p. 161.

4. Not further identified.

5. The London Society for Commemorating the Revolution in Great Britain ("The Revolution Society") met on 4 Nov. 1788, the date of King William's birthday. Price proposed one among forty-one toasts "To the memory of the Bishops who were imprisoned in the Tower, and may all clerical men shew themselves equal enemies of arbitrary power." As this letter indicates, Price had declined an invitation to deliver the sermon for the occasion. He accepted the following year and delivered his famous sermon, *A Discourse on the Love of our Country*. See D. O. Thomas, pp. 296-97. See also Stanhope and Gooch, *Life of Stanhope*, pp. 74-76.

6. See Vol. II, 152.

7. William Hayley. "Occasional Stanzas, written at the request of the Revolution Society and recited on their anniversary, November 4, 1788 . . ." (London, 1788). See also *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of William Hayley, Esq. . . .*, ed. John Johnson, 2 vols. (London, 1825), I, 367-69.

8. *The Times*, 5 Nov. 1788, reported, "Yesterday being the secular anniversary of King William the Third, who rescued these nations from Popery and Slavery, and placed the Constitution on the enviable basis on which it now stands; it was observed with grateful demonstrations of joy, thanksgiving and festivity all over the kingdom. . . . The friends of [The Revolution Society] heard divine service at the Old Jewry Meeting, where a sermon, suited to the occasion, was preached by the Rev. Dr. Kippis; after which they adjourned to dinner at the London Tavern, where a very nervous oration was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Towers, and an Ode recited which gave great pleasure to the company." The sermon by Kippis was "A Sermon [on Ps. 144:15] preached at the Old Jewry, 4th Nov. 1788, before the Society for commemorating the glorious revolution, etc." (London, 1788).

9. Not located.

information that I was of use to him in the important business which he has been transacting between Lord Townshend and the Earl of Leicester.¹⁰ The account he has sent me of the last quarter of the Revenue gratified my curiosity much. I find this last quarter has produced more than any quarter ever did; but the half year has produced £66,600 less than the corresponding summer half year in the preceding year. The excises have fallen, and the encrease in the last quarter I am told has been almost entirely in the Customs, and the consequence I am told of a new regulation which has oblig'd the merchants to pay the *whole* of certain duties on importation immediately. They used to be allow'd time to pay a part of these duties.

I have heard nothing lately of any thing that has pass'd between the Catholics and Mr Pitt.¹¹

Your Lordship's observations on the difference between offensive and defensive wars seem to me very just. The former are generally unjust wars; and it is not fit they should succeed.

I have received lately several presents of books from writers at Paris. One of these has been sent me by Count Sarsfield,¹² and is written by some friend of his. It is a tract of the state of the poor laws in England with remarks and proposals for making a better provision for the poor. The Author quotes several English books, but the principal is Mr Townshend's Dissertation on the Poor Laws.¹³ M. Du=pont also, the friend of M Turgot, has sent a publication of his on the Treaty of Commerce between England and France which seems to contain a good deal of important matter.¹⁴

Our College thrives, but it has lately suffer'd an unspeakable loss by a stroke which has deprived Mr Towgood¹⁵ (the most active and useful of our

10. George Townshend, fourth Viscount and first Marquis Townshend (1724–1807), Price's "Lord Townshend," and his eldest son, George, second Marquis Townshend, Earl of Leicester, and Baron de Ferrars of Chartley (1755–1811). Both had distinguished careers in the military and in government, and, in the case of the Earl of Leicester, in archaeology. I have not found how Price helped Barré in his dealings with them.

11. On 9 May 1788 members of an influential committee of Catholic laymen had presented a petition to the prime minister requesting repeal of long-standing laws prohibiting Catholic worship and education. (Restriction on inheritance and the purchase of land had been lifted in 1779 by the Catholic Relief Act, provoking the anti-Catholic Gordon Riots of 1780. See Benjamin Rush to R.P., 27 Oct. 1786, n.7.) With Pitt's consent, in a form probably resulting from cooperation between Lord Stanhope and the Catholic committee, a measure was introduced repealing most of the disabilities against English Catholics. It was supported in the Commons by Edmund Burke, in the Lords by Bishop Samuel Horsley, and was passed in the summer of 1791.

12. Guy Claude, Comte de Sarsfield (1718–89). See Vol. II, 280, n.6.

13. Joseph Townsend (1739–1816), mineralogist, preacher, traveler, author. *A Dissertation on the Poor Laws*, by a well-wisher to mankind [Joseph Townsend] (London, 1786).

14. "Lettre à La Chambre du commerce du Normandie; sur le mémoire qu'elle a publié relativement au traité de commerce avec l'Angleterre." (Paris, 1788). Actually published in Rouen.

15. Matthew Towgood (1732–1791). See "Journal," pp. 367, 375, 387, 389, 396, 407.

managers) of his speech and the use of one side. He is recovering, but without the probability of a restoration to his former usefulness. Mr Rogers¹⁶ also, our other principal manager, is in a state of health that gives us great concern. Deliver my respectful compliments to Lady Lansdowne. No one can wish more her felicity and your Lordship's than, My Lord, Your most obedient and humble servant

Richd Price

My Sister and Niece think themselves much honoured by Lady Lansdown's condescension in wishing to see them when we called in our return from Wales; but we were afraid of an intrusion.

410. The last entry in Price's journal is for 6 Feb. 1791, the day he preached the funeral sermon for Towgood.

16. D. O. Thomas notes, "Thomas Rogers (d. 1793), son of a glass manufacturer at Stourbridge. Came to London in his youth to work in a warehouse owned by his father and Samuel Radford. In 1760 married Radford's daughter, Mary, and the following year entered into partnership with his father-in-law. Settled at Newington Green where he became treasurer of the Meeting House. Lived next door but one to Price on the Green and both families were on intimate terms. In 1765 joined George and Thomas Welch, the bankers in Cornhill, and laid the foundations of a considerable fortune. Chairman of the Committee appointed to establish New College at Hackney. Died on 1 June 1793. See *Gent. Mag.*, LXIII (1793), part 2, 671." See also "Journal," p. 407.

From Joseph Willard

Cambridge, Novr 19, 1788

Reverend Sir,

I received a letter from you some time ago accompanied by the third edition of your volume upon *Morals* for our library.¹ I have presented it to the Corporation, who have desired me to return you their thanks for this new instance of your kindness.

I am pleased to find that you are so far satisfied with our new federal Constitution. Eleven of the States have adopted it and the general government is to be organized the next March. It is to be hoped that this new government will have more energy than the old; and indeed it is so constituted that I think it must necessarily be the case. It is impossible that we should be a flourishing people or have national distinction if we should continue to go on as we have done since the conclusion of the war which

PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 371-72. TEXT: *M.H.S.P.*

1. See R.P. to Joseph Willard, 10 Oct. 1787, accompanying a copy of the third edition of *Review*.

established our independence. Recommendations may do in times of danger; but seldom is it that they will have the efficacy of laws in a time of peace. Several of the State Conventions have recommended alterations. Some of them, if adopted, would, it is probable, improve the Constitution; and I think it likely that this will after a while take place.²

I am very happy to find that your new College³ is in a flourishing situation. I ardently wish it may be of extensive utility to the Dissenting Interest in your island, both in ecclesiastical and secular regards. A greater diffusion of knowledge among the body of Dissenters must be attended with important advantages. They are the strenuous assertors of religious liberty; and I look upon them to be very great supporters of the civil liberties of your nation. I rejoice that your new literary Society is entirely free from the shackles of subscriptions in which it imitates the liberality of this University, which enjoins no human formula as a standard of faith, and whose members are received from all religious denominations that offer.

Some time ago I mentioned to you the subject of a Greek Lexicon where each sense of the words should be given in English and supported by classical authority in the manner of Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary.⁴ I am still of opinion that such a Greek-English Lexicon would greatly facilitate the learning of that admirable language among youth and that we should have many more who would acquaint themselves with the immortal writers of Greece and Rome than has commonly been the case. Is there no one among you, Sir, who is capable of the business that might be induced to undertake such a work? How is it with Dr Harwood?⁵ I find a number of passages in his "*View of the various editions of the Greek and Roman Classics*," that he has been a considerable reader in Greek. If he should be competent to such a work would he not have leisure for it? If you and a number of the literati of your acquaintance should have the same opinion of the utility of such a lexicon as I have, might you not

2. Seven of the states recommended alterations. Those by Virginia, New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island included declarations of rights as well as amendments. New York's were the most extensive, including twenty declarations and thirty-two amendments. As a result of modification, compression, combination, and rejection, the members of Congress were able to mold them into the first ten amendments to the Constitution commonly known as the Bill of Rights. See Tansill, *Documents*, pp. 1009–59. The literature on ratification, its complications, interrelations, and implications is too extensive to cite.

3. That is, New College, Hackney.

4. Robert Ainsworth (1660–1743), lexicographer, antiquary, numismaticist, educated at Bolton in Lancashire where he kept school before moving successively to London, Bethnal Green, and Hackney. His theory and practice in teaching were much in advance of his age. His "Dictionary" mentioned by Willard is *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae Compendarius*; or *A Compendious dictionary of the Latin Tongue: Designed for the use of the British Nations* (London, 1736). It went through many editions and editors, and with "additions, emendations, and improvements" it was in print as late as 1860.

5. Edward Harwood (1729–94). For a biographical note, see Vol. I, 138, n.7. Author of *A View of the Various Editions of the Greek and Roman Classics, With Remarks* (London, 1775). It had four editions by 1790 and was translated into German and Italian.

influence some proper hand to set about it? However, I will say nothing farther upon the subject. Your own judgment will determine whether these hints are worthy of any attention.

I have sent you several pamphlets and tracts which I hope will be some amusement to you. I have also sent you the Massachusetts Register for 1789.

The American Academy of Art and Sciences having voted to furnish all their elected members with certificates, I take this opportunity of sending yours.⁶ Will you be so kind as to give Dr Priestley's certificate to him, which I have enclosed with yours?

I must ask the favor of you, Sir, to send the packets and letters accompanying yours to the gentlemen to whom they are directed. I am loth to give you this trouble, but I know of no other gentleman with whom I can take equal freedom.

I am, with the greatest esteem, Reverend Sir,

Your very humble servant,
Joseph Willard.

I have engaged a friend to send this by Captain Scott,⁷ who will see that you have it free of expence.

6. The academy was in no hurry about sending the certificate. Price is listed among the Charter European members in vol. I of their *Proceedings* published in 1785. Of the 113 original members, more than twenty were among Price's correspondents.

7. Captain of the *Boston Packet*.

To William Adams

Hackney Dec: 16th 1788

Dear Sir

I Received on thursday last with much pleasure your letter;¹ and I had before received (uninjured) your kind present of Brawn. My best thanks are due to you for remembering me so kindly. I have also received the seven sermons which you mention in your letter.² I placed myself immediately

ORIGINAL: Gloucestershire County Records Office. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Gloucestershire County Records Office.

1. Not located.

2. The sermons by Adams to which Price refers were published under the title *Sermons on several subjects* (Shrewsbury, 1790). Sermon IV has the following passage, "Do we really believe that we have immortal souls, destined to a life of happiness or misery without end?" (p. 77); and Sermon VII, "But reason and revelation assure us, that death is only the entrance into another life: a life which shall never have an end; and in which we shall be for ever happy or miserable, according to our lives and conduct here" (p. 131). Price agreed with

under their impression by perusing them carefully; and I have derived from them real improvement. There is in them that union of good sense, just reasoning, and pathetic exhortation which I always wish to find in sermons; and I think it must be difficult for any person to read them without feeling himself stimulated to religious virtue and forced to consider everything else that can engage his anxiety as frivolous. I have never yet deliver'd any composition from the pulpit that was not my own; but these sermons being yet private and suiting my taste and feelings, I shall, I believe make use of some of them for the purpose of saving my own and at the same time edifying my congregation. I like, particularly, their tendency to withdraw the zeal of Christians from points of controversy and speculation and to direct it to those great practical points which we are all agreed. Would to God this was less difficult than it is, and that all men could be convinced that nothing is essential but an honest heart, and that right practice which must prepare us for eternity. Approaching now to the end of my 66th year, I look upon my life as almost spent, and when I review it, there is nothing that, amidst many sad imperfections, gives me so much satisfaction as the consciousness of having endeavoured to propagate this conviction, and to promote peace, candour and charity. It is true I have contended with some earnestness against some doctrines that have appeared to me erroneous, but I have aimed at doing this without bitterness, inculcating always above all things the importance of fair discussion and the sufficiency of a sincere desire to know and do the will of God to secure his acceptance notwithstanding any speculative errors into which we may fall. But I am in danger of saying too much about myself.

In Pag 77 you use the words *misery without end*; and in p. 138 *miserable forever*. The idea of an existence in eternal misery is horrible; and I know you do not mean to intimate by this language that this is to be the lot of any part of mankind. The notion that this is a Scripture doctrine contributes to make Deists; and I have reason to think that in some minds it hurts more than it serves the interest of religious virtue. My chief doubt with respect to the future punishment is, whether it is to terminate in *extinction* or *restoration*; and I am continually inclining more and more to the latter opinion. I have found no other expression in these sermons to which I can object; nor do I see that there is any thing in them that can offend any sect of Christians except Methodists and Calvinists; and it is vain for you and me to think of avoiding their displeasure. I shall expect to be favoured with the additional eight sermons which you mention. When this volume is completed you will, I hope, consent to its publication; but should you scruple this, and only choose to leave it with your Friends as a memorial of yourself it will certainly be held

Adams that our future depends on the way we have conducted ourselves in this world, but throughout his life he rejected the doctrine of *eternal* punishment. In his early career he believed that the wicked would suffer annihilation rather than eternal punishment, but there are signs that toward the end of his life he was becoming reconciled to the doctrine of universal salvation.

dear and valuable. You honour me much by numbering me among these friends. Indeed there are few among them who can love and respect you more.

I have not seen the volume of Warburton's works³ to which you refer; but I intend to purchase and read it.

I am sorry for the account you give of the state of your health. May God bless you with as comfortable remainder of life as possible. Tho' younger than you by 16 years I feel such decays coming on as oblige me to lessen my engagements and to consider myself as unfitted for much more labour. But will there not be a restoration of our powers in a better and an endless life? Christianity assures of this; and it gives a hope that should elevate us above every thing mortal.

Deliver my kind and respectful compliments to Mr and Mrs Hyet.⁴ May they enjoy every valuable blessing.

To what a critical situation is the Kingdom brought? I see nothing before us but a choice of evils. I dread the consequences of the violence of our present ministers in urging the discussion of a most dangerous question.⁵

I have lately been much affected by the death of the Bishop of St. Asaph.⁶ I had experienced much of his civility and attention. The sacred bench has lost one of its best members.

I am, my Dear Friend, ever yours
Richd Price

3. *A Supplemental Volume of Bishop Warburton's Works, being a Collection of all the New Pieces, contained in the Quarto Edition* (London, 1788).

4. See R.P. to William Adams, 17 June 1788, n.2.

5. Price probably refers to the Regency Crisis. See R.P. to Benjamin Franklin, 5-10 Jan. 1789.

6. See R.P. to Benjamin Franklin, 5-10 Jan. 1789, n. 3.

From John Howard

Warrington Decr 22.88

My dear friend

It is not forgetfulness, it is not want of gratitude that I have not wrote, though I have been here ten weeks.

I am ardently pursuing my object at the press, which engages me all day, as my printer now gets opulent, and pays not the attention he formerly did to it;¹

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. *Lazarettos*. See also John Howard to R.P., 23 Mar. 1788.

the mornings I correct etc. and few of them has found me a bed at three o'clock. Mr Bealey² revises. I visit no where; and never go to the Coffee house but I have the London Chronicle three times a week; I hope you will get calm and settled, (and the Jesuit P.³— out) before I come to town in February.

My Publication will not exceed 300 pages as they are full as large and close as my last edition of Prisons,⁴ but my plates being much larger will fill up the volume, and should I live to return from abroad, will be a very convenient size for an Appendix.

A New Code of Criminal Laws was lately sent to me from the Florentine Courts. I have had it translated, and as I think some of our best principles of Jurisprudence are adopted, many of our remaining errors excluded, and several excellent provisions introduced, though I do not think the punishment of death ought to be totally abolished, but confined to a very few atrocious crimes, I intend publishing the translation with the Italian Tuscan Codes.⁵

In my Account of Lazarettos etc. at the end, I shall introduce a few pages on Penitentiary Houses, as the subject of Prisons I seem now to take my leave of

I enclose two papers, how they came to be overlooked I know not, as that on population was procured expressly for my friend, by Sir Robert Keith.⁶

2. Joseph Bealey (1756–1813), educated at Darwen and at Daventry Academy, was appointed in 1781 to officiate at the Presbyterian Chapel at Cockey-Moor. In 1786 he became minister of a Dissenting congregation at Warrington, returning to Cockey-Moor in 1791. While there he founded the first Sunday school for the church, managed the Widows' Fund for the Presbyterians of Lancashire and Cheshire, and came to know John Howard. "The late godlike philanthropist, John Howard, Esq. printing his valuable work here, Mr. Bealey acquired his acquaintance and friendship; he superintended the press for the impression of the Treatise on Lazarettos, and was presented with this and the Account of Prisons, elegantly bound, by their benevolent author, accompanied by a declaration of high affection and respect." The Reverend William Allard, *A Memoir of the Rev. Joseph Bealey. The late Minister of a Congregation Meeting for Worship in the Presbyterian Chapel at Cockey-Moor* (Manchester, 1814), pp. 4–5. See also Arthur Mounfield, *Early Warrington Non-Conformity* (Warrington, 1923).

3. Perhaps Howard refers to William Pitt because of his recent favorable response to the measure introduced by the committee of Catholics to repeal disabilities. See R.P. to Lansdowne, 30 Oct. 1788, n.11.

4. That is, the third edition of *The State of the Prisons . . .* (Warrington, 1784).

5. *Nuova Legislazione Criminale da Osservarsi in Tutto il Gran-ducato di Toscana . . .* (Lugano, 1787). Peter Leopold (Pietro Leopoldo) (1747–92) was Leopold I, Grand-duke of Tuscany from 1765 until 1790, before becoming Leopold II, Holy Roman Emperor, Emperor of Austria, 1790–92, succeeding his brother, "the revolutionary emperor," Joseph II. Howard had the publication translated as *Edict of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, for the Reform of the Criminal Law in His Dominions*. He published it privately at Warrington in 1789 with the Italian text.

6. Sir Robert Murray Keith (1730–95). After an illustrious and adventurous military career, he was appointed minister to Vienna in 1772 where he served with distinction for the next twenty years.

With my respects to Mrs Morgan and Neieces and with every good wish
 I every remain
 Yours Affectionate and Obliged Friend,
 John Howard

To Benjamin Franklin

[January 5-10, 1789]¹

My dear Friend,

I have been desired by Miss Kitty Shipley² to convey to you the enclosed letter; and I cannot at present find any way of conveying it except by the Packet. It will inform you of the death of one of your warmest Friends and the best of Bishops.³ Ever since the American war I have been honoured with much of his attention and friendship and I cannot but mourn the loss which his family, his friends and the world have sustained. His family are in a state of deep concern, but at the same time inquisitive about you and anxious to receive some information about you. You can be nowhere more beloved or respected. I have heard with pain that you have been suffering under the gout and stone, two sad maladies; but alas! it is impossible that our bodily frame as it wears out and approaches its dissolution should not subject us to sufferings. Happy are those who in such circumstances can look back on a life distinguished by such services as yours have been. There is, I trust, beyond the grave, a world where we shall all meet and rise to greater happiness than any we have enjoyed here.

Will you be so good as to deliver my compliments to Dr Rush. You have, I know, too much to do, and too many letters to answer, and therefore I can only wish that Dr Rush would give me an account of you. He has frequently favoured me with letters, and they generally gratify me highly by informing me of the state of public affairs in the United States. His last letter was dated in

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *Franklin*: Bigelow, XII, 37. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. The date of the letter can be established within a week, from R.P.'s postscript. The death of the speaker of the House of Commons, Charles Wolfran Cornwall, was 2 Jan., of his predecessor, Fletcher Norton, first Baron Grantley, 1 Jan. 1789.

2. Catherine Louisa (1760-1840), fifth daughter of Jonathan Shipley, bishop of Asaph. See Vol. II, 242-43. Her letter dated 24 Dec. 1788 is a poignant tribute to her father. Franklin's answer dated 27 Apr. 1789 regards his passing as a loss to family, friends, nation, and world, deplores the refusal of the ministers to listen to his recommendations of just and liberal treatment of the colonies and, finally, indicates that this will probably be "the last line to be received from me, and as a taking leave." See Sparks: *Franklin*, X, 379-80, 391-92.

3. Jonathan Shipley, Bishop of Asaph, died 9 Dec. 1788 at his house in Bolton Row, Piccadilly. See "Journal," 338, 389, 410 n.91.

May;⁴ and I answered it in June by Mr Bishop,⁵ a gentleman from Connecticut who was returning from his travels through France and Germany.

I rejoyce to find that the new federal constitution has been adopted by the states. This confirms me in the hope that a state of things is commencing there more favourable to human rights than any that has yet been known in this world. One of the circumstances in which I am most disposed to rejoyce is the separation which has taken place there of religion from civil policy and the free scope given to discussion and improvement by abolishing the interposition of civil power in matters of speculation and extending equal protection to all religious sects as far as they avoid injuring one another.

I received some time ago a letter from Dr White.⁶ Will you, should he happen to come in your way, deliver to him my respectful and grateful acknowledgements. I have thought it needless to trouble him with an answer to his letter. He probably soon found that it was not possible to assist Mr Workman (the person he recommended) in the manner he proposed.⁷

Our King's insanity has brought us in this country into a state that threatens us with much confusion.⁸ The Prince of Wales is likely to bring with him into power the coalition party. The King may recover, and this party may be soon routed again. A relapse may produce another rout; or the Prince after being invested with power may be too tenacious of it, and thus the worst evils may arise. The coalition party, however, will hardly do us more mischief than the late ministry seems to have done by connecting us in such a manner with

4. Not located.

5. Not located. The bearer was Abraham Bishop (1763–1844), graduate of Yale in 1778. After an unsettled and controversial life until about 1800, he lectured, taught school, and became an effective politician in Connecticut. He is mentioned frequently, often in a derogatory way, in Stiles, *Diary*.

6. See William White to R.P., 31 July 1787.

7. White had hoped to help Benjamin Workman get an opportunity to present a mathematical instrument invented by his brother, Joseph Workman, to the Royal Society. See *ibid*.

8. George III suffered attacks of pain, overactivity, paralysis, and delirium at least four times in his life. Symptoms of the first attack appeared as early as June 1788, became acute in October, and reached a peak on 5 November severe enough to make it questionable that he could govern. This gave rise to the Regency Crisis, which included, among others, the issue of what powers the Prince of Wales should have, and for how long, if and when he were to become regent. That issue disappeared when, by late Feb. 1789, the king recovered.

It was generally accepted throughout the nineteenth century that in this, and in subsequent attacks, and during the last nine years of his life, King George III was insane. Recent studies have made it controversial, however, whether he suffered from manic-depressive psychosis or from porphyria, a hereditary disease in which an excess of purple-red pigments in the blood affects all parts of the nervous system. See Ida Macalpine and Richard A. Hunter, *George III and the Mad Business* (New York, 1972), pp. 318–43.

There is an undated manuscript at Bowood in which Price weighs reasons for and against the Prince of Wales as perpetual regent. He finds it a "dreadful dilemma," but finally expresses a preference for a permanent regency. See "Journal," Appendix IV, p. 400.

Prussia, Hesse and Holland as to subject us to the danger of being involved soon in another continental war.⁹

But I have gone beyond the bounds I intended in this letter. Accept my ardent wishes that the remainder of your life may be as happy as possible. In hopes of not being forgotten by you, I am, ever most affectionately

Yours,

Richd Price

The speaker of our House of Commons¹⁰ and also his predecessor, Lord Grantley died last week.¹¹

9. See Lansdowne to R.P., 29 Nov. 1786, R.P. to Lansdowne, 23 Sept. and 10 Nov. 1787.

10. Charles Wolfran Cornwall (1735–1789), educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford; M.P. for Grampound, 1768; for Winchelsea, 1774 and 1789; Rye, 1784; lord of the Treasury in North's government from 1774 to 1789; speaker of the House of Commons, 1789; dying in office on 2 Jan. 1789.

11. Fletcher Norton (1716–1789), first Baron Grantley, king's counsel and bencher of the Middle Temple, 1754; attorney-general, 1762–63. He was elected speaker of the House of Commons in 1770 and served until 1780, when he was replaced by Cornwall.

From Thomas Jefferson

Paris Jan. 8, 1789

Dear Sir

I was favoured with your letter of Oct. 26 and far from finding any of it's subjects uninteresting as you apprehend, they were to me, as every thing which comes from you, pleasing and instructive. I concur with you strictly in your opinion of the comparative merits of atheism and demonism, and really see nothing but the latter in the being worshipped by many who think themselves Christians.¹ Your opinions and writings will have effect in bringing others to reason on this subject. Our new constitution, of which you speak also, has succeeded beyond what I apprehended it would have done. I did not at first believe that 11 states out of 13 would have consented to a plan

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *Jefferson*: Boyd, XIV, 420–24. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. It is generally recognized that Jefferson was not deeply interested in religion. Insofar as he had a theoretical view, it was Deism, of the English variety, derived mainly from Priestley. He admired the ethics of Jesus and thought that religions generally should be judged by their morality. See Adrienne Koch, *The Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson* (Gloucester, Mass., 1957), esp. pp. 23–39.

consolidating them so much into one.² A change in their dispositions which had taken place since I left them, had rendered this consolidation necessary, that is to say, had called for a federal government which could walk upon its own legs, without leaning for support on the state legislatures. A sense of this necessity, and a submission to it, is to me a new and consolatory proof that wherever the people are well informed they can be trusted with their own government; that whenever things get so far wrong as to attract their notice, they may be relied on to set them to rights.

You say you are not sufficiently informed about the nature and circumstance of the present struggle here. Having been on the spot from its first origin and watched its movements as an uninterested spectator, with no other bias than a love of mankind I will give you my ideas of it.³ Tho' celebrated writers of this and other countries had already sketched good principles on the subject of government, yet the American way seems first to have awakened the thinking part of this nation in general from the sleep of despotism in which they were sunk. The officers too who had been to America, were mostly young men, less shackled by habit and prejudice, and more ready to assent to the dictates of common sense and common right. They came back impressed with these. The press, notwithstanding its shackles, began to disseminate them: conversation too assumed new freedoms; politics became the theme of all societies, male and female, and a very extensive and zealous party was formed, which may be called the Patriotic party, who sensible of the abusive government under which they lived, longed for occasions of reforming it. This party comprehended all the honesty of the kingdom sufficiently at its leisure to think: the men of letters, the easy bourgeois, the young nobility, partly from reflection partly from mode; for those sentiments became a matter of mode, and as such united most of the young women to the party. Happily for the nation, it happened that at the same time the dissipations of the court had exhausted the money and credit of the state and M. de Calonne⁴ found himself obliged to appeal to the nation and to develop to it the ruin of their finances. He had no ideas of supplying the deficit by economies; he saw no means but new taxes. To tempt the nation to consent to these some douceurs were necessary. The Notables were called in 1787.⁵ The leading

2. Eleven states had ratified the Constitution by July 1788. North Carolina followed in November 1789 and Rhode Island in May 1790.

3. For a perceptive treatment of Jefferson's observations on the French Revolution, including a reference to this letter and many other useful references, see the article by Robert R. Palmer, "The Dubious Democrat: Thomas Jefferson in Bourbon France," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXXII, 388-404.

4. Charles Alexandre de Calonne (1734-1802), statesman and financier. Unsuccessful, as his predecessors had been, in his attempts to improve the financial situation in France.

5. Louis XVI, following the recommendation of Calonne, summoned the notables early in 1787. One hundred forty-four of them met at Versaille on 22 Feb. There were thirty-six lay nobles, thirty-seven magistrates, twenty-six officers of municipal corporations, fourteen prelates, twelve state counselors, twelve representatives of the provincial estates, and seven

vices of the constitution and administration were ably sketched out, good remedies proposed, and under the splendor of these propositions a demand of more money was couched. The Notables concurred with the minister in the necessity of reformation, adroitly avoided the demand of money, got him displaced, and one of their leading men placed in his room. The Archbishop of Thoulouse⁶ by the aid of the hopes formed of him, was able to borrow some money, and he reformed considerably the expences of the court. Notwithstanding the prejudices since formed against him, he appeared to me to pursue the reformation of the laws and constitution as steadily as a man could do who had to drag the court after him, and even to conceal from them the consequences of the measures he was leading them into. In his time the criminal laws were reformed, provincial assemblies and states established in most of the provinces, the states general promised, and a solemn acknowledgement made by the king that he could not impose a new tax without the consent of the nation. It is true he was continually goaded forward by the public clamours excited by the writings and workings of the Patriots,⁷ who were able to keep up the public fermentation at the exact point which borders on resistance without entering on it. They had taken into their alliance the parliaments also, who were led by very singular circumstances to espouse, for the first time, the rights of the nation.⁸ They had from old causes had personal hostility against M. de Calonne. They refused to register his loans or his taxes, and went so far as to acknowledge they had no power to do it. They persisted in this with his successor, who therefore exiled them. Seeing that the nation did

princes of the blood. Fewer than thirty were from the third estate. Calonne's proposals were rejected by the notables. He was dismissed, then exiled to his estates in Lorraine. He became the first émigré in Aug. 1787 after legal proceedings had started against him in the *Parlement* of Paris. See Goodwin, pp. 33–35.

6. Étienne Charles de Loménie de Brienne (1727–94). Successively grand vicar of the archbishop of Rouen, bishop of Condom, archbishop of Toulouse, archbishop of Sens, cardinal. He succeeded Calonne as head of the *Conseil de finance*, a position he held from 1 May 1787 until 29 Aug. 1787, with equal lack of success.

7. These included members of the liberal aristocracy, higher clergy, progressive magistrates, bankers, barristers, jurists, writers, and déclassé nobles. Among them were several of Price's correspondents, who also were in the Committee of Thirty, an inner group that kept in contact with agents of the middle class in the provinces, formed political clubs modeled on those of the English, and circulated liberal pamphlets and developed model institutions to guide deputies of the third estate in the national assembly: Mirabeau, Condorcet, Rochefoucauld, Rabaut de Saint-Étienne, and Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, Prince et Duc de Bénévent, known to history as Talleyrand.

8. In the continuing study of the French Revolution, historians are coming more and more to the view that the *parlements* were highly influential in promoting liberal political views in France of the eighteenth century. This resulted, in large part, from the "very singular circumstances" mentioned by Jefferson that led them for the first time to espouse the rights of the nation. Goodwin summarizes, "The *parlements* were thus restored [by Louis XVI after being abolished by Louis XV] to a position where they could continue to harass royal ministers and circumvent financial reform, whilst posing as the champions of rights and liberties" (p. 18).

not interest themselves much for their recall, they began to fear that the new judicatures proposed in their place would be established and that their own suppression would be perpetual. In short they found their own strength insufficient to oppose that of the king. They therefore insisted the states general⁹ should be called. Here they became united with and supported by the Patriots, and their joint influence was sufficient to produce the promise of that assembly. I always suspected that the Archbishop had no objection to this force under which they laid him, but the patriots and parliament insist it was their efforts which extorted the promise against his will. The reestablishment of the parliament was the effect of the same coalition between the patriots and the parliament: but, once reestablished, the latter began to see danger in that very power, the States general, which they had called for in a moment of despair, but which they now foresaw might very possibly abridge their powers. They began to prepare grounds for questioning their legality, as a rod over the head of the states, and as a refuge if they should really extend their reformatations to them. Mr. Neckar came in at this period, and very dexterously disembarassed the administration of these disputes by calling the Notables to advise the form of calling and constituting the states. The court was well disposed towards the people, not from principles of justice or love to them. But they want'd money. No more can be had from the people. They are squeezed to the last drop. The clergy and nobles, by their privileges and influence, have kept their property in a great measure untaxed hitherto. They then remain to be squeezed, and no agent is powerful enough for this but the people. The court therefore must ally itself with the people. But the Notables, consisting mostly of privileged characters, had proposed a method of composing the states, which would have rendered the voice of the people, or tiers etat, in the states general, inefficient for the purposes of the court. It concurred then with the patriots in intriguing with the parliament to get them to pass a vote in favor of the rights of the people. This vote balancing that of the Notables has placed the court at liberty to follow it's own views, and they have determined that the tiers etat shall have in the States general as many votes as the clergy and nobles put together. Still a great question remains to be decided: that is, shall the states general vote by orders or by persons? Precedents are both ways. The clergy will move heaven and earth to obtain the suffrage by orders, because that parries the effect of all hitherto done for the people. The people will probably send their deputies expressly instructed to consent to no tax, to no adoption of the public debts, unless the unprivileged

9. That is, the representatives of the nobles, clergy, and common people, the latter often identified as the *Tiers état*, or third estate. They had not been convoked since 1614, and, as Jefferson points out, procedures of organization and voting were vague and unclear. When in June 1789 the third estate, joined by representatives of the clergy, declared itself the National Assembly, and Louis XVI recognized it as such, the States-General ceased to exist.

part of the nation has a voice equal to that of the privileged; that is to say unless the voice of the tiers etat be equalled to that of the clergy and nobles. They will have the young noblesse in general on their side, and the king and court. Against them will be the antient nobles and the clergy. So that I hope upon the whole, that by the time they meet there will be a majority of the nobles themselves in favor of the tiers etat. So far history. We are now to come to prophecy; for you will ask, to what will all this lead? I answer, if the States general do not stumble at the threshold on the question before stated, and which must be decided before they can proceed to business, then they will in their first session easily obtain 1. the future periodical convocation of the States; 2. their exclusive right to raise and appropriate money, which includes that of establishing a civil list. 3. a participation in legislation probably, at first, it will only be a transfer to them of the portion of it now exercised by parliament, that is to say a right to propose amendments and a negative: but it must infallibly end in a right of origination. 4. perhaps they may make a declaration of rights. It will be attempted at least. Two other objects will be attempted, viz. a habeas corpus law, and free press. But probably they may not obtain these in the first session, or with modifications only, and the nation must be left to ripen itself more for their unlimited adoption.

Upon the whole it has appeared to me that the basis of the present struggle is an illumination on the public mind as to the rights of the nation, aided by fortunate incidents; that they can never retrograde, but from the natural progress of things must press forward to the establishment of a constitution which shall assure to them a good degree of liberty. They flatter themselves they shall form a better constitution than the English. I think it will be better in some points, worse in others. It will be better in the article of representation which will be more equal. It will be worse, as their situation obliges them to keep up the dangerous machine of a standing army. I doubt too whether they will obtain the trial by jury because they are not sensible of it's value.

I am sure I have by this time heartily tired you with this long epistle, and that you will be glad to see it brought to an end with assurances of the sentiments of esteem and respect with which I have the honor to be, dear sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

Th: Jefferson

From Ezra Stiles

Yale Coll. Jany 18th 1789

Reverend Sir,

The Reverend Jed^h Morse,¹ lately a Tutor or Professor in this College, and now Pastor Elect of the church in Charlestown near Boston, has compiled a System of Geography and toward perfecting it for this part of the World has himself personally travelled through the United States. By the Laws of the several States the copy right is secured in him, for all copies sold within these States. It bids fair to come into general reception and use in all the Schools through the States. A first Edition is already sold and a second Edition is now published. Mr Morse is willing to dispose of the copy right in Great Britain on terms advantageous to himself so that an European impression may show an equal sale in the United States with the American Editions. He wishes to offer this to some book seller or Stationer in London either at a certain satisfactory amount for the sales, or a specified stipulated sum and he has requested me to ask your advice and friendly assistance in the matter. He has certainly the best and most accurate geographical information of these States of any Gentleman in America. He will write you more fully on the Subject and send you a Copy; from whence you and any other Gentlemen to whom you may communicate will make up your own judgment how far it may be for the interest of any London Book Seller to encourage it. Although it [] respects the Geography of the whole terraqueous Globe yet its principal object is English America.

I lately received two letters from you of distant Dates,² for which please to accept my acknowledgements. I expect an answer very soon. With every sentiment of respect and esteem, I have the honour to be, Dear Sir,

Your affectionate Friend and Brother,
Ezra Stiles

ORIGINAL: Recipient's copy not located. TEXT: Copy, in Stiles's hand, with the kind permission of Yale University Library.

1. See Jedidiah Morse to R.P., 30 Jan. 1789, including notes, for details of topics mentioned in this copy of a letter from Stiles.

2. Not located, unless they should be of dates as distant as 5 Dec. 1785 and 2 Aug. 1785, the last two we have located before this one. See Vol. II, 327-28, 295-97.

To the Marquis of Lansdowne

Hackney Jany 21st: 1789

My Lord

I cannot omit sending you a few lines to acknowledge the reception of the letter with which you have favoured me.¹ My best thanks are due for this instance of your Lordship's attention to me. I have been indeed very anxious about Lady Lansdown fearing much that the increased severity of the weather would hurt her. Mr Vaughn had informed me before I received your Lordship's letter, that she had bore the journey tolerably and was better; and on Saturday last I had called at Mr Barre's to enquire after her and received a confirmation of this account. I heartily wish her amendment may continue and terminate in a perfect recovery without the necessity of such an absence from the Kingdom as a voyage to Lisbon would occasion.²

I used to enjoy frosty weather, but the last frost has been much too severe for me. My cough seems to be growing worse, and I find that the winter tries me, and that I am growing less and less capable of bearing any thing that encumbers or hurries me.

Your Lordship is much better acquainted than I can be with the progress of our political disputes. Your Lordship's last speech seems to have made a very favourable impression on a great part of the public;³ and I shall be hoping that Lady Lansdown's restoration to health will soon enable you to return to London and to give further assistance at a time when it is so much wanted.

Mr Pitt, I understand, is in high spirits; and the opposite party a good deal mortify'd. I am sometimes disposed to smile at the addresses of thanks to Mr Pitt when I think, that possibly, could those who make them see his secret motives, they would be more disposed to despise than to thank him. Indeed, I strongly suspect the motives of both parties. One wants to secure, not so much

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. The most recent preceding surviving letter from Lansdowne is dated 19 Dec. 1786.

2. *The Times* carried frequent reports on the health of Lady Lansdowne. On 2 Jan. 1789, 3c, it carried a report that she had gone to Devonshire for a change of air, on 10 Jan., 2c, that she and the marquis were staying at Lord Boringdon's at Saltram, near Plymouth, and on 21 Mar., 2d, that the marquis departed suddenly from town because of "some apprehensive intelligence from the Marchioness in Devonshire." There is no report of a trip to Lisbon.

3. Lansdowne spoke in the House of Lords on 23 Dec. 1788 in the debate over the Three Resolutions sent by the Commons on the question of the regency. *Parl. Hist.*, XXVII, 874–82. He argued that "it was equally the interest of the sovereign and the Prince of Wales, that the decision of the question of right should be first made in behalf of the people, and the prince's right stand solely on the favour and fondness of the people, who chose him to rule over them. No government could be so strong, no accession to power so glorious as that which originated from such a principle."

the *King's* as *their own* return to power after losing it; and the other wants to secure *their own establishments* in power after acquiring it. Is it not astonishing that the person⁴ who is the object of the contention should not, at a time when it is particularly incumbent upon him to maintain a dignity of conduct, have sense enough to avoid such an indecency as appearing drunk in public? This together with the loose and dissipated characters of his adherents, particularly, *Sheridan*,⁵ cannot but excite strong prejudices in the minds of the virtuous part of the public.

My Sister and Niece think themselves honoured by your Lordship's notice of them in your letter, and hope that you and Lady Lansdown will accept their best compliments. I have just lost, by the death of Dr. Adams⁶ one of my best and most amiable literary friends. But these events must happen, and we must all soon follow.

I am, with great regard, Your Lordship's
most obedient and humble servant
Richd Price

4. I.e., the Prince of Wales.

5. Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751–1816), dramatist (1775–99), politician, and statesman (1780–1812). It is said that he drank a lot of wine, but not as much as many of his contemporaries, being more affected by it than they. In his later, darker, years he turned to brandy, but in the last several years of his life drank only water.

6. William Adams died in Gloucester 14 Jan. 1789. See "Journal," pp. 389–90; 411, n. 103. For a biographical note, see Vol. I, 83–84.

From Jedidiah Morse

Elisabethtown, January 30th 1789

Reverend Sir,

Through the friendship of Dr Stiles I have the honour of being introduced to you by the letter which encloses this.¹ The design of this introduction at the present time is expressed in the Dr's Letter.

Your writings, Sir, have evinced to us your friendship for America. This circumstance of your known influence in the literary world, have induced me to apply to you, Sir, in this business in preference to any other person in England.

Having with much labour and expence, at my own risque and without fortune to support me compiled and nearly completed for publication a

ORIGINAL: Recipient's copy not located. TEXT: Copy in Jedidiah Morse's hand, with the kind permission of the Yale University Library.

1. See Ezra Stiles to R.P., 18 Jan. 1789.

Geographical and historical account of the United States entitled "The American Geography."² I wish to avail myself of any advantage that may arise from its sale in England and Scotland, so far as is consistent with your Laws. For this purpose I wish, Sir, to engage you to contract with the booksellers or some one of them on my behalf, in such way and manner as in your judgment will be the most advantageous to me.

Mr. Jay, our Minister of Foreign Affairs,³ informed me that an American Author may sell his copy right to any Bookseller in England, who, upon such purchase, may enter the book in Stationers Hall, as his own property, and in that way avail himself of the exclusive right of Printing and selling the book in England and Scotland. This being the case, if the *American Geography* should meet the approbation of the public and there should be a prospect of an extensive sale of in England it might be an object with some of the Booksellers to purchase the copy rights or to be otherwise concerned in its publication in England. The terms must be according to the merit of the book and the degree of probability of a ready and extensive sale. Of this Sir, you will be the best judge when you shall have perused so much of the work as is already printed, a copy of which I enclose you for that purpose. I leave it discretionary with you, Sir, in this to sell the copyright for a certain sum, stipulating for a compensation in case of additions in future Editions, or to have a stipulated sum for every Thousand that may be printed and sold, or to dispose of it in any other way which you may think more advantageous. One idea in Dr Stiles' Letter I beg leave to correct, which is that an European impression can have an equal sale in the United States with American Editions. This cannot be done consistently with our laws. The sale of all European impressions must be confined to Europe.

As to the work itself, delicacy will allow me to say but little; and propriety demands that I should say something. I have spent 4 years of some of the best part of my life, with the advantages which travelling through all the States and an extensive acquaintance and correspondence are calculated to afford, in collecting the necessary information and in compiling the work.

The MSS. of most of the States, previously to their going to the press, were submitted to the gentlemen best informed in the respective States for their inspection and correction. That the work is perfect I do not pretend; nor is to be expected that a work of this kind, in this country, where geographical knowledge is rapidly improving every day can be perfect. That it is, in some parts, inaccurate is very possible, considering the variety and extensiveness of the subject of which it treats, and the different sources whence my information has necessarily been derived. This, however, I can in truth say, that the

2. *The American Geography; or a view of the present situation of the United States of America*, by Jedidiah Morse (Elizabethtown, N.J., 1789).

3. John Jay (1745–1829). See Vol. II, 216. For Price's reply about copyright, see R.P. to Jedidiah Morse, 18 May 1789, including n.2 of that letter.

materials of which the book is composed have generally been received from the best informed gentlemen in the respective States, or collected in the course of my travels. What reception [it] will meet with in the United States, I will not pretend to predict. That my prospects are flattering, I may venture to say without encroaching upon the bounds of Modesty.

Your friendly attention and assistance in the disposal of the copyright in England and Scotland in the most advantageous terms will greatly oblige me. Any expense you may incur in the business shall be punctually remitted, whenever I shall be made acquainted with the account. As soon as the work is out of Press I shall forward you a complete copy of it by the first conveyance. In the mean time you can peruse what I now send you and take, if you think proper, the opinion of your literary friends, and contract with a Bookseller, so that every thing may be in readiness for publication, when the complete copy shall arrive.

Perhaps some expressions in the history of the late war may appear harsh, and on that account exceptionable. Any such, I leave it to your judgment, Sir, either to erase, or to clothe in softer language. I shall esteem it a great honour and favour to hear from you, Sir, by the first conveyance after the receipt of this.

The enclosed Advertisement contains the substance of which will be the title page.⁴

Yours,
Jed. Morse

4. The title page continues, in part, beyond the main title "containing astronomical geography, geographical definitions, discovery, and general description of America. . . . Particular descriptions of the thirteen United States, and of Kentucky, the Western territory, and Vermont. . . . Illustrated with two sheet maps. . . . To which is added, a concise abridgment of the geography of the British, Spanish, French, and Dutch dominions of America, and the West Indies—of Europe, Asia, and Africa."

To John Howard
[Shorthand draft]

[c. 31 January, 1789]¹

My Dear Friend,

I have been for some time blaming myself for neglecting so long to take notice of your favour of the 22nd of December last.² I wished indeed much to

ORIGINAL: Shorthand draft on ms. of John Howard to R.P., 22 Dec. 1788. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of The American Philosophical Society.

1. The letter can be dated from the reference to Fox's visit to Bath, which occurred on 28 Jan. 1789. See John W. Derry, *Charles James Fox* (London, 1972), p. 275.

2. This is apparently the one "letter" from Price to Howard that has survived. All the

hear from you and to know how you went on with your business. How different am I from you though not much older. You get up at three in the morning and seem not to regard the severity of the weather. I have found myself much *pinched* by it and now it is gone I feel myself my spirits sunk by the unnatural mildness of the weather.

I have had a cough the whole winter and I sometimes lie almost a whole night without sleeping. Indeed I find that I am growing less and less fit for every thing that requires any particular labour or exertion.

The thoughts of such a foreign journey as you have again in view would certainly kill me. I know the excellence of your health (?) but I must think that it is time for you now to take rest and to satisfy yourself with the reflections on your past services lest by overdoing you should shorten a distinguished life and in some degree defeat the effect of what has been already done. I am glad you are to publish the new Tuscan code of criminal laws which you mention in your letter.³ It must contain some instruction to us but the total abolition of punishment by death can scarcely be right, particularly if confinement in dungeons and punishments more severe in their nature are substituted in their stead. I am obliged to you for the papers from Vienna which you have sent me. They contain information on subjects which have employed much of my attention. We are here involved in warm political disputes. The King's indisposition is a sad calamity and throws us into a state of great confusion and danger. Mr. *P[i]tt* is aspiring and ambitious and did those who are now foolishly addressing him see his secret motives they would perhaps be more disposed to despise than to compliment him. Indeed I strongly suspect the motives of both parties. One wants by going on with popularity and keeping to themselves a considerable part of the *patro*[nage] of the Crown to strengthen themselves when in opposition after losing power, and the other wants as much as possible of the means of establishing themselves in power after acquiring it.

Our chief danger however arises from the loose and dissipated character of some that are coming into power. I have in view particularly Mr. Sh[eridan]⁴ the P[rince's] great favourite. Mr. F[ox] is gone to B[ath] very ill with the blindness (?)⁵ upon him and a D[ysentery].

Our new college here at Hackney engaged much of my attention and is likely to be much encouraged by the number of students that offer themselves.⁶ A reversionary legacy of £2.000 just left us and a donation of

others were probably destroyed by Howard when he was preparing for his last trip and because of his strong dislike of the thought of anything in the way of a memorial to him. This letter has survived only because it exists as a shorthand draft on the letter Howard wrote to Price dated 22 Dec. 1788.

3. See John Howard to R.P., 22 Dec. 1788, n.5.

4. See R.P. to Lansdowne, 21 Jan. 1789, n.5.

5. The transcription of "blindness" is highly tentative. There seems to be no evidence of fact or rumor that Fox was threatened by blindness at this time.

6. At the opening of the college there were six students. A seventh was added shortly

£1,000,⁷ we are going to finish our great building under the direction of Mr. Black[burn].⁸ My sister and niece send their best respects to you.

Under a very grateful sense of your friendship and with every good wish I am most affectionately yours

[draft, no signature]

after the school's opening. All but one were students for the ministry. "Five lay students and two students for the ministry entered with Mr. Wellbeloved (1787) and were followed the year after by many others, both laymen and divines. . . ." In Sept. 1789 there were "upwards of thirty students" reaching a peak of forty-nine students later in that year. See "Memoirs of the Late Rev. Charles Wellbeloved," by John Kenrick, *The Christian Reformer* vol. 14, n.s., (Oct. 1859), pp. 621–23, and "The Old Hackney College 1786–1796," by H. J. McLachlan, *T.U.H.S.*, vol. 3, pt. 3 (Oct. 1925), p. 189. I thank Alan Ruston for these references. See also "Journal," 367–71, 380, 384, 390.

7. In letters of Theophilus Lindsey recently discovered by John McLachlan, editor of *T.U.H.S.*, there is information showing that the £2,000 reversionary legacy was a gift from Mr. Browne, a member of Essex St. Chapel. It was payable on the death of his widow and therefore was not available until after the college closed. Lawyers advised against using it to pay creditors. The donation of £1,000 and more, totaling about £1,500, came from Robert Newton of Sheffield. Letter from John McLachlan to Alan Ruston. I thank both for this information.

8. William Blackburn (1750–90). See Vol. II, 119. His untimely death prevented the building Price had anticipated. New College was housed in Homerton Hall.

To Theophilus Lindsey

Hackney *Mch* 2nd, 1789.

Dear Sir

There is nothing in Dr. Adams's letter¹ that you may not see. I have therefore inclosed it; and I shall be obliged to you for returning it when we

ORIGINAL: Maine Historical Society. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Maine Historical Society.

1. On 21 Dec. 1788 Price wrote in his journal, "I received a few days ago a letter from my friend Dr. Adams with a present of brawn and also of some sermons which he has printed in order to be left with his friends as a memorial of himself and a mark of his regard. His letter concludes with these words:

"I am grown very infirm and find all my powers much enfeebled. My breath is become so weak that I am carried every day to the Cathedral. Yet upon the whole I enjoy more than I ought to expect in my 83rd year. Farewell my dear friends for the the present. Live long to be happy by being useful."

In *A Welsh Family* Caroline E. Williams notes, "Only a few days before the latter died he wrote a touching letter to Dr. Price expressing a hope that 'their friendship, which had so long been cultivated to their mutual happiness in this world, might be continued for ever in a better.'" William Adams died at Gloucester on 14 Jan. 1789. *Gent. Mag.*, LIX (1789), pt. 1, 90.

meet at Mrs. Reynolds's. This is a pleasure I shall hope for on *friday* next. On thursday I stand engaged to receive company at home. Deliver my respectful compliments to Mrs. Reynolds.² You will find that Dr. Adams's letter is dated the 8th of December. He died in about a month after that date; but I do not know the particular day. I have lost in him a most valuable and amiable friend; but I should not say I have lost him. I look forward to those mansions beyond the grave where the virtuous are to meet, and where I hope to find again many dear friends who have been taken from this world before me. Deliver my kind remembrances to Mrs. Lindsey and also my sister's,

With great respect and affection

I am dear Mr Lindsey,

Ever yours,

Richd Price.

2. Mary Reynolds (d. 1803) was the wife of Richard Reynolds (1730–1814), a landowner who lived at Little Paxton Hall, Paxton in Huntingdonshire. Richard Reynolds became a friend of Lindsey when they were both undergraduates at St. John's College, Cambridge, and while not sharing Lindsey's unorthodox beliefs remained faithful to him during the difficult years when Lindsey was establishing himself as a leader of Unitarian thought. See *Letters to William Frend from the Reynolds family of Little Paxton and John Hammond of Fenstanton (1793–1814)*, ed. Frida Knight (Cambridge, 1974).

To John Adams

Hackney March 5th, 1789

Dear Sir,

Having been very happy in your friendship, and much honoured by it while you resided in this country, I cannot avoid taking the opportunity which is now offer'd me of conveying to you a few lines. While at Portsmouth you favoured me with two letters.¹ The first I answered;² and the second I should have answered had I not imagined that you were on the point of sailing, and therefore doubted whether any letter I could direct to you would be received. I afterwards heard that you had been detained a good while in the Isle of Wight, and this has made me sorry that I did not write to you. I have also learnt from the public papers that you and Mrs Adams had arrived safe in America, where, I doubt not, you have been received with joy. I wish you could have carried with you a better account of the success of your mission, but a

ORIGINAL: Massachusetts Historical Society. Adams Papers, Reel No. 372. Recipient's copy.
TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Adams Manuscript Trust.

1. Not located.

2. See R.P. to John Adams, 4 Apr. 1788.

discovery seems to have been made here since Mr Pitt came into administration that the united states are of no use to us. What a pity is it this discovery was not made before the commencement of the late war, and the shocking waste of blood and treasure which it occasioned? We have lately been in a state of great confusion here in consequence of the King's insanity. It is given out that he is now well and that he will re-assume the government in a few days; but should his recovery be a partial recovery, or should he relapse, of which there is great danger, party disputes will run higher than ever among us, and our government may become a scene of tumult and distraction. At the same time the connexions into which we have lately enter'd with Prussia, Hesse and the Stadtholder, render it almost impossible for us to avoid being involved in another war should no peace take place on the Continent next summer; and it is indeed to me wonderful that any persons among us can look to another continental war so soon after the last without terror.

But amidst this darkness I trust in that Providence which orders every thing for the best, and often makes calamities the most dreadful the causes of the greatest good. This observation has been remarkably verify'd by the consequences of the American war. It was this war that gave rise to that spirit of liberty which is now working thro' Europe, and that will probably gain for France a free constitution.

And it was this war that has gained for your country that independence which, I hope, will terminate in the establishment of a form of government that will be an example to the world. You have, with great ability, contributed to this by proving with abundant evidence the necessity of a separation of the judicial, executive and legislative powers, and of a distribution of the legislative power in particular between independent states. I think it scarcely possible to read your observations on this subject in answer to Nedham³ and other writers without conviction.

But, Dear Sir, I have gone beyond my intention in writing this letter which is only to express my respect and good wishes and desire of preserving a place in your remembrance. My best compliments wait on Mrs Adams. My congregation can never forget that she and you once made a part of it.

May Heaven grant you both whatever can make you most happy.

We have had here, at the beginning of this winter, uncommonly severe

3. Ibid. Nedham's defense of simple democracy was vigorously attacked by Adams in the third volume of his *A Defence of the American Constitution*. Nedham held that "they [the people] never think of usurping over other men's rights, but mind which way to preserve their own." Adams argued that all authority should not be concentrated in one assembly, popular or otherwise, that safeguards should be taken against the abuse of power by the majority, and that good government requires the separation of the legislative, judicial, and executive powers. In his attack on Nedham, Adams wrote, "An excellent writer has said, somewhat incautiously, that a people will never oppress themselves or invade their own rights." The writer was Price and the quotation was from his *Additional Observations*, p. 16. By 1789 Price had come to accept the justice of Adams's criticisms.

weather, and I have not, during a great part of it, enjoy'd my usual health; but I am now much better. I receiv'd in July last a few lines from Col. Smith at New-York introducing to me Mr Barlow whom I was very glad to see but to whom I could not shew the civilities I wish'd because just then setting out for Wales to spend the remainder of the Summer there. I think very highly of Col. Smith, and feel myself much interested in his happiness and Mrs Smith's.

I am, Dear Sir, with great regard and affection,
Your very obedient and humble servant.

Richd Price

To the Marquis of Lansdowne

Hackney Ap: 4th 1789

My Lord

I cannot help writing a few lines to acknowledge the favour your Lordship has done me by informing me that Lady Lansdown is recovering from the relapse which occasioned your sudden departure from London.¹ Knowing your Lordship's sensibility, and having in my own case experienced your Lordship's sympathy in a manner I can never forget, I felt indeed a particular anxiety both on your Lordship's account and Lady Lansdown's. May heaven grant her a perfect recovery, and bless you with a long continuance of happiness in her.

Your Lordship has been informed that the Prosecutors at Yarmouth have been non-suited because not capable of producing a copy perfectly correct of the libel on the Court of law which had acquitted Mr. Hurry and given him £3000 damages. Admission to the Books of the Corporation is now order'd, and at the next Assizes the prosecutors cannot fail of producing such a copy.² But in the mean time, I hope, their resentment will subside, and a compromise of the dispute take place. Your Lordship's advice and wishes must contribute much to this. It should however be remember'd, that it is not any vindictive spirit in Mr Hurry and my friends at Yarmouth, but the resentment of the town at large against an instance of unprecedented malice in one of the

ORIGINAL: Bowood. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

1. Lansdowne's letter to Price apparently has not survived. See R.P. to Lansdowne, 21 Jan. 1789, n.2.

2. *The Times*, 28 Mar. 1789, 4a, carried an extensive report of the trial, including the information that William Hurry was awarded £3,000 in damages but accepted £1,500 and an apology. For a discussion of the Hurry family and their roles in the affairs of Great Yarmouth, see Thomas Hurry-Houghton, *Memoirs of the Family of Hurry in Great Yarmouth* . . . (Liverpool, 1926). See also Vol. II, 131-32, 138-39.

most oppressive and wicked corporations that ever existed, that has continued the dispute so long. I am entirely of your Lordship's opinion that it is now most for the advantage of the Whig-interest there to be satisfy'd with the acquisition of one member, not only because it saves such trouble and expence, but also because, as your Lordship observes, it is most probable that the influence of government will be generally against them, and that consequently, if they carry their views further, they will be defeated, and the Borough revert to its former state when Mr. Townshend used to call it his *Free-hold*.

In a former letter your Lordship mentioned to me that Dr. Gordon was likely to succeed Mr Smithson at Wycombe. I have since enquired and cannot find this to be true. Mr. Shrimpton has been desired to look out for a successor to Mr Smithson, and the congregation I am told is likely to get more into narrowness than ever.³ But this, perhaps, will not effect your Lordship's interests there.

I shall be wishing for the satisfaction of seeing your Lordship in London, and of hearing that Lady Lansdown continues to recover. In the hope of this

I am, My Lord

Your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant.

Richd Price

A committee of the Dissenting ministers consisting of Dr. Kippis and three more went to Windsor yesterday to present addresses to the King and Queen. I am ignorant what sort of addresses they are; but such simple and manly addresses as I should have been for would not have suited the general disposition which now prevails to an abject and most disgusting adulation; and therefore, I am glad that I have never chosen on this occasion to meet my Brethren.⁴

3. Price was right. William Gordon (1729–1807) (see Vol. I, 207, for a biographical note) did not replace Mr. Smithson at Wycombe; instead, he became pastor at St. Neots, Huntingdonshire (*D.N.B.*). For Price's opinion of Shrimpton, see R.P. to Lansdowne, 30 Oct. 1788.

4. For Price's agreements and differences with his dissenting brethren, see D. O. Thomas, pp. 174–86. On this occasion, however, Kippis, along with "Sam Stennett, D.D., Tho Toller, and Abraham Rees, D.D.," went to Windsor to congratulate the king on his recovery from apparent madness. See R.P. to John Howard, c. 31 Jan. 1789. They reminded the king of their right to approach the throne, reaffirmed their loyalty, expressed their assurance that he felt his dependence of the Supreme Governor of the Universe, reassured him of their attachment to the principles of the revolution of 1688 and of their reverence for his personal virtues. "They were all received very graciously and had the Honour to kiss His Majesty's hand." *London Gazette*, Saturday, 4 Apr., to Tuesday, 7 Apr., 1789, no. 13083, pp. 211–12. See also Bernard L. Manning, *The Protestant Dissenting Deputies* (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 453–55, and Ursula R.Q. Henriques, *Religious Toleration in England, 1787–1833* (Toronto, 1961), pp. 58–67.

From Jedidiah Morse

Charlestown April 6th 1789

Reverend Sir,

I had the honour of an introduction to you by Dr Stiles in a Letter¹ from him to yourself, forwarded from New York last February by Mr Samuel Broome of Connecticut.² By Mr Broome also I forwarded a part of a Work which I have been for several years compiling, entitled "The American Geography" and which is now completed and published here, a copy of which you will receive with this. I hope, Sir, you have before this received that part of the book which I forwarded by Mr Broome, together with the Letters which accompanied it, which will explain to you the business that I have taken the liberty to request you to transact for me with the booksellers in London. Lest, however, the Letters etc. by Mr B. should never have reached you, it may not be amiss just to inform you, Sir, what I wish to have done with the book. I have undertaken and completed the work wholly at my own risque and expence and wish to avail myself of every advantage that may arise from its publication in England as well as America, as far as may be consistent with your Laws. Mr. Jay, our Minister of Foreign Affairs, informs me that any bookseller in England may purchase the copy right of any work written in any country, and enter it in Stationer's Hall as his own Property and reap the exclusive benefit of it. If this be so, I should feel myself peculiarly obliged if you, Sir, would contract with some bookseller for the copy right of my book, if any one would choose to purchase it, upon the most advantageous terms you can obtain. The printing for an additional sum pays cost of future improvements. If the copy right cannot be sold, I wish you, Sir, to contract with Mr J. Stockdale,³ bookseller in Piccadilly, London, to print an Edition of the work. I writ to him, 18 months ago on the subject, and received his answer just after I sent your Letters etc. by Mr Broome. Mr S. offers to print an Edition, provided there is a prospect of a sale, and remit to me half the net proceeds. I submit the matter, however, to be transacted by you, Sir, and Mr Broome, discretionally or, in case of Mr B's absence to yourself alone as I am confident, that you, Sir, on the spot, and perfectly acquainted with such business, can do better for me than I

ORIGINAL: Yale University Library. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Yale University Library.

1. See Ezra Stiles to R.P., 18 Jan. 1789.

2. Merchant, brother of John Broome. Ezra Stiles notes in his diary that Samuel moved to New Haven in 1784; that his son Samuel Platt Broome entered the junior class at Yale in Sept. 1784, that a daughter died on 31 Dec. 1789, and that another daughter died 5 Mar. 1794. See Stiles, *Diary*, III, 137, 146, 337, 518.

3. See R.P. to Thomas Day, 8 Apr. 1786, n.2.

can for myself. Any expenses you may incur in the transaction of the business, I shall faithfully remit.

I hope, Sir, I shall have the honour of a line from you by the first vessel that sails for New York after the receipt of this.

I am, Sir with the highest
respect and esteem Reverend Sir,
your most obedient servant,
Jed Morse

From Ezra Stiles

Yale Coll. Apr. 10 1789

Reverend Sir,

I now write in the name of the President and Fellows of this College.

Our Apparatus being incomplete, the Reverend Mr. Lockwood¹ one of the Fellows generously presented us £200, which by other Subscriptions has been made up £320 for the purpose of augmenting and completing the philosophical Apparatus. This if frugally and prudently laid out will make it sufficiently complete; especially as we have for many years had a pretty good collection of the principal Machines for a Course of Experimental Philosophy and Astronomy, as an excellent Air pump, Reflector, a complete sett of surveying Instruments, Brass Quadrants, Microscope, electrical machines, Planetarium, etc. It has been with difficulty we made up this subject and we wish to lay it out in the most useful manner and to this end we would avoid all Ornaments and Decorations and attend only to the necessary structure of the machines.

ORIGINAL: Yale University Library. This is a first draft of a letter in Stiles's hand, that was rewritten before being sent. See Ezra Stiles to R.P., 13 Apr. 1789, for a revised version. They are different enough it has seemed advisable to include both rather than to note variants. Recipient's copy not located. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Yale University Library.

1. Samuel Lockwood (1721-91), graduated from Yale College in 1745, studied theology with his brother James (1714-72), licensed to preach in 1747, ordained 15 Feb. 1749, served as minister at Andover, Conn., for forty-two years. He was a fellow of Yale College from 1777 until his death. Other records indicate he contributed £100, not £200 as Stiles says, but with the proviso that the sum should be increased until sufficient to purchase all the apparatus needed. Stiles notes in his diary for 11 Mar. 1789 at a meeting of a committee of the corporation that £260 of the £320 needed had been collected and that it was concluded he should write to Dr. Price to "ask his kind offices." Eventually something over £300 was collected, the amount beyond £200 being absorbed by shipping, duty, and fees. See *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College*, by F. B. Dexter, 4 vols. (New York, 1896-1907), I, 538-40, and "The Philosophical Apparatus of Yale College," by H. M. Fuller, in Staff of the Library, *Papers in Honor of Andrew Keogh, Librarian of Yale University* (New Haven, Conn., 1938), pp. 163-80.

I write, Sir, in the name of the President and Fellows. We purpose to have committed the enclosed bill to a Merchant in London ordering him to take your Directions, and asking of you only this Favor. But considering that this money might be made to go much further in the Hands of Merchant if fully acquainted with an apparatus in particular as well as [] in general, we knew not how to pitch upon such an one ourselves at this Distance, and therefore concluded to ask your Permission to commit the whole to your Care. Not that we would give you the Trouble of purchasing, but request you to be so obliging as to deliver the Bill of Exchange and Invoice to some philosophic merchant of your acquaintance of personal knowledge and skill in the Goodness and Price of the several Instruments, and who would cheapen and reduce the price lower than if he should buy a single Machine by itself. To such an one we pray you to give your directions, and all the Machines be subjected to your Examination, Inspection and Rejection. I have before said what I would repeat, that we wish for great Plainness and the Expence of Decoration may be laid out in more Instruments. We would have all the Work good and strong, all well done, but are not solicitous about Ornaments. We have set down the prices as we find them in printed lists, but even this we leave to you especially as to the most of the Articles. The two heaviest ones as the Telescope and Orrery can not be permitted to go much higher, to keep with in our Idea of making the £200 sterling purchase the substance of the Invoice and discharge the Commission and Insurance back to New York. If this sum will not purchase the whole of the invoice, it is left to yourself [to] judge what Articles may be best spared. Besides delivering the Bill and this Letter to some Gentleman to transact the Business we hope to occasion yourself no further Trouble than a few times to call upon and give Directions to the Instrument Maker and inspect and approve the Articles when done.

The Boxes are to be sent to New York and consigned to Mr John Broome,² Merchant in New York, brother to Mr Samuel Broome of this City through whose hands you may have already received my last Letter.

Ezra Stiles

2. John Broome (1738–1810), merchant in New York, president of the New York Chamber of Commerce for a number of years until 1794, alderman of New York, city treasurer, member of the state assembly in 1800, president of the New York Insurance Co., the first institution of its kind licensed by the state. Broome Street in New York is named for him.

From Ezra Stiles

Yale College, New Haven, April 13th 1789

Reverend Sir,

The philosophical Apparatus of this College being incomplete the President and Fellows have been enabled by the generous Donations of sundry Gentlemen to purchase the Inclosed Bill of £200 Sterling for the purpose of Augmenting and completing the same. This which if laid out with prudence and oeconomy will very well answer the purpose, especially as we have for many years had a pretty good Collection of the principle Machines for a Course of experimental Philosophy and Astronomy, among which are an excellent Air Pump, Reflector, a complete set of surveying Instruments, Brass Quadrant, Microscope, Electrical Machine, Planetarium etc.

It was our first determination to have inclosed the Bill to some Merchant in London; and only to have asked you to have been so obliging as to have taken the superintendency and direction in the matter. But being unacquainted with Mercantile transactions and the Character of the Gentlemen concerned in that Business, we found ourselves at a loss where to direct as the employing of a person of account wish to address and employ a Merchant of a philosophic turn and an Acquaintance with an apparatus, as it is of importance to find such an one both in point of oeconomy and towards having the Business well done. And being fully Acquainted with your Liberality and friendly disposition to learning in general and public Seminaries for the Instruction of Youth we have taken the liberty to Inclose the Bill and Invoice to you and request the favour of you to place the same in the hands of some suitable Person of known skill in the goodness of true thought, to do the Business under your Superintendence and direction. You will be kind enough to inform the Gentleman you entrust with the business that Utility and not Ornament Must be studied and that we wish for great plainness and that the Expense of Decoration may be laid out in more Instruments. We would have the Work good, stong and well done while not sollicitous about Ornaments. We have set down the prices as we find them in printed Catalogues.¹ We do

ORIGINAL: Yale University Library. A revised version of Ezra Stiles to R.P., 10 Apr. 1789, also in Stiles's hand. It is full of interlineations, additions, and deletions, so it is subject to interpretations that may differ from this one. There is yet another version, also from a copy in Stiles's hand, with minor variations, printed in *Papers in Honor of Andrew Keogh*, pp. 174–75. Recipient's copy not located. TEXT: Stiles's revision, with the kind permission of the Yale University Library.

1. See "Invoice of Philosophical Apparatus for Yale College in Connecticut" enclosed with this letter. Stiles notes in his diary for 23 Apr. 1789 that he had "sent off Duplicate Letters to Dr Price of London inclosing Duplicate Bills of Exchange for £200 Sterling with Invoices for Yale College." Stiles, *Diary*, III, 352.

not expect you will be wholly governed by them but exercise your own Judgment and discretion. We should not wish however to have the Telescope and Orrery the two heaviest Articles much exceed the prices we have set down as we should otherwise be disappointed in our Hope of having the Substance of the Invoice purchased by the Bill and leave enough to defray the Commissions and Insurance back to New York. Perhaps the purchasing to such an amount will enable a Contractor to furnish them cheaper than for a single Article. If the Bill will not purchase the whole of the Invoice we leave it to your Judgment to omit those Articles which can be best spared. The Gentleman who shall undertake to do the Business and the Instrument Maker must be intirely under your Direction and the Articles pass your inspection and approbation. The Packages are to be sent Consigned to John Broome Merchant in New York, and we hope to have them here by next Fall.

[No signature]

[Enclosure with Ezra Stiles to R.P. 13 Apr. 1789]

Invoice of a Philosophical Apparatus for
Yale College in Connecticut

A three feet reflecting Telescope with four different magnifying powers from 50 to 400 times; with a micrometer with a divided achromatic Object Glass	£40
A Refracting Achromatic telescope at one Guinea pr foot with four convenient magnifying powers	4
An Orrery—say—30—or	40
An Astronomical Clock and Case plain but good	10
A pair of Globes 17 or 18 Inches in diameter	6
Compound machine for mechanical powers, illustrating the pully, lever, inclined plane, wedge, wheel and Axle—simple and compound motions 15 or	20
A complete Apparatus of Optical Instruments, consisting of a new universal compound Microscope, a solar Microscope of the latest Improvements, with a Megaloscope, and stand for Watson's Microscope; the whole furnished with everything necessary for the nicest observations with the Microscope	13

A whirling table for Experiments on Central forces and for shewing the laws of accelerated, retarded and rotary motions	10
Fahrenheit's Thermometer verified-graduated from 40 below Cypher to 220 above. In the same case an Hygrometer and a Barometer with nonius division	3
Magic Lantern with a good collection of objects	1-10
A Concave Mirror framed	1-0
A Convex ditto	1
An Artificial Eye in Brass	2
Half doz. prisms at 5/ or less—one double	1-10
Semi-Circle and prism to determine angles of refraction	-10
A small table Air pump and Receivers say 4 or	5-
Variation instrument and dipping needle say	3-
4 Glass Receivers for the Air pump 6, 8 and 10 in. diameter about 15/ or	1-
3 ditto for compressing Air and Exhibiting the Jet d'eau at 15/ or one pound	1-
Glass pump—perhaps	1-
½ dozen convex Lenses, and ½ dozen concave lenses of different sizes	1-
Small oblong Glass Tubes, Capillary ditto, syphons, Curves and vases for Experiments in Hydraulics and Hydrostatics	3-
A case of Mathematical Instruments	1-
A Semi-Circle for surveying	1-
An Electrical Machine and Apparatus with a Box of half a dozen Bottles	10-
3 Hydrometers, Ivory	0-15
Priestley's Instrument for producing fix't air	2
An equal Altitude Instrument	2
A Tellurian shewing the motions of the Earth and	

Moon, Inclination and Retrogradation of the Lunar
Orbit, Eclipses, etc.—say—

4

If any omitted—optical instruments and tellurian.
If £200 will be more, then select from the following.¹

Azimuth Compass
Reflecting Polished Cilinders with a set of Anamorphoses
Prince Rupert's Drops
Dialling Sector
Cometarium
Opake Microscope—Aquatic ditto
Diagonal machines for Viewing Prints, with a set of Prints
Armillary Dialling Sphere for solving problems in spherics
and Dialling, itself an universal Dial.
Night Glass to view Vessells and Objects at sea in the
Night.

Pyrometer and Eudiometer
Transit Instrument

Copy Invoice sent to
London April 13 1789 to
Dr Price with Bill
Exchange £200 Sterling
Ezra Stiles

ORIGINAL: Yale University Library. From the heading to the end of the list with prices, this is a copy in a hand other than Stiles's. The additions after the list with prices are in Stiles's hand. Recipient's copy not located. PRINTED: *Papers in Honor of Andrew Keogh*, pp. 175–77, with minor variations. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Yale University Library.

Stiles made several notes at later dates:

Invoice Phil Apparatus for Yale College sent for April 20 1789

Dec 24 1789 Received 4 of the Receivers, 3 are not come

½ doz Lenses only received

Dec 24 1789 Received from Dr Price with the

Exception of Articles marked X omitted

Thermometer, Barometer and Hygrometer

Glass Eye set in Brass

3 Receivers for Airpump viz 2 closed and 1 open

6 lenses

1. In the printed version this paragraph reads, "If the above articles should amount to more than the bill will purchase and pay charges the Tellurian may be omitted, and the solar Microscope only substituted for the complete Optical Apparatus. But if the Bill will cover or purchase more, then select from the following articles—viz—"

To Thomas Jefferson

Hackney May 4th: 1789

Dear Sir

Having been informed that you intended in the last month to sail for America, I am doubtful whether these lines will ever find you. Supposing it however possible that you may not yet have left Paris, I cannot help taking the opportunity now offer'd me to acknowledge the reception of the letter with which you honoured me February last and in which you have been so good as to give me an account of your sentiments of the present disputes in France and of their origin, progress and probable issue. Nothing could gratify my wishes more or give me greater pleasure than such an account from a person so distinguish'd by his abilities and good sense, and so well-informed; and I beg you would accept my best thanks for it. Many of my Friends have participated with me in the satisfaction it has given me. I feel much interested in every transaction in which the cause of civil and religious liberty is concerned, and considering a free constitution of government as one of the first blessings of mankind, I cannot but rejoyce in the probability there is that *France* will acquire it. A better representation than ours it may easily obtain; but the want of such a body of free-holders and respectable yeomanry as there is in this country and in yours seems in this respect a great disadvantage to it.

We have been here in danger of much confusion, but the King's recovery¹ has for the present saved us from it. This recovery has been attended with a most disgusting effusion of flattery which has given us an appearance very different from that of enlighten'd and manly Freemen; but it should be excused as an effusion of good-nature by which little is really meant.

The Congress under the new constitution is, I suppose, now met in America; and I am longing to hear that they go on prosperously.² Being now advanced into the evening of life, it is with particular gratitude I look back and reflect that I have been spared to see the human species improved, religious intolerance almost extinguished, the eyes of the lower ranks of men opened to see their rights; and nations panting for liberty that seemed to have lost the

ORIGINAL: Library of Congress. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *Jefferson*: Boyd, XV, 90-91. TEXT: Original.

1. See R.P. to Benjamin Franklin, 5-10 Jan. 1789, n.8.

2. It could be said that they were proceeding, if not prosperously, then certainly with some effectiveness, on such issues as the Bill of Rights, taxes and tariffs, the Judiciary Act, renovation of the executive department with Jefferson soon becoming secretary of state and Alexander Hamilton secretary of the treasury instructed to produce a plan for retiring the public debts, something dear to Price's heart.

Idea of it. Wishing that you may be long continued to contribute towards this growing improvement of the world, I am, Dear Sir, with the greatest respect
 Your obliged and very humble servant,
 Richd Price

This letter will, I hope, be convey'd to you by Mr. Dugald Stewart Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh and a very able man who is this day setting out for Paris with Ld. Dare³ in order to be present there at the time of the meeting of the three estates.

3. Basil William Douglas (1763–94), styled Lord Daer, heir apparent to the earldom of Selkirk. He spent a good deal of time in Paris during the early days of the French Revolution and was much in sympathy with the leaders. As Alfred O. Aldridge puts it, he “had imbibed libertarian and republican principles in France and dreamed of inoculating his own country with revolutionary doctrines.” He was not successful, however, in his attempted reforms. See *Man of Reason: The Life of Thomas Paine* (New York, 1959), p. 151.

From Thomas Belsham¹

Daventry, May 12th, 1789

Dear Sir,

I am very sensible of the honour conferred upon me by the committee, in the proposal made, that I should take the office of Resident Tutor in the New College; and I am greatly obliged to them for the disposition they have manifested to render the situation and mode of living as agreeable as the circumstances at the New College would admit. A station of greater honour and more extensive usefulness I never expect to occupy. I am nevertheless under the necessity of declining the handsome offer of the committee, as I cannot think myself justified, either in honour or gratitude, in abandoning a sister,² to whose prudent management of my family concerns, as well as

PRINTED: *Memoirs of the late Reverend Thomas Belsham . . .*, by John Williams (London, 1833), pp. 405–6. TEXT: *Memoirs*. . . .

1. Thomas Belsham (1750–1829) was educated at Daventry Academy where he became assistant master in 1770 and professor of divinity in 1781. In 1789 he was appointed professor of divinity and a resident tutor at New College, Hackney, a post he retained until the college was closed in 1796. In 1794 he succeeded Joseph Priestley as minister at the Gravel-Pit Meeting House in Hackney, a post Price held from 1770 until shortly before his death in April 1791.

2. Elizabeth Belsham (1742–1819) lived under her brother's roof while he was at Daventry, 1781–89, and at Hackney, 1791–94, and superintended the domestic economy in both places. In the spring of 1794 she married the Reverend Timothy Kenrick. Belsham wrote in

tenderness in other instances, I feel myself under obligations which I cannot repay.³

I was always a sincere well-wisher to the interests of the New College. The respect I have lately met with from its governors and tutors will be a powerful additional motive to rejoice in its prosperity; and though the unavoidable concurrence of circumstances disables me from rendering it any personal service, it will always afford me peculiar pleasure to hear of its growing reputation and success.

Will you permit me, Sir, to trouble you with my respectful compliments to the gentlemen of the committee. Those in particular whom I had the honour to meet, and also to the tutors, whose obliging readiness to adjust the lectures in such a manner as to leave a department which I might undertake without impropriety, has left upon my mind a deep and permanent impression of respect and gratitude.

To the friendly interest which you, Sir, have been pleased to take in the whole of this important affair, and to the very candid and liberal concern which you have repeatedly expressed for my settlement at the New College, I am under very peculiar obligation, and shall ever remain, with the most respectful regard, dear Sir, your obedient and obliged servant,

T. Belsham

his diary that he "always found her a kind friend, a prudent housekeeper, and when I had need of it, a tender nurse." Williams, *Memoirs of Belsham*, p. 694.

3. After arrangements were made for his sister Elizabeth, however, Belsham did accept the offer in a letter dated 28 June 1789. *Ibid.*, pp. 406-7.

To Thomas Belsham

[Between 12 May and 4 June 1789]¹

Dear Sir

While I was waiting for a meeting of our College Committee before I returned an answer to the last letter which I have had the pleasure of receiv-

ORIGINAL: Dr. Williams's Library. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of Dr. Williams's Library.

1. On 4 Apr. 1789 Belsham received a letter from Price, not located, inviting him to become a member of the teaching staff at New College, and on 5 May the college appointed a committee to confer with Belsham on the possibility of his becoming a resident tutor. Belsham wrote to Price on 12 May explaining that he had to decline the invitation to become a resident tutor because of obligations to his sister. It would appear that Stone then wrote on behalf of the college and that Belsham's difficulties regarding his sister were removed. Price's letter, written probably in reply to Belsham's letter of 12 May, was sent before 4 June, for on

ing from you, I found that you had written to Mr Stone² in consequence of a letter from him on the subject of your letter to me. This has, not improperly, made Mr Stone the medium of the negotiation between you and the Committee. Fearing, however, that I might seem wanting in respect to you by omitting to take notice of your letter to me I cannot make myself easy without sending you a few lines to thank you for it, and to express to you the satisfaction which your letter to Mr Stone, received last wednesday, has given me. Should we be so happy as to succeed in our endeavours to gain your assistance as a principal tutor and also your residence in the College with your sister, I shall think the College furnished with all that can be necessary to its increasing credit and prosperity; and I shall felicitate myself on a valuable addition to my acquaintance and friends here.

You are perfectly right in requiring a distinct explanation and settlement of the ground on which you and the other tutors are to stand with respect to salaries. When I mention'd in my first letter to you a salary to increase with the increase of the number of students from £100 *per ann* to £200 or more, I meant that the salary of each tutor should be made up to £100 *per ann* at least, but that it should be capable of an increase beyond this sum with the increase of the number of students by an appropriation to the tutors of a certain proportion of the pay of every student. There is a disposition in the Committee to agree to this. The only subject of difference seems to be the question what this proportion shall be. I have thought that it may very well be a *third* of the pay of the students, that is, 20 guineas from every student the remaining 40 guineas seeming to me sufficient to bear the expences of commons, taxes, garden, servants etc. Should this be the proportion agree'd to, and should the number of students increase in the following years from their present number to as many as the College with its two wings can hold, *four* principal tutors will each of them possess a salary increasing from £140 (the salary nearly for the present year) to £300 *per ann*. The least, I think, that can be thought of is a *quarter* of the pay of the students; and even this will afford a salary to each tutor when the College is full of more than £200 *per ann*. I will only add that a considerable difficulty in this business will be removed should the 4 principal tutors agree to an equal division among themselves of the proportion allotted them. Whatever it may be, Dr Rees being always consider'd as entitled to his

that day the college committee decided what the salary structure for staff was to be. Price was requested to send Belsham a copy of the resolutions. For these reasons it is conjectured that this letter was written between 12 May and 4 June 1789. See Williams, *Memoirs of Belsham*, pp. 405–6; and Hackney College Minutes, Dr. Williams's Library, RNC. 38. 14.

2. Probably William Stone, member of the college committee and brother of John Hurford Stone. For some biographical details, see Alan Ruston, "Two Unitarians in France during the Revolution," *T.U.H.S.*, vol. 17, no. 1 (1979–82); H. McLachlan, *English Education under the Test Act, being the History of Non-conformist Academies 1662–1820* (Manchester, 1931), p. 254. For his role in negotiations with Belsham, see Williams, *Memoirs of Belsham*, pp. 383, 406–7.

house,³ and the tutor resident in the College to his board, on account of the additional trouble they will have.

These are only my own private Ideas. What the decisions of the Committee will be I know not. It is to meet as soon as possible; and Mr Stone will inform you of the result.

Deliver my kind compliments to your Sister. In the hope of seeing you a fellow-worker with us in promoting the credit and success of an institution intended to serve the cause of truth and virtue, I am, Dear Sir,

respectfully and affectionat[ely]

Richd Price

3. There was no clear head or hierarchical structure in the academic order at New College, something Belsham was worried about from the beginning. Abraham Rees, however, as resident tutor was entitled to a house and was generally regarded as "superintending" academic matters. See Williams, *Memoirs of Belsham*, p. 326n; "Journal," p. 410, n.88.

To Jedidiah Morse

Hackney May 18th 1789

Dear Sir

I have received your letter by Mr Brome¹ together with the copy of your historical and Geographical account of the United States which accompany'd it. It would give me great pleasure to be of use to you in disposing of your copy-right in the manner you desire; but no such thing is possible. An edition of your work having been printed and published in America, every Bookseller here is at liberty, *without asking your leave*, to import it or to print and publish it here if he pleases. You must be sensible that the like is true in America of every book publish'd here. Booksellers in Holland, in France, in Ireland are continually reprinting books published in England; nor are there any laws that give copy rights to authors in any country except that in which their books are first printed. I am sorry, therefore, to be so incapable of giving to you, in this instance, any assistance. All that a Bookseller will do is to consent to be employ'd in selling for you a number of copies; or, perhaps, should he judge your work likely to engage attention here, to order for himself a number of copies to be disposed of at his own risk. I have consulted my own Bookseller, Mr Cadell on this subject, and also Mr Johnson and Mr Dilly, and they agree with me in this account.²

ORIGINAL: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

1. See Jedidiah Morse to R.P., 6 Apr. 1789.

2. Copyright laws in England and in the United States at this time were limited, chaotic,

Your book seems indeed to contain much curious information and to be a valuable and interesting work. It must have cost you much time and pains as well as expense; and I heartily wish you may be recompensed by the extensiveness of the sale as well as by the credit which it must give you. I wish to peruse the remainder of the copy; and I shall be grateful to you for sending it me when a convenient opportunity shall offer itself.

I am, sir, with sincere respect and all best wishes,

Your very obedient and humble servant
Richd Price

and inefficient, and international laws were nonexistent. In the United States until 1790, for example, they applied only within a particular state. Piracy of books was a common practice, as Price knew from personal experience with his own *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution*. See Vol. II, 267 and 270. See also D. O. Thomas, p. 269; Peach, p. 181. For Morse's subsequent procedures regarding the sale of *The American Geography* in England, see Jedidiah Morse to R.P., 28 Aug. 1789, and R.P. to Jedidiah Morse, 29 Mar. 1790.

From Thomas Jefferson

Paris May 19. 1789

Dear Sir,

Your favor of the 4th. inst. is duly received. I am in hourly expectation of receiving letters permitting me to go to America for a few months, and shall leave Paris within a very few days after I shall have received them.¹ As this is probably the last letter I can have the honour of writing you before my return, I will do myself the pleasure of putting you in possession of the state of things here at this moment, as it may enable you better to decide between truth and falsehood for some time to come. You already know that the states general are met, and have seen the speeches of the King, the Garde des sceaux, and Mr. Neckar.² The three orders sit as yet in different chambers. The great prelimi-

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. PRINTED, *Jefferson*: Boyd, XV:137-39. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. Jefferson wrote to John Jay, secretary for foreign affairs, on 19 Nov. 1788 asking for a five or six months' leave of absence beginning in the spring of 1789 to visit his home in Virginia. He did not receive a reply until late July 1789. Jay reminded him that because of the transition period between the old Congress and the new federal government no one had authority yet to grant his request. Authorization for his leave arrived on 26 Aug. 1789. He left France on 26 Sept. 1789, never to return, accepting in Feb. 1790 Washington's offer of the position of secretary of state. See Malone, III, 203-55.

2. Louis XVI formally convened the States General at Versailles on 5 May 1789. The delegates of the three orders in their ceremonial dress met in the Great Hall of the *Hôtel des*

nary question, Whether they shall vote by orders or persons is undecided.³ It has not yet been formally proposed; but the votes already given in the separate chambers on the outworks of that question, shew that the Tiers etat are unanimous for voting by persons, a good majority of the clergy of the same disposition, and only 54 of the noblesse against 190 of the same body who are for voting by orders. The chambers have appointed committees to confer together on the means of conciliation, but this is mere form, conciliation being impracticable. The noblesse, as some think, would be induced to unite themselves into one house, with the higher clergy, the lower clergy and tiers forming another. But the tiers are firm, and will agree to no modification. They are disposed to reduce the state to one order as much as possible. As we are always disposed to conjecture on the future, it is natural to form conjectures as to the issue from the present difficulty. One idea is that they will separate to consult their constituents. I think they will not do this because they know their constituents will repeat the same instructions: and what in the meantime is to become of a government which cannot keep in motion with less than a million of livres a day? A more probable conjecture is that when it shall be manifest that conciliation is impracticable, the Tiers will invite the other orders to come and take their places in the common chamber. The majority of the clergy (to wit, the Cure's) and the minority of the noblesse will accept the invitation. The Chamber thus composed, will declare that the States general are now constituted, will notify it to the king, and propose to proceed to business. If he refuses to acknowledge them, and adheres to the principles of the noblesse, they will suspend all taxes, form a Declaration of rights, and do such other acts as circumstances will admit, and go home. The tax gatherers will be resisted, and perhaps the souldiery take side with the tiers and their officers with the noblesse. But I rather suppose the king will do business with the States so constituted, negotiating at the same time, as they go along, a reconciliation with the seceding members. The latter may in that case excite small and partial troubles, but cannot make a serious resistance. It

Menus Plaisirs. The King gave a brief introductory speech indicating that the government was ready to consider problems other than fiscal. Barentin, Garde des Sceaux (Keeper of the Seals) called for judicial and educational reforms and a relaxation of press censorship but affirmed that voting would proceed by orders, as in the past, unless voting by head was freely approved by the estates as a whole. Necker made a three-hour speech that emphasized fiscal matters and proposed reforms that have been considered positive, but defective, as a program of action. He also suggested that voting by orders be retained in order that the privileged estates, the nobles, and the clergy could voluntarily resign their immunities from taxes rather than being forced by the superior numbers of the third estate.

All three speeches were published in the first issue of the *Gazette Nationale ou Le Monitor Universel* bearing the date of the opening. Price's friend, Étienne Dumont, of the Shelburne coterie at Bowood, affirmed of this first meeting, "All the seeds of disorder were sown and took root in this interval." *Souvenirs sur Mirabeau et sur les deux premières Assemblées Législatives*, ed. J. Bénétruy (Paris, 1951), p. 47. Cited by Goodwin, p. 57.

3. See Thomas Jefferson to R.P., 12 July 1789, for Jefferson's description of the outcome of the issue about voting.

is very important that the lower clergy side with the tiers. They are the effective part of that order, while the bishops and archbishops are held in detestation. But you are to keep in mind that these are conjectures, and and you know how small a circumstance may give a totally different turn from what has been plausibly conjectured. My hope is that the mass of the Bourgeoisie is too well in motion and too well-informed to be resisted or misled, and ultimately that this great country will obtain a good constitution, and shew the rest of Europe that reformation in government follows reformation in opinion. I am, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and attachment, Dear Sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.

Th. Jefferson

From John Adams

New York, May 20th 1789

My Dear Friend

I last night received your friendly letter of March the fifth and am happy to find that I have a place in your remembrance.¹ There are few portions of my life that I recollect with more entire satisfaction than the hours I spent at Hackney, under your ministry; and in private society, and conversation, with you at other places.² The approbation you are pleased to express of my speculations (on the subject of Government) is peculiarly agreeable to me, because it goes a great way to convince me that the end I had in view has been in some degree answered, and will be more so—it was not to obtain a name as an Author, or a reputation, for literary talents, that I undertook the laborious work. If such had been my object I certainly should have taken more time to digest and correct it. But it appeared to me that my countrymen were *running wild*, and into danger, from a too ardent and inconsiderate pursuit of erroneous opinions of Government which had been propagated among them, by some of their ill informed favourites, and by various writings which were very popular among them, such as the pamphlet called “Common Sense,”³

ORIGINAL: Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *The Works of John Adams*, ed. C. F. Adams (Boston, 1854), IX, 558–59. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

1. See R.P. to John Adams, 5 Mar. 1789.

2. See Vol. II, 308–9; R.P. to John Adams, 2 Mar. 1786, 8 Feb. 1787, 4 Apr. 1788; and John Adams to R.P., 4 Feb. 1787. See also Butterfield, ed., *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams*, III, 188, 203, 215.

3. *Common Sense*: addressed to the inhabitants of America, on the following interesting subjects. I. Of the origin and design of government in General, with concise remarks on the English Constitution. II. Of Monarchy and Hereditary Succession. III. Thoughts on the Present State of American Affairs. IV. Of the Present Ability of America, with some Miscellaneous Reflections, Written by an Englishman . . . (Philadelphia, 1776). By Thomas Paine (1737–1809), revolutionary pamphleteer,

for one example among many others, particularly "Mrs Macaulay's History,"⁴ Mr Burgh's political disquisitions,⁵ Mr Turgot's letters.⁶ These writings are all excellent in *some respects*, and very useful, but extremely mistaken in the true construction of a free Government. To accomplish the goal I had in view, I thought it would be more useful and effectual, to lay facts, principles, examples, and reasonings before my Countrymen, from the writings of others, than in my *own* name. This has given an air of Pedantry to the books which I despise, but it has answered the end in a manner more effectual, than if I had contrived it with more *art*, to promote my *own* reputation. Our new Constitution is formed (in part) upon its principles and the enlightened part of our communities, are generally convinced of the necessity of adopting it by degrees more completely.⁷

Your monthly Reviewers,⁸ thought themselves very sagacious in conjectur-

writer, author of the *Rights of Man* and the *Age of Reason*; citizen, successively, of England, British America, England, France, and the United States. *Common Sense* was first published in Philadelphia 10 Jan. 1776 as an anonymous forty-seven-page pamphlet. It urged the immediate Declaration of Independence on powerful grounds, but also on the grounds that it fulfilled America's moral obligation to the world. It is reported that 120,000 copies were sold in the first three months and 500,000 copies in all (D.A.B.).

4. Catherine Sawbridge Macaulay, *The History of England from the Accession of James I to that of the Brunswick Line*, 8 vols. (London, 1763–83).

5. See Vol. I, 241–42, n.4.

6. See Vol. II, 3–19; Peach, pp. 215–24.

7. Not surprisingly, historians differ in their assessment of the influence of *Defense* on the Constitutional Convention. His defense of a bicameral system was apparently approved quite widely. Other views, for example, that the executive should have powerful authority, were received with less favor.

8. The *Monthly Review* (or *Literary Journal*) printed a review of each of the three volumes of Adams's *Defense*. The first is the most negative, opening with the line, "We have not met with a greater disappointment in the course of our literary labours than we have experienced with respect to the work before us." The passage referred to by Adams occurs near the end of the review, "we conclude that he must have some point to carry, some object in view, beyond the Atlantic, with which we are not acquainted, and that he has been sensible that a book of the nature of this which now lies before us, is well calculated to answer his purpose. It may indeed amuse the ignorant, it may mislead the unwary, but it neither can inform nor entertain the philosopher, nor the man of letters." Vol. 76 (London, 1787), pp. 394–99.

Adams suspected the author was Dr. Edward Bancroft, working under the influence of Silas Deane and Benjamin Franklin. His wife, Abigail, had heard the review ascribed to Deane himself, "that poor envy ridden contemptable, Ignorant self consceited wretch." See *Diary and Autobiography*, IV, 71–74. According to Benjamin C. Nangle, whose evidence seems quite conclusive, it was written by neither, but by James Anderson (1739–1808), an economist and student of agriculture and farming. See *The Monthly Review first series, 1749–1789: Indexes of Contributors and Articles* (Oxford, 1934), pp. 1, 49.

Subsequent reviews of the second and third volumes of *Defense* appeared in vols. 78 and 79, Apr. and Oct., pp. 285–89 and 289–97. The second is neutral, just giving an extensive quotation. The third is not nearly as negative as the first: "It is not as its title says, a defence of the *American Constitution*; but it is a warm defence of the constitution of *Great Britain*. It is the best anti-democratical treatise that we have seen, for Dr. Adams appears to dread that *that* is the extreme to which his countrymen will naturally lean—and he has exerted his best

ing that I had a point to carry, they will now I suppose glorify themselves in the belief that their conjecture was right, and that I have carried my point. Shrewd however as they *think* themselves they are mistaken, had my Books been contrived for any selfish purpose, they would have certainly been modelled in a more popular manner. If those writings have contributed to procure me the confidence of my fellow citizens, I shall rejoice in them the more as a sure proof that they have convinced many already, and that they will continue to operate a complete reformation of every thing yet wrong and produce in the end, what I think the most *perfect form* of Government. I am now very happy with our illustrious chief, and many of my old Friends, and firmly trust in the goodness of Providence for aids to accomplish the great work of forming institutions for a great Continent, which may leave their liberty and happiness for many generations. I am requested by Mr. Churchman⁹ to enclose one of his addresses and to ask your opinion of it. Mr and Mrs Smith are in good health. I hope to have them with me soon.¹⁰

My family are all very much your Friends. The public papers will inform you how our new Government proceeds.

It seems to be popular and promise success. Remember me affectionately to *those few* in whose conversation I delighted,¹¹ and whom I am not absolutely

endeavours to obviate that evil." If Adams could "redigest this part of his work . . . it will be an acceptable present to the republic of letters, as it would tend to correct many popular errors that have been too long current among mankind" (p. 297).

9. Perhaps John Churchman (1753–1805), Quaker, author of several philosophical treatises in addition to his main publications on magnetic charts, member of the Imperial Academy of Russia. The address in question was probably one of the philosophical treatises, although so many Americans appealed to Price on so many matters, it may well have been the text of *An Explanation of the Magnetic Atlas, or variation Chart, Herunto annexed; projected on a Plan Entirely New, by which the Magnetic Variation on any Part of the Globe may be Precisely Determined for any Time Past, Present, or Future; and the Variation and Latitude being Accurately Known, the Longitude is of Consequence Truly Determined* (Philadelphia, 1790).

10. The Smiths left England 5 Apr. 1788, arrived in New York about 13 May, and proceeded to Jamaica, New York, to live with Colonel Smith's family. They joined John Adams in New York in late May or early June. See *Diary and Autobiography*, III, 212–17.

11. There is no evidence that Adams was a member of the group dubbed by Franklin "The Club of Honest Whigs." See Verner W. Crane, "The Club of Honest Whigs: Friends of Science and Liberty," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., vol. 23, no. 1 (Apr. 1966), pp. 210–33. From the frequency with which their names are mentioned in his *Diary and Autobiography*, however, as guests or companions, "those few," in addition to Price, probably included John Jebb, Jonathan Shipley, John Paradise, Benjamin Vaughan, Andrew Kippis, Abraham Rees, and Thomas Brand-Hollis. The Adams house on Grosvenor Square was a center for Americans in London, many of them friends as well as acquaintances or in some political relation; there also were many others from England or Europe with whom John Adams had friendly relations. Those in whose conversations he delighted, however, were probably even fewer than this select group. As he said in a letter to Jefferson on 11 Apr. 1787, about a year before he was to leave England for the United States, "There are four or five persons here, with whom I hold a friendly intercourse, and shall leave with some degree of pain; but I am not at home in this country." *Works of John Adams*, VIII, 435. Whoever the four or five, we can be sure Richard Price was included.

without hope I may once again see. With great and sincere Esteem, I am Dear Sir your affectionate Friend, and very humble Servant,

J. Adams

From Benjamin Franklin

Philada May 31 1789

My very dear Friend,

I lately received your kind Letter¹ inclosing one from Miss Kitty Shipley, informing me of the good Bishop's Decease which afflicted me greatly. My Friends drop off one after another, when my Age and Infirmities prevent me making new ones; and if I still retain'd the necessary Activity and Ability I hardly see among the rising Generation where I would make them of equal Goodness; so that the longer I live I must expect to be more wretched. As we draw near the Conclusion of Life, Nature furnishes with more Helps to wean us from it, among which one of the most powerful is the Loss of such dear Friends.

I send you with this the two Volumes of our *Transactions*,² as I forget whether you had the first before. If you had, you will please to give this to the French Ambassador³ requesting his conveyance of it to the good Duke de Rochefoucauld.⁴

My best Wishes attend you, being ever with sincere and great Esteem, My dear Friend.

Yours most affectionately,
B. Franklin

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. See R.P. to Benjamin Franklin, 5–10 Jan. 1789.

2. See Benjamin Franklin to R.P., 29 July 1786, and R.P. to Benjamin Franklin, 26 Jan. 1787. Volume I was printed in Philadelphia in 1771, volume II in 1786.

3. "The French ambassador" is of course ambiguous, but Franklin presumably refers to the ambassador from France to England. In May 1789 this was Anne-César de la Luzerne (1741–1791). After an early military career he had an active diplomatic career. In 1776 he was envoy to the court of Bavaria. From 1779 until 1783 he was minister to the United States where he was highly regarded, particularly by the Quaker, Antoine Benezet. He was a member of the American Philosophical Society and had a county in Pennsylvania named after him. He was appointed in Jan. 1788 ambassador to England, where he died in office in Sept. 1791 (*Biographie Universelle*).

The ambassador from England to France at the time of this letter was John Frederick Sackville, third Duke of Dorset (1745–99). He was ambassador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of France from 26 Dec. 1783 until 8 Aug. 1789.

4. For a biographical note on La Rochefoucauld, see n.1, La Rochefoucauld to R.P., 11 Aug. 1789.

To Mathon de la Cour

Hackney near London July 1st 1789

Dr. Price takes the opportunity now offer'd him, by his Nephew,¹ the bearer of this, who is going a journey through *France*, to express his particular respect for M. *Mathon De la Cour* and his gratitude to him for the publications which he has presented to him.² It is with the highest satisfaction he finds that *France* is now giving the world an Example of that Patriotism which is the subject of the last of these publications, and which probably the author has contributed to promote. There is nothing in human affairs to which Dr Price is at present more anxiously attentive. It affords to all virtuous men who have a just sense of the importance of civil and religious liberty a spectacle in the greatest degree interesting. May Heaven grant success to this glorious struggle and make all nations free and happy.

[no signature]

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. George Cadogan Morgan.

2. Testament de M. Fortuné Ricard, maître d'arithmétique à D**. Lu et publié à l'audience du baillage de cette ville, le 19 août 1784. Price included a translation as an appendix to the second edition of *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution*.

To Count Mirabeau¹

Hackney July 2d 1789

Dr. Price presents his best respects to Count Mirabeau, and requests leave to introduce to his notice Mr. Morgan,² the Bearer of these lines, who is his Nephew, and like himself anxiously attentive to the glorious struggle in France for the blessings of Liberty. Any information on this subject which Count *Mirabeau* may think proper to give to Mr Morgan will be gratefully received and very acceptable. Dr. Price cannot forget the honour Count Mirabeau did him, when in London, by his acquaintance, and particularly by his translation of his pamphlet on the American Revolution;³ and it is with the

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. Honoré Gabriel Riqueti Mirabeau, Comte de (1749-91). See Vol. II, 3-19 and 226. See also D. O. Thomas, pp. 277-79.

2. George Cadogan Morgan.

3. See Vol. I, 226.

highest satisfaction he thinks that the principles in that pamphlet are now practised upon in France, and likely to be carried into execution there. The Marquis of Lansdown desires that Count Mirabeau may be informed that he has in this instance the same feelings with Dr Price, the same admiration of the conduct of the Patriots of France, and the same wishes of their success.⁴

July 4th

Since the above was written Dr Price has heard with triumph of the success of the Patriotic struggle in France.⁵ A revolution so important brought about in a period of time so short by the spirit and unanimity of a great Kingdom without violence or bloodshed, has scarcely a parallel in the Annals of the world. May the contagion of an example so striking extend itself to surrounding nations; and may its influence spread till it has overthrown every where the obstacles to human improvement and made the world free, virtuous and happy.

What gratitude is due to the American states for that resistance and that diffusion of just sentiments on the subject of government which have led the way to this revolution? How honourable is it to the memory of M. Turgot? What pleasure must his friends and Count *Mirabeau* receive from the reflexion that they have contributed to it by their writings and exertions?

Dr. Price wishes that his congratulations on this occasion may be communicated to M. *DuPont*, Abbe *Morlaix*, and the Marquis *Condorcet*, all of whom have honoured him much by their attention and by the presents they have sent him of their valuable publications.

Much, Dr Price supposes, remains to be done; but, the way being now open'd, nothing can be wanting to complete the great work but perseverance. The last step in the progress of reformation in France will probably be that which is already gained in *America*; that is, a separation of religion and speculation from the interference of civil power. But even this, *France*, if it perseveres, is likely to obtain before *Britain*.

[no signature]

4. While in England he was introduced to many people of importance in economics, politics, and literature, largely through the medium of Gilbert Elliot, the first Earl Minto, an old schoolfellow. Among these, Sir Samuel Romilly and Lansdowne came to know him intimately and developed special affection for him.

5. It is not clear exactly what events Price refers to, but the recent news from France had been heady for Price's revolutionary fervor. On 5 May the Estates General convened, and on 20 May the clergy and nobility renounced their financial privileges; on 17 June the third estate had constituted itself the National Assembly and three days later took the famous tennis court oath not to disband until a constitution was written, and three days after that rejected the king's reactionary reform proposals at the Seance Royale. Four days later, the king had ordered the nobility and the clergy to sit with the third estate. Any one of these changes would have delighted Price. To have them come in such rapid succession and to be such promising steps toward liberty, justice, and virtue and, as he ironically puts it, "without violence or bloodshed," must have been exhilarating.

From Thomas Jefferson

Paris July 12. 1789.

Dear Sir

The delay of my Congé permits me still the pleasure of continuing to communicate the principal things which pass here. I have already informed you that the proceedings of the states general were tied up by the difficulty which arose as to the manner of voting, whether it should be by persons or orders. The Tiers at length gave an ultimate invitation to the other two orders to come and join them, informing them at the same time if they did not they would proceed without them. The majority of the clergy joined them. The king then interposed by the *seance royale*¹ of which you have heard. The decision he undertook to pronounce was declared null by the assembly and they proceeded in business. Tumults in Paris and Versailles and still more the declared defection of the souldiery to the popular cause produced from the king an invitation to the Nobles and the minority of the clergy to go and join the common assembly. They did so, and since that time the three orders are in one room, voting by persons, and without any sensible dissension. Still the body of the nobles are rankling at the heart; but I see no reason to apprehend any great evil from it. Another appearance indeed, the approach of a great number of troops, principally foreigners, have given uneasiness.² The Assembly addressed the king in an elegant and masculine stile. His answer, tho' dry,

ORIGINAL: Recipient's copy used as text in *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 372–74 not located. Not with the Price Papers now owned by the American Philosophical Society. PRINTED: *Jefferson: Boyd*, XV, 271–72. TEXT: Press copy, from the Library of Congress.

1. On Tuesday, 23 June, 1789, Louis XVI called a "royal session" in which he aligned himself, in effect, with the nobles and the higher clergy. They were not to lose their privileges. He refused the claims that the third estate had made to become a national assembly, declared taxes provisional, appointed a famine committee, and consolidated the national debt. Joint sessions of the three orders were prohibited, and voting by orders was confirmed. He concluded by saying he would proceed to institute reforms himself if he did not have the cooperation of the estates and ordered them to disperse to their separate rooms for discussion. The nobles followed the King out of the room along with the clergy who had not accepted the invitation to join the third estate. The others did not move. Within five days the King backed down from his decrees in the royal session and asked the nobles and remaining clergy to join the third estate as a national assembly.

2. Louis XVI had ordered six regiments to Paris and Versailles on 26 June, and on 1 July he ordered ten more. The latter were mostly Germans and Swiss, called in from the provinces. Particularly in Paris the people felt surrounded by the king's troops: by the Montmartre to the north, on the west by Besenval and his Swiss troops, by the Bastille on the east, where the governor, de Launay, had moved cannons into place to command the whole San Antoine area. When, after a violent speech by Price's friend Mirabeau against military dictatorship, the Assembly requested an explanation, the king replied that he had to maintain order.

disavows every object but that of keeping the two capitals³ quiet. The States then are in quiet possession of the powers of the nation, and have begun the great work of building up a constitution. They appointed a committee⁴ to arrange the order in which they should proceed, and I will give you the arrangement, because it will shew you they mean to begin the building at the bottom, and know how to do it. They entitle it "Ordre du travail." "1. Every government should have for it's only end the preservation of the rights of man: whence it follows that to recall constantly the government to the end proposed, the constitution should begin by a Declaration of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. 2. Monarchical government being proper to maintain these rights, it has been chosen by the French nation. It suits especially a great society; it is necessary for the happiness of France. The Declaration of the principles of this government then should follow immediately the declaration of the rights of man. 3. It results from the principles of monarchy that the nation, to assure it's own rights, has yielded particular rights to the monarch: the constitution then should declare in a precise manner the rights of both. It should begin by declaring the rights of the French nation, and then it should declare the rights of the king. 4. The rights of the king and nation not existing but for the happiness of the individuals who compose it, they lead to an examination of the rights of citizens. 5. The French nation, not being capable of assembling individually to exercise all it's rights, it ought to be represented. It is necessary then to declare the form of it's representation, and the rights of it's representatives. 6. From the union of the powers of the nation and king should result the enacting and execution of the laws: thus then it should first be determined how the laws shall be enacted, afterwards should be considered how they shall be executed. 7. Laws have for their objects the general administration of the kingdom, the property and nation of the citizens. The execution of the laws which concern the general administration requires provincial and municipal assemblies. It is necessary to examine then, what should be the organisation of the provincial assemblies, and what of the municipal. 8. The execution of the laws which concern the property and actions of the citizens call for a Judiciary power. It should be determined how that should be confided, and then it's duties and limits. 9. For the execution of the laws and the defence of the kingdom, there exists a public

3. After Louis XIV transferred his court from Paris to Versailles, Paris was still central to the functioning of the government, particularly since the *parlement* of Paris remained its chief judicial body; thus, the "two capitals."

4. The Committee on the Constitution was first appointed by the National Assembly on 7 July 1789 and charged with studying various proposals for the constitution and a declaration of rights. Jean Joseph Mounier (1758–1806), who sat in the Tiers-État for Dauphiny, gave their first report two days later. See *Rapport du comité chargé du travail sur la constitution*, par M. Mounier (Paris, 1789), pp. 13–15, entitled "Ordre du Travail, Proposé par le Comité."

force. It is necessary then to determine the principles which should direct it and how it should be employed.

Recapitulation

Declaration of the rights of man. Principles of the monarchy. Rights of the nation. Rights of the king. Rights of the citizens. Organisation and rights of the national assembly. Forms necessary for the enactment of laws. Organisation and functions of the provincial and municipal assemblies. Duties and limits of the judiciary power. Functions and duties of the military power."⁵

The Declaration of the rights of man, which constitutes the 1st chapter in this work, was brought in the day before yesterday, and referred to the bureaux. You will observe that these are the outlines of a great work, and be assured that the body engaged in it are equal to a masterly execution of it.⁶ They may meet with some difficulties from within their body and some from without. There may be small and temporary checks. But I think they will persevere to it's accomplishment. The mass of the people is with them: so I believe is the souldiery and a respectable proportion of the officers. They have against them the high officers, the high clergy, the noblesse and the parliaments. This you see is an army of officers without souldiers. Should this revolution succeed, it is the beginning of the reformation of the governments of Europe.

I received a note from Mr. Morgan, your nephew⁷ yesterday. I asked him to dine with me but he had gone⁸ to Versailles. He is to call on me to-morrow. Is there any thing good on the subject of the Socinian doctrine, levelled to a

5. Jefferson's translation combines articles three and four, resulting in a total of nine, whereas the original had ten. Also, in point 6 he translated 'établie' as 'established' in his letter to Thomas Paine, but 'enacted' in this letter to Price; and in his "Recapitulation" he translates "Organisation et fonctions de l'Assemblée Nationale" as "Organization and rights of the National Assembly." In this letter to Price he makes the translation without hesitation, whereas in his letter to Thomas Paine five days earlier he first wrote and deleted "functions" in favor of "rights." See *Jefferson*: Boyd, XV, 270.

6. More than thirty proposals were submitted, one of the earliest on 11 July by Lafayette who had discussed the matter with Jefferson as early as that Jan.

Correspondents of Price who contributed to this phase of the procedures included Rabaut St. Étienne, Dupont de Nemours, Champion de Cicé, and Talleyrand. It is generally recognized that the major contributions were made by Lafayette, Mounier, Talleyrand, Lally-Tollendal, and Alexandre de Lameth.

On 4 Aug. the assembly adopted the recommendation of the committee on the constitution that a text of the declaration on rights should be ratified before the assembly proceeded to write a constitution. During the period of 12–16 Aug. the assembly debated various drafts and provisionally adopted as final the draft that is the preamble of the Constitution of 1791.

For Lafayette's original draft and the final version, see M. Bouchary, ed., *La déclaration des droits du l'homme et du citoyen et la constitution de 1791* (Paris, 1946).

7. George Cadogan Morgan.

8. Text unclear. *M.H.S.P.* reads "was going"; Boyd, "had gone."

mind not habituated to abstruse⁹ reasoning?¹⁰ I would thank you to recommend such a work to me. Or have you written any thing of that kind? That is what I should like best, as none are so easy to be understood as those who understand themselves. I am with great sincerity, Dear Sir,

Your affectionate friend and servant,
Th: Jefferson.

9. Text unclear. *M.H.S.P.* reads "abstruse"; Boyd, "abstract."

10. See R.P. to Thomas Jefferson, 3 Aug. 1789.

From Thomas Jefferson

Paris July 17. 1789.

Dear Sir,

When I wrote my letter of the 12th. I thought Mr. Morgan was returning to England. As I was mistaken in this, it has been obliged to wait another conveyance. This offers by Ld. Daer. I mentioned in that that temporary checks to the proceedings of the States general would probably happen. In fact, a pretty bold one was then beginning to be executed. Mr. Necker was that very evening dismissed.¹ The next day all the rest of the ministry except Villedeuil² and Barentin.³ Instead of them came in Breteuil,⁴ Brog-

ORIGINAL: Recipient's copy not located. PRINTED: *Jefferson*: Boyd, XV, 179-80. TEXT: Press copy, from the Library of Congress.

1. It was considered necessary to reconstruct the ministry in order to support the policies announced in the "royal session," restoring voting by orders and the associated privileges of the aristocrats and clergy. So Necker was dismissed on 11 July along with many, although not all, of his associates, such as Montmorin, Saint-Priest, and Puy-Ségur. Characteristic of the rapidly moving events of this phase of the Revolution, the vacillation of the court, and the events in Paris following the fall of the Bastille on 14 July, Necker was recalled in less than three weeks. See Goodwin, pp. 73-78; Lefebvre, pp. 91-119.

2. Pierre Charles Laurent de Villedeuil (1742-1823), retained as minister of "la maison de roi," the "domestic department," or "comptroller general," a post he held from May 1787.

3. Charles-Louis-François de Paule de Barentin (1738-1819), retained in the Breteuil ministry as "Garde des Sceaux" (keeper of the seals, roughly minister of justice), a post he held from 19 Sept. 1788 to 16 July 1789. As such he also was a member of the Conseil de Dépêches, the Conseil Royal de Finances et de Commerce, and the Grande Direction des Finances. In Necker's second ministry he was Necker's principal antagonist.

4. Louis Charles Auguste le Tonnelier Breteuil, Baron de (1730-1807). French diplomat, ambassador to the Elector of Cologne, to St. Petersburg, Naples, and Vienna, minister of the king's household, opponent of Calonne. As successor to Necker as the king's first minister, he headed a cabinet that is sometimes known as the "combat cabinet" or, perhaps more accurately, the "five-day cabinet." He was probably appointed on the day Necker was dismissed, 11 July, and was dismissed himself, along with the other ministers mentioned by Jefferson, who had been added from day to day, on 16 July.

lio,⁵ Vauguyon,⁶ de la Porte,⁷ de la Galaisiere,⁸ Foulon.⁹ This threw the States into a ferment and Paris into open insurrection. The people here attacked with stones a body of German cavalry and drove them off. On the 13th, they forced the prison of St. Lazare, released the prisoners and got some arms. The city committee resolved to embody 48,000 Bourgeois. They asked arms at the invalids and being refused the people forced the place and got here a large supply of arms. They then went to the Bastille and made the same demand. The Governor¹⁰ after hoisting a flag of truce and decoying a hun-

5. Victor François Broglie, Duc de (1718–1804). Served with distinction in Italy, Austria, Germany. Marshal of France, prince of the Holy Roman Empire. As “Minister of War” replacing Puy-Ségur, and in immediate charge of the king’s troops in Versailles, he was inept and inefficient. Dismissed within three days of his appointment, he emigrated, and died in Germany.

6. Paul-François de Quelen de Stuer de Caussade Vauguyon, Duc de (1746–1828), French diplomat and politician, minister to the United Provinces, ambassador to Madrid. He replaced de Montmorin as minister of foreign affairs.

7. Arnaud de la Porte (1737–92). “Homme d’États français,” in effect, a professional civil servant who rose to be “intendant général de la Marine.” When Maréchal de Castries refused to serve as minister of the navy, replacing la Luzerne, de la Porte was named to the post as an administrative expert. He died under the guillotine in Aug. 1792. His biographer in *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*: “Il subit sa peine avec sang-froid.”

8. Antoine de Chaumont, Galaizière, Marquis de la (1727–1812), eldest son of the chancellor of King Stanislas of Poland; counselor of state, intendant of the généralités of Montauban, Lorraine and Alsace; member of a commission of four charged with working out procedures for the convocation and meeting of the Estates General. As comptroller general in the Breteuil cabinet, he, along with Breteuil himself, replaced Necker. As an émigré, he spent a number of years in England before returning to France where he died in 1812.

9. Joseph François Foulon (Foullon) (1715–89), administrator, intendant-général of the armies, intendant of finances. His appointment in the Breteuil cabinet was minister of the king’s household. When dismissed, he went to his estate at Vitry and attempted to spread news that he had died. He was found out, however, taken to Paris, and, in spite of the intervention of Lafayette, hanged to a lamppost by the people and his head paraded through Paris just five days after this letter from Jefferson.

10. Bernard-René Jourdan de Launay (1740–89). A man of the Bastille, for sure. His father was governor of the Bastille before him. He was born there. He was dragged from it by the mob to be killed and beheaded in front of town hall.

Jefferson’s account in part confirms the judgment of Goodwin that “the storming and capture of the Bastille on 14th July is one of the best known and least understood events of the revolution.” Jefferson was correct that the purpose of the attack was the collection of arms and ammunition, contrary to the widely held view that it was to release prisoners. In fact, there were only seven prisoners at the time, two mental cases, an abnormal young man kept in the custody of his family, who paid his expenses, and four men being prosecuted for forgery. (See Lefebvre, p. 113.) He was wrong, however, that de Launay decoyed “a hundred or two within the outer drawbridge, hoisted the drawbridge and fired on them.” It is agreed by almost all historians that two men from the attackers gained access to an inner court and broke the chains, letting the drawbridge fall. Also he does not indicate that the actual capture was made by the French Guards who defected from the king. Other details are inaccurate, unclear, or controversial.

dred or two within the outer drawbridge, hoisted the drawbridge and fired on them. The people without then forced the place, took and beheaded the Governor and Lt. Governor,¹¹ and here completed arming themselves. The same day they beheaded the Prevost des marchands,¹² discovered in a treacherous correspondence against them. The Marquis de la Fayette¹³ was made commander in chief of the men raised. Repeated addresses from the States,

11. The "Lieutenant Governor" is difficult to identify, since there was no such post in the structure of the officials of the Bastille. Louis-Ignace de Flüe (1752–1817), made a lieutenant of grenadiers in Dec. 1788 and captain in June 1789, was the head of thirty-two Swiss grenadiers from the Salis-Samade regiment, which had been sent to reinforce the Bastille. He was saved from the crowd, however, by M. Riccard of the French Guard. He lived out his life in military service, including a period as captain of the Royal Guard of Louis XVIII. (See J. Godechot, *The Taking of the Bastille*, trans. Jean Stewart [New York, 1970], pp. 292–97.) M. du Pujet, "lieutenant de roi," seems to have been second in command. He escaped, however, when he turned the jacket of his uniform inside out and was thought to be one of the attackers.

Jefferson may refer to one of the three staff officers killed by the crowd, whose heads were also paraded on pikestaff through Paris: M. de Losme de Salbray, a major; M. de Miray, his aide; or M. Person, "lieutenant des Invalides."

12. Jacques de Flesselles (?1721 [before 1730]–89), administrator in the field of commerce, intendant of Moulin, successful conciliator during strikes in Rennes and St. Malo, first president of the superior counsel in Lyon. He became provost of merchants in Paris, in effect, the chief city administrator in Apr. 1789 and was active in preparing the meeting of the estates-general. In June 1789, under pressure from the growing crises, he was elected chairman of a committee from the assembly of the electors of Paris, designed to direct the citizens' militia, now grown to nearly 50,000. In response to a demand for arms, he promised 12,000 guns from the factory at Charleville, but they never arrived, although according to some reports Flesselles had boxes of rags sent in their place. Reluctant to arm the militia, now growing more and more into an angry mob, Flesselles tried to gain time, made other promises that he did not, or could not, keep, sent the crowd to places to get arms where they found none. The crowd grew more and more convinced that he was betraying them. The "treacherous correspondence" mentioned by Jefferson was discovered in the systematic search that was now being made of all carriages and couriers. The newspaper, *Les Révolutions de Paris*, no. 1, 17 July 1789, reported that one such seizure "finally made patent the treachery of the Prévôt des marchands; he had kept up a secret correspondence with our bitterest foe; several letters prove this, notably that which he wrote to the Governor of the Bastille. . . ." Charged with treachery, he agreed to go from the Hotel de Ville to the Place de Grève to defend himself against the charges. As he arrived, he was shot in the head by an unknown young man, slashed and cut, his head cut off and paraded through the streets.

13. Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier Lafayette, Marquis de (1757–1834). Hero of two worlds, revolutionary America and revolutionary France. As commandant-general of the newly formed National Guard, and with a revised spelling of his name, from La Fayette, to reflect his liberal principles, he found himself in a position of many tensions; for example, he had to evince respect for the king and his policies despite distaste; he had to persuade or force the king to accept a form of government the king hated; a proponent of law and order, he had to operate within an insurrectionary and unfounded system of "justice." When the mob killed Foullon by hanging him from a lamppost, despite Lafayette's attempt to save him by taking him to jail, Lafayette resigned less than a week after his appointment. Persuaded to withdraw his resignation, he was able a few days later to save the Baron de Besenval, who had been in charge of military affairs in Paris under de Broglie of

met repeated refusals from the king, instigated by his new ministers and others. But after the decapitations before mentioned, and the taking of the Bastille, he determined (of his own notion as some say) to comply with the desires of the states. He went to them, told them so, asked their guidance, and their interposition to quiet Paris. They sent off a deputation to it. The king ordered away all the troops, received the resignations of Villedeuil, Barentin, Broglio, sent off an Express to Brussels to recall Mr. Necker, and came this day to Paris in procession, having in his coach the most popular characters, the States general walking on foot in two ranks on each side of it, and the Marquis de la Fayette on horseback at their head. There were probably 60, or 80,000 armed Bourgeois lining the streets thro' which he was to pass. To-day or tomorrow the residue of his new ministers are to retire, and probably they will think it prudent to get out of the way for a while. The power of the States is now I think out of all danger. This is the sum of this astonishing train of events, which I add to my former letter just as it is going off; and have the honour to repeat the assurances of sincere esteem with which I am Dr. Sir your most obedient humble servant,

TH: JEFFERSON.

the Breteuil cabinet. He published regulations governing the National Guard and gave it a red, white, and blue tricolor cockade that provided the basis for the emblem of France. He awarded a certificate of achievement to the Garde Française, fixed the pay of the National Guard, selected his staff, refused any salary, and over a period of several months built the National Guard into an enduring institution. See Oliver Bernier, *La Fayette, Hero of Two Worlds* (New York, 1983), pp. 203–6.

In this phase of Lafayette's career, as well as in others, Jefferson had good grounds for judging that he had unbounded zeal, powerful weight with those in power, good sense, quick comprehension, sound genius, and high popularity as well as "his foible . . . a canine appetite for popularity and fame." See Jefferson to James Madison, 30 Jan. 1787 in *Jefferson*: Boyd, XI, 95.

To [William Stephens] Smith¹

Hackney July 28th 1789

Dear Sir

I return you my best thanks for the letter with which you have obliged me by Mr Brome.² I have had the pleasure of several visits from him and of asking him several questions about the state of things in America. You offer very

ORIGINAL: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

1. "To Mr Smith" in Price's hand appears in the top right-hand corner of the manuscript.

2. Not located.

kindly to inform me on this subject and to send me accounts of the progress of your country toward improvement and happiness under the federal government. Such communications are always highly agreeable to me, and they will be particularly so from *you* whenever you shall please to favour me with them. And should I be deficient in my returns, you will I hope excuse me, and ascribe it not to ingratitude or any designed neglect but to the only cause that can be capable of producing such an effect, I mean, a necessity occasioned by much too extensive a correspondence and too many engagements united to very feeble spirits and a natural slowness of disposition so much increased by increasing years as often to make all business a burden to me and to oblige me, in order to gain any small remainder of life, to reduce my engagements, to study tranquility above all things, and to think seriously of withdrawing from all public services and labour. This, Sir, is truly my case. The working part of my life is almost over, and I can look to nothing but to the revival of our active powers and that improvement of them in another world which will be the lot of all who have honestly endeavoured to discharge their duty and to be useful in this world. But I must not dwell on this subject. I am frequently hearing of the distresses of your country, of the confusion into which it is falling, of its fraudulent conduct with respect to its debts, of the Dictatorship of the illustrious *Washington*, and a vast deal of nonsense of the same kind which some people here are eager to believe and propagate.³ But I feel a confidence in the wisdom and virtue of the new Government, and I congratulate you on the establishment of it. Time and experience will undoubtedly mature and improve it; and, I hope, make it an example to the world of the advantages which may be derived from a free and well-constituted government. Hitherto, almost all the governments of the world have been usurpations on the rights of mankind, impediments to the progress of human improvement, and contrivances for enabling the few to oppress the *many*.

The Revolution now establish'd in France must be an event unspeakably pleasing to the united American states. It is there this glorious Revolution has originated. We see in this event that the greatest good has arisen from a war that seemed to be the greatest evil. How short is human foresight? How wonderful are the workings of Providence? Count *Mirabeau* (now the Marquis of Mirabeau) one of the most zealous and active members of that body of

3. Anyone reading the English newspapers in the years after the end of the American Revolution would have seen many such reports. *Gent. Mag.*, for example, surveyed and summarized fifteen or twenty English newspapers on the subject in a section headed "American News." It was full of reports of political, economic, religious, and cultural confusion, treaty violations, the need for barter because of the lack of currency, poverty, even the lack of food and water. The phrase "the thirteen dis-united States" occurred frequently. The reports that Washington was establishing a dictatorship probably stem originally from his role in the Society of Cincinnati (see Benjamin Rush to R.P., 2 June 1787, n.6). See Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington: A Biography* 6 vols. (New York, 1948–51), VI, 264, and James H. Smylie, "The President as Prophet and King . . .," *Journal of Church and State* (Spring 1976), pp. 233–52.

Representatives in France whose conduct astonishes *Europe*, translated into French my pamphlet on the American Revolution; and he sees now the principles in that pamphlet carried into execution in his country. In a letter⁴ which on this occasion I writ to him I tell him, after congratulating him on an event unparralled in the annals of the world, that the last step in the progress of human improvement will probably be the separation of religion and matters of speculation from the interference of civil power. I have added, that this has been already obtained in America, and that it is likely to be obtained in France long before it will be obtained in *England*. It grieves me indeed to see, that while other nations are reforming and improving we are here degenerating, and with an unaccountable obstinacy holding fast both in religion and Politics the most palpable absurdities.

I received a few days ago a letter⁵ from Mr Adams which has given me particular pleasure, and for which I am very grateful to him. Be so good as to inform him of this and to tell him that I would now write to him to acknowledge the favour he has done me were I not straiten'd for time by a journey of six weeks which I am just going to undertake. I hope to be able to write to him soon after my return. Deliver my best respects to Mr and Mrs Adams, and to Mrs Smith. May God prosper you, and bless you all with all possible happiness. I am, Dear Sir,

ever affectionately yours
Richd Price

I have enclosed a paper which has been deliver'd to me by the writer of it who is a gentleman at the Bank, and who wishes to have it convey'd to America. There seem to be observations in it on the subject of money which deserve attention.

4. See R.P. to Mirabeau, 2 and 4 July 1789.

5. See John Adams to R.P., 20 May 1789.

To John Broome

Hackney July 28th 1789

Dear Sir,

Mr Benjamin Vaughn, a West-India merchant and a friend of mine who has promised to be answerable for the Bill of Exchange sent me by Dr Styles though not accepted by Mr Backhouse,¹ has undertaken the care of convey-

ORIGINAL: Yale University Library. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Yale University Library.

1. Possibly Jonathan Backhouse (1747–1826) or James Backhouse (1757–1804), mem-

ing to New York the Philosophical Apparatus purchased by me for Dr Style's College. Mr Vaughn is also to make a present to the College of all the expences of freight, insurance, etc.

I have inclosed a letter to Dr Styles containing an account of all I have done in this business and also a pamphlet which I wish to be convey'd to him. Will you be so good as to take the charge of them? When you send the Picture² it will not, I hope, be difficult for you to send this letter and pamphlet at the same time.

Wishing you very happy I am, Dear Sir,

truly yours,
Richd Price

Since I writ the above I have alter'd my mind with respect to the letter and pamphlet directed to Dr Styles and determined to commit the care of them to Mr Vaughn; and therefore will give you no trouble about this business.

bers of a banking, financial, and merchandising family of Darlington. See *Pease of Darlington. With Notices of the Families of Robson, Backhouse, Dixon, and others, being the Descendants of Joseph Pease of Shafton, in the Parish of Felkirk, Yorkshire (1665-1719)*, comp. Joseph Foster (n.p., 1891), pp. 66-70. One of them was apparently a member of the banking firm of Esdaile, Esdaile, Hammett and Hammett, of 21 Lombard-street. See *Kent's Directory*, comp. H. Kent Causton (London, 1811), unpaginated, first and fifth pages of gathering C under "London Bankers" and "Country Bankers."

2. Elihu Yale (1648-1721), governor of Madras, benefactor of the Church of Wrexham in North Wales, the library of St. Paul's school, and others, as well as Yale. In response to Cotton Mather in 1718 he sent a cargo of books, pictures, and other effects, the sale of which raised more than £560 in support of the Collegiate School of Connecticut. His name was given to a new college building in New Haven, and afterward, by the Charter of 1745, the entire institution was named Yale University.

Ezra Stiles wrote in his diary of 17 Oct. 1789: "I find that Gove. Yales Picture is arrived from London, and yesterday my Son deposited it in the College Library to which it was sent a Donation by the Hon. Dudley North Esq. of Glemham in Suffolk, Engld, Member of Parliament Elihu Yale's last lineal descendent. By the kind Offices and Address of Saml Broome, esq. Mrcht of this City. The Painting is seven Feet high and the Governor at full Length. It was done 1717 [by Enoch Zeeman] the Gov. then act. 68. It is grand and elegant and in good Preservation, being not a recent copy, but one of the Original Pourtraits in the Family." Stiles, *Diary*, III, 368-69.

To Ezra Stiles

Hackney July 31st 1789

Dear Sir,

Since I received a few weeks ago your letter together with the Invoice and Bill of Exchange which accompany'd it,¹ I have been employing myself in endeavouring to execute the commission they brought me to purchase for your college the Apparatus specified in the Invoice. Some delay has been occasion'd by the refusal of Mr Backhouse to accept the Bill; but this difficulty has been removed by the kindness of my friend Mr Benjamin Vaughn, a West India merchant and eldest son to Mr Samuel Vaughn, who with his Lady and daughters went over from hence after the Peace to the united states and resided chiefly at Philadelphia, but has now left America.² The Bill, tho' not accepted, will it is hoped be paid, and Mr Benj. Vaughn has engaged to advance the money for it. He has also been very kind in taking upon himself and in presenting to the College all the expences of Commission, freight, insurance, etc. attending the Conveyance of the Apparatus to New-York.

The prices in your Invoice of several of the Articles fall very short of the prices at which they can be procured, tho' I have directed they should be perfectly free of all ornament and as plain as can be consistent with their being good and substantial. I find, however, that on this account little abatement is to be expected the Articles ordered being such as for the most part do not admit of ornament. But the Assurance I have given of the payment of ready money has made a reduction of price in several instances.

In the inclosed paper I have given you an account of the Articles I have ordered,³ and which will be sent by the first opportunity after they have been got ready.⁴

That the Telescope and the Micrometer comes to £15:5:13 more than the price you have specified as you will learn from Mr Dollond's⁵ Catalogue

ORIGINAL: Yale University Library. Recipient's copy. Stiles notes in his diary for 17 Nov. 1789, "This evening I received Letter from Dr Price of London with account of the Apparatus he has purchased for Yale College, Price £204. . . ." Stiles: *Diary*, III, 371. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Yale University Library.

1. See Ezra Stiles to R.P., 10 and 13 Apr. 1789, and enclosure dated 20 Apr. 1789.

2. See Benjamin Franklin to R.P., 29 July 1786; Benjamin Rush to R.P., 2 Aug. 1786; R.P. to Benjamin Rush, 24 Sept. 1787; R.P. to Benjamin Franklin, 26 Sept. 1787. See also Sarah P. Stetson, "The Philadelphia Sojourn of Samuel Vaughn," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 73 (1949), pp. 459-74.

3. See enclosure: Price's account of the articles purchased and omitted at the end of this letter.

4. See Benjamin Vaughan, Esq., for Dr. Price to Ezra Stiles, 5 Sept. 1789.

5. Peter Dollond (1730-1820), eminent optician, founder of extensive workshops developing, improving, and building optical instruments, he was aided by his father, John

inclosed, yet thinking it particularly necessary that such an University as yours should be possesst of the best means of Astronomical Observations, I have ventured to order it. But it cannot be got ready in less than four months from the present time.

Finding that the £200 remitted would by no means purchase all the Articles in your Invoice, even without the Tellurian and the Universal compound Microscope, Megaloscope, etc. I have been obliged, much against my will, to make a selection. The inclosed paper will inform you how I have done this. The whole expence of the selected Articles comes, you will see, to £4:5:11 more than the money remitted, but this excess I beg the college would accept as my Contribution. The Telescope and Orrery shall be sent as soon as possible after they are ready.

I am now going an excursion for six weeks in hopes of gaining an establishment of health from change of scene and air. Mr Vaughan and a Nephew of mine⁶ will take all the farther care necessary to the conveyance to Col. Broome at New-York of that part of the Apparatus which can be got ready, that is, of all but the Telescope and Orrery. These must be waited for a few months.

I received a few days ago your letters dated in June last,⁷ and return you many thanks for them. I admire the candour with which you speak of my volume of sermons notwithstanding the difference of opinion between us about a doctrine on which many good Christians have laid great stress.⁸ I respect your abilities and learning, and cannot but pay great regard to every argument you can offer to my consideration. I wish to keep my mind open to evidence and conviction; for indeed I consider nothing as essential but an honest desire to find out and know the truth.

I writ some months ago to Mr Morse on the subject of his book,⁹ and he probably knows by this time that there is no such thing here as a copy-right in a Book published in America.

Mr Broome has happily succeeded in getting for you the picture you wanted.¹⁰

You will receive with this my sermon to the supporters of the new college lately establish'd in this village.¹¹ I am mentioned in the Advertisement at the

(1706–61), his brother John (d. 1804), and his nephew George Dollond (née Huggins) (1774–1852).

6. Probably George Cadogan Morgan.

7. Not located.

8. Without the letters from Stiles it is difficult to identify precisely the “difference of opinion between us about a doctrine on which many good Christians have laid great stress.” Since the volume of sermons is probably *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine*, however, the points very likely concern the preexistence and dignity of Christ and his role as Savior. See Sermons IX and X. See also R.P. to Ezra Stiles, 22 Mar. 1788, n.3; D. O. Thomas, pp. 36–40.

9. See R.P. to Jedidiah Morse, 18 May 1789.

10. See R.P. to John Broome, 28 July 1789.

11. “The Evidence for a Future Period of Improvement in the State of Mankind. . . .”

end of it as one of the Professors; but I have found myself unequal to the duties of such a station, and therefore have resigned it.¹²

Excuse, Dear Sir, great haste. I find myself incapable of being as attentive as I wish to be to my correspondents who are become so numerous as to take up the greatest part of my time. With particular respect and wishes that you may enjoy all that can make you happy, I am, Dear Sir,

ever yours,
Richd Price

What glorious News from France?

12. See "Journal," p. 385.

[Enclosure: Price's account of the articles
purchased and omitted.]

Articles Selected by Dr Price from the *list* of
mathematical and philosophical instruments
sent him by Dr Stiles to be purchased in London
for Yale-College in Connecticut

Art. 1st	Compound machine for mechanical powers illustrating the pulley, lever, wedge, inclined plane and simple and compound motions.	
	Price in the <i>list</i> £20; but not to be had under	£ s d 25.0.0
Art. 2d	A whirling table for experiments on central forces and for showing the laws of acceleration, retarded and rotary motions.	
	Price in the List £10, but not to be purchased under	20.0.0
Art 3d	Four glass receivers for a large air-pump 6, 8 and 10 inches diameter. Three ditto for compressing air and exhibiting the <i>Jet d'eau</i> . Price the same with that in the list	6.0.0
Art 4th	Glass pump	1.6.0

Art 5th	Three Hydrometers, Ivory. List price	0.15.0
Art 6th	Small oblong tubes, capillary tubes, syphons, curves and vases for experiments in Hydraulics and Hydrostatics. List price.	3.0.0
Art 7th	Dr Priestley's instrument for producing fix'd air Price in the <i>list</i> £2, but purchased at	1.7.0
Art 8th	Astronomical clock. List price	10.0.0
Art 9th	An electrical machine and apparatus with all the latest improvements—Sold cheap because second hand but altered and improved	10.0.0
Art 10th	A pair of globes 18 inches Diameter with all the latest discoveries Total purchased of Nairne and Blunt	6.16.6 £84.4.6
Purchased of Mr <i>Shuttleworth</i> ¹ <i>Ludgate Hill</i>		
Art 11th	Solar microscope with the latest improvements N.B. A complete Apparatus of optical instruments as ordered in List cannot be purchased under £25 including the Solar Microscope. All wanting, therefore, of this Article as expressed in the List must be added at an additional expence of £20	5.5.0
Art 12th	Farenheit's Thermometer verify'd and graduated from 40 below cypher to 200 above—in the same case an Hygrometer and a Barometer with <i>Nonius's</i> divisions. List price £3	3.13.6
Art 13th	Convex mirror framed. Diameter 9 inches	1.4.0
Art 14th	Concave Ditto	1.4.0
Art 15th	Case of Mathematical Instruments	1.0.0

1. Probably Henry Shuttleworth, optician, of 23 Ludgate-street. See *Kent's Directory for 1804* . . . , p. 179.

Art 16th	Half a dozen Convex lenses and 1/2 a dozen concave of different sizes	1.0.0
Art 17th	An artificial eye in Brass. List price £2-But purchased	1.11.6
Art 18th	Orrery—purchased of the maker at the List price but must be waited for	40.0.0
Art 19th	Three 1/2 guinea prisms being all that are necessary for Newton's experiments N.B. 1/2 dozen prisms at £1 one double are set down in the List; but they cannot be had good at such a price	1.11.6
Art 20th	Magic Lantern with 12 figures. List price £1.10 but cost	4.4.0
Total purchased of Shuttleworth		60.13.6

Purchased of Mr Dollond, St. Paul's Church-yard

Art 21st	A three feet reflecting Telescope with four different magnifying powers from 50 to 400 times with a Micrometer with a divided Achromatic Object glass List price £40 but not to be bought so cheap and cannot be ready in less than 4 months.	55.13.0
Art 22d	Refracting Achromatic Telescope at one guinea per foot. List price N.B. This is only a land Telescope and can have only one magnifying power	4.0.0
Total purchased of <i>Dollond</i>		59.13.0
Add-----		60.13.6
Also-----		84. 4.6
Total expence		£204.11.0

Articles omitted

£ s d

Art 1st Semicircle for surveying. Not to be

	had under List price £1	5. 5.0
Art 2d	Variation instrument and dipping Needle. Not to be had under Price in the list only £3	63. 0.0
Art 3d	Small table air-pump and Receivers Price in the list £4	12.12.0
Art 4th	An equal altitude instrument—List price £2 but real price N.B. Pillars and other conveniences necessary for this instrument an account of which should be sent that the instrument may be suited to them.	8. 0.0 ----- 88.17.0
Art 5th	Semicircle and prism to determine angles of refraction. List price s10 but not to be bought under N.B. <i>Rarely made</i>	3. 3.0
Art 10th	Remainder of Art. 11th in the second Page [Solar Microscope with the latest improvements]	20. 0.0
Art 11th	Tellurian	

[Note in the hand of Ezra Stiles:]

Dec. 24, 1789.² Received in eight boxes. Wanting
the Barom, Therm, Hygrometer, Glass Eye Set
in Brass, and three Receivers for the Airpump
and three Lenses. Duties paid at New York 26
Doll. 21 Cent impost on £100 + £11 or 10
percent ad Valor. = £120. Sterling = £160.
L.M. @5 percent Duty makes the impost nearly
£8—Or truly £7.17.3.LM

	Received Air Pump Receiver		Wanting
2	{ 1 for compressing air	10 inch Diam	1
	{ 1 Ditto	6 inch Diam	

2. Stiles's note in his diary for this date is briefer: "This day arrived here from London by way of New York our philosophical Apparatus, purchased for us in London by Revd Dr Price; and immediately deposited in the Appara Chamber in the No Stairs of Yale College. Cost £204 sterlg in London." His entry for 26 Dec has him busy at work "Putting the Apparatus in Order." Stiles, *Diary*, III, 376.

2	{ 1 closed Receiver	8¼	}	2
	1 Ditto	6		

To Thomas Jefferson

Hackney Aug 3d 1789

Dear Sir

The Bearer¹ of this and of the parcel that accompanies it is a Gentlemen who belongs to my congregation in this village and one of my nearest neighbours. The late accounts from *Paris* have so interested him as to determine him to visit it, and I hope he will find his journey agreeable to him.

I cannot express the gratitude I feel to you for your letter by Dare, and for the kind attention with which you have honoured me by the accounts you have sent me in your four letters of the origin, progress, and completion of one of the most important revolutions that have ever taken place in the world.² A Revolution that must astonish Europe; that shakes the foundation of despotic power; and that probably will be the commencement of a general reformation in the governments of the world which hitherto have been little better than usurpations on the rights of mankind, impediments to the progress of human improvement, and contrivances for enabling a few grandees to oppress and enslave the rest of mankind. Glorious patriots! How has my heart been with them? And how ardently do I wish they may finish the great work they have begun in a manner that shall be most honourable to themselves and most beneficial to the world to which they are giving an example. In a note³ which I sent to *Count*, now the *Marquis de Mirabeau*, by Mr. Morgan,⁴ I observe to him that the last step in the progress of human improvement will probably be the separation of religion and matters of speculation from the interference of civil power. The united states of America have happily taken this step. It cannot, I suppose, be at present attempted in *France* without too much danger; but it seems likely to be gained there long before it will be gained in England. Indeed the Patriots in *France* pay us too great a compliment by speaking of us, as I find they do, as their model, and considering themselves as imitating us. I scarcely believe we are capable of making such an exertion as the French nation is now making with a spirit and unanimity altogether wonderful. We are duped by the forms of liberty. A representation so partial

ORIGINAL: Library of Congress. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *Jefferson*: Boyd, XV, 329-31.
 TEXT: Original.

1. Identified by Jefferson as "Mr. Stone." See Thomas Jefferson to R.P., 13 Sept. 1789.
2. See Thomas Jefferson to R.P., 8 Jan., 19 May, 12 and 17 July 1789.
3. R.P. to Count Mirabeau, 2 July 1789.
4. I.e., George Cadogan Morgan.

as to be almost a mockery and so venal as to be little better than a nuisance bears the name of a *real* representation. Our Patriots are vicious men, and their opposition in general is nothing but a vile struggle for power and its emoluments. It is happy for the people of *France* at this crisis that they have no forms to deceive them, and that their struggle is with absolute power avowed, and not with a power apparently limited but really absolute in consequence of an undue influence which overturns the constitution and spreads corruption thro' every corner of the kingdom.

You may be sure that what is passing in France cannot be very agreeable to the Courtiers and Tories in this country. They must be apprehensive that an example so striking may provoke the friends of liberty here to greater zeal in their endeavours to bring about a reformation of abuses so palpable as to be incapable of being defended, and particularly to gain the only stable security of public liberty; I mean a representation render'd fair and independent by frequent elections, the exclusion of placemen, and an extension of the rights of election.

I hope the people of France have no more violent struggles to go through. Should this happen they will have gained liberty more easily than any people ever did. The national Assembly has indeed a great work to do. They are building up a constitution for 27 millions of people, and I expect that it will be an excellent one because formed by enlighten'd men in an enlighten'd country with the lights and examples of the American and English constitutions to assist them. May no jealousies arise. May wisdom and virtue descend from heaven to guide them.

Mr. Morgan was much obliged to you for your civilities to him. I should have writ to you by him, but I thought you were gone to America.

In consequence of your desire that I would convey to you some tracts on the Socinian doctrine, I desire your acceptance of the volume of Sermons⁵ and the pamphlets that accompany this letter. The first part of Dr. Priestley's letters⁶ I cannot immediately get; but it shall be sent to you by the first opportunity. The pamphlet entitled *Two Schemes of a Trinity*⁷ etc. is reckoned by the Socinians one of the best of all the publications in favour of their doctrine. You will see that Dr. Priestley and I differ much, but we do it with perfect respect for one another. He is a materialist and fatalist and we published some years ago a correspondence on these subjects.⁸ But I must con-

5. Probably the second edition of *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine* in which Price answered some of Priestley's objections.

6. *Letters to Dr. Horne, Dean of Canterbury, to the young men, who are in a course of education for the Christian Ministry, at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; to Dr. Price; and to Mr. Parkhurst; on the subject of the Person of Christ* (Birmingham, 1787).

7. (Nathaniel Lardner) *Two Schemes of a Trinity considered, and the Divine Unity asserted: Four Discourses on Philippians ii. 5-11* (London, 1784).

8. *A Free Discussion*.

clude. Accept again Dear Sir of my thanks for the honour you have done me by your correspondence, and of every kind and respectful sentiment which can be entertained by one man for another. I am ever Yours,

Richd Price

I am doubtful whether I ever sent you a sermon⁹ which I deliver'd last year to the supporters of a college lately establish'd by my Friends here for improving education. I have therefore added it to the other pamphlets. There are some passages in it that seem to be suitable to the present times; but I can scarcely expect you should employ your time in reading it.

9. *The Evidence for a Future Period of Improvement.*

From le Duc de la Rochefoucauld

Versailles, 11 Août, 1789

Le Duc de la Rouchefoucauld vient de recevoir le livre que Monsieur le Docteur Price a bien voule lui envoyer de la part de leur respectable ami, M. franklyn; il prie Monsieur Price d'en recevoir tous ses remercimens, et saisit avec empressement cette occasion pour lui exprimer tous les sentimens d'estime et de respect dont la lecture de ses excellens Ouvrages l'a penetré depuis longtems.

ORIGINAL: Cyfarthfa Castle Museum. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Cyfarthfa Castle Museum.

Translation

Versailles, 11 August, 1789

The Duc de la Rochefoucauld has just received the book that Doctor Price has so graciously sent him by means of their respectable friend, Mr. Franklin;¹ he begs Mr. Price to accept his gratitude, and seizes with eagerness this occasion to express to him all the feelings of esteem and respect with which the reading of his excellent work has for a long time imbued him.

1. See Benjamin Franklin to R.P., 31 May 1789.

From George Cadogan Morgan

[Extracts]

[August 13, 1789]

. . . The spirit of the people in this place is inconceivably great, and has abolished all the proud distinctions which the King and the Nobles had usurped in their minds. Whether they talk of the King, the Nobles, or the Princes, their whole language is that of the most enlightened and liberal among the English. . . .

Paris was the scene of action, which, to a mind whose first anxieties are for the general rights of man, must render all the subsequent objects of my transient survey very flat and insipid: the capital of the first empire in the world all in arms for liberty; a king *DRAGGED in submissive triumph by his conquering subjects*; the Bastille in ruins, and every monument of slavery in flames—these are appearances of grandeur which seldom rise in the prospect of human affairs, and which, during the remainder of my life, I shall think of with wonder and *gratification*.

PRINTED: *Gent. Mag.*, 1790, vol. 60, p. 1097. TEXT: *Gent. Mag.* In a letter to Mr. Urban, editor of *Gent. Mag.*, dated 9 Dec. 1790, "J. E." says he drew these excerpts from "A letter in the *Gazetteer*, Aug. 13, 1789 from a Gentleman in Paris to his Uncle." The first paragraph is probably from the first part of G. C. Morgan's letter in the *Gazetteer* for 13 Aug. 1789. Although differing in the presence of the phrase "is inconceivably great, and," it may have been taken from "A Look to the Last Century: or the Dissenters Weighed in their own Scales," published anonymously in *An Arranged Catalogue of the several Publications which have Appeared Relating to the Enlargement of the Toleration of Protestant-Dissenting-Ministers and the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts* (London, 1790). It is more likely that the second paragraph comes from the second part of Morgan's letter in the *Gazetteer* for 14 Sept., since the passage in "A Look at the Last Century" does not contain the part to the first semicolon. We know, from a variety of external evidence, that the author was George Cadogan Morgan and the recipient Richard Price. In a footnote J.E. describes Price as "one of the most distinguished Persons for Philosophy and Literature in this country," but this does not prevent him from inserting sarcastic and derogatory remarks. For further details on G. C. Morgan and for the use of these passages made by Edmund Burke and others against the Dissenters, see "George Cadogan Morgan (1754–98)" in *The Price-Priestly Newsletter*, no. 3 (1979), pp. 53–70, and "Edmund Burke and the Reverend Dissenting Gentlemen" in *Notes and Queries*, vol. 29, no. 3 (June 1982), pp. 202–4, both by D. O. Thomas. Apparently neither the letter nor any copies of the *Gazetteer* for 13 Aug. or 14 Sept. 1789 have survived. At least our extensive searches have not located them.

To the Marquis of Lansdowne

Southern-Down near Bridgend
Glamorganshire Augst 16th 1789

My Lord

I received yesterday from Mr Vaughan an account which tho' long expected affected me greatly.¹ Having experienced the kindest concern from your Lordship on a like occasion, and knowing the heart-breaking anguish produced by such an event as that under which your Lordship is now suffering, I cannot possibly satisfy my own mind without writing a few lines to express my sympathy and concern. The recollection that you have discharged the duty and shewn the attention of one of the best of husbands to an amiable wife must give great comfort. The dead are what we shall all be very soon; but what that is God only knows certainly. I have, however, a firm hope that our final destination is to happiness in a country beyond the grave where all the virtuous and worthy are to meet after passing thro' the discipline of this life. Christianity exalts this hope into assurance; and it is enough to elevate us above this transitory world; but at the same time my own experience has taught me that, in the circumstances of your Lordship, the anguish of grief (tho' capable of being mitigated by this hope united to a conviction of a perfect government of events by infinite wisdom) cannot be conquered, and that effectual relief is to be obtained only from time and endeavours to divert the attention. The affairs of *France* afford now the best means of obtaining such relief; and, were I now suffering under any private trouble, I should, I fancy, study to turn my thoughts to what is passing there and to find a solace to my mind by reflecting on a revolution which is likely to be the commencement of a general reformation in the government of Europe and to form a vast step in the progress of human improvement. But I fear I am intruding impertinently on your Lordship's feelings. If so, I rely upon your indulgence and candour. I shall be unhappy should these lines be the means of giving you the trouble of writing anything in return. Mr. Vaughan will inform me how your Lordship is.

I am here in a poor cottage on a high cliff hanging over a vast gulph which separates Glamorganshire from Somersetshire and Devonshire. I employ myself in sea-bathing, reading and writing; but in the latter make little or no progress. I shall return in the 2d or 3d week in September, and hope to give a

ORIGINAL: Bowood. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

1. Louisa Fitzpatrick, marchioness of Lansdowne, Lansdowne's second wife, died 7 Aug. 1789.

call at *Bowood* in passing. I am, my Lord, ever most affectionately your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant

Richd Price

From Jedidiah Morse

Aug. 28th 1789

Reverend and Dear Sir,

I received your Letter of the 18th of May yesterday and am much obliged by your attention to my request in regard to the disposal of the copy right of my book. My expectations were not raised, my disappointment therefore is small. The prospect was such as induced me to make the attempt. There was nothing to lose, and a possibility of receiving something to compensate my labour. In consequence of your rational observations on the subject, I give up every idea of disposing of the copy-right in England.

You mention, Sir, that your Booksellers are willing to be employed in selling a number of copies for me. I will venture to send 50 to be sold on commission and which (because I have no correspondent in London) I beg leave to consign to your care, wishing you *only* to take the trouble to deliver them to some bookseller, who will consent to be my correspondent and agent in England, and who will deal with me upon the principles of Justice and honour. The 50 copies which I send will be sufficient to determine the bookseller, whether the book will be saleable or not, and how great a degree should he think proper he can write me for any number of copies to dispose of at his own risk.¹ The sale has been rapid in America and is increasing. As far as I can determine about two fifths of an Edition of 3000 has been sold since publication which is only about four months.

The prospect is that another Edition will be called for in the course of 8 to 10 months. It will be in my power greatly to improve a second Edition.² Perhaps it will be agreeable to some bookseller to send for a number of copies of a second Edition at his own risque. They will be much better printed, and on better paper than the present Edition.

ORIGINAL: Yale University Library. An unsigned draft in Jedidiah Morse's hand. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Yale University Library.

1. Regarding the sale of the book in England, see R.P. to Jedidiah Morse, 29 Mar. 1790.

2. Three thousand copies of the first edition sold within the first year in the United States. The second edition with the title modified to read, *The American Universal Geography, much Enlarged with a Second Volume on the Eastern Hemisphere*, was published in Boston in 1793. By 1819 it had reached its seventh edition and had established Morse's reputation as "The American Geographer." A French edition appeared in 1795 and a Dutch edition in 1793-96.

I have a *Gazetteer* of the United States³ in considerable forwardness for publication. If any bookseller is disposed to purchase the copyright *before* it shall be published here (if that is consistent with your laws) I will be at the expense of sending him a MS. copy. I wish not, Sir, to give you the trouble of answering these enquiries—the Bookseller who will become my agent and correspondent will do it.

I have forwarded you, Sir, already two complete copies of the *Geography*, one from New York, the other from Boston, both which I hope you have before this received. If both have been received, I will thank you, Sir, to put one of them in the hands of the Reviewers, or if you have otherwise disposed of it, I will thank you, Sir, to present, with my compliments, one copy to each of the Reviewers out of the 50 I send you, unless they have already received a copy.

I am very happy that my book so far meets your approbation. It is a juvenile production, and a first essay, and was compiled amidst numerous [impediments] of which, want of fortune to defray the heavy expenses was not the least. The general approbation that it has met with in this country, and the approbation of a Gentleman whose literary character is so well established both in Europe and America and whose opinion I so highly respect as I do yourself affords me the most solid satisfaction and encouragement.

)

N.B. I wish the bookseller to whom the books may be delivered to get them bound at my expense and to expose them to sale at two Dollars a book, and after deducting freight, binding, and his commission, to remit me the remainder.⁴

3. Morse had projected the *Gazetteer* as early as 1786 and had counted on help from several collaborators, at one time or another, one of whom was Noah Webster. For various reasons, however, publication of the first volume, *The American Gazetteer*, was delayed until 1797. With the aid of the Rev. Dr. Elijah Parish of Byfield a second volume, *The Eastern Gazetteer*, was published in 1802. A second edition of the former was published in 1804, of the latter in 1808. See William B. Sprague, *The Life of Jedidiah Morse, D.D.* (New York, 1874), pp. 214–16, 219–20.

4. For the outcome of Morse's persistent requests, see R.P. to Jedidiah Morse, 29 Mar. 1790.

[To Ezra Stiles]

Benjn Vaughan, Esqr¹
For Dr. Price

London Sept. 5th, 1789

Bought of Nairne² and Blunt³

Optical & Mathematical Instrument Makers. To His MAJESTY

No 20 opposite the Royal Exchange
Cornhill

	£	s	d
No1 A 2 Quart Air Fountain with Syringe			
and sett of Jets	4:	4:	0
A pr of 10 Inch Globes	6:	16:	6
Packing Case. B. N. Telescope from			
Mr <i>Dollond</i> sent in this Case			:14:
No 2 An Electrical Machine	10:	10:	0
Packing Case and paper Shavings			:10:
No 3 Four Glass Receivers of different Sizes	1:	16:	0
A Model of Glass Pumps	1:	7:	
Three Ivory Hydrometers			:15:
Packing Case			: 5:
No 4 A Case from <i>Mr. Shuttleworths</i>			
No 5 A Case containing a Nooth's Machine and			
Various Chemical Apparatus	4:	10:	6

ORIGINAL: Yale University Library. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Yale University Library. This list is written in a hand other than Price's on a form with a heading that is printed down to "Cornhill."

1. See R.P. to John Broome, 28 July 1789, for Price's decision to ask Benjamin Vaughan to take charge of sending the apparatus, accompanying letter, and pamphlet to Stiles, who notes in his diary for 26 Feb. 1790 that he received a letter from "Mr. Vaughan of London with the College New Telescope." Stiles, *Diary*, III, 382.

2. Edward Nairne (1726–1806), electrician and optical, mathematical, and philosophical instrument maker. He frequently contributed scientific papers to the Royal Society and became a fellow in 1776. Along with many other accomplishments, he constructed in 1782, on plans supplied by Priestley, an "insulated medical machine," the first significant electrical machine in England and still known as "Nairne's electrical machine."

3. Charles Blunt, younger partner in Nairne and Blunt, a firm that enjoyed royal patronage. Less famous than his older partner, information on him is less available. He is listed as an optician in the *British Biographical Index* and is credited with an essay on mechanical drawing in *British Biographical Archives*. He married Miss Fenn of Newgate-Street in Sept. 1788. See *European Magazine and London Review* . . . , vol. 14 (1788), p. 230.

No 6	A Sett of Mechanic Powers in Brass Packing Case	26: 5:0 : 7:
No 7	An Astronomical Clock Packing Case	10:10:0 :18:
No 8	A Whirling Table Compleat Packing Case	22:00:0 :14:

£92:10:

Sent to Wiggins Hey⁴

4. Wiggins Hey, merchant and shipper in London, member of a family with shipping firms in Venice and Riga, as well as in London. See Valentine, I, 450. Hey shipped the instruments aboard the *Betsy* and the *Montgomery* to New York. See Louis W. McKeehan, *Yale Science: The First Hundred Years, 1701-1801* (New York, 1947), p. 56.

To the Marquis of Lansdowne

Southern Down near Bridgend,
Sept 9th 1789.

My Lord

When I writ my last letter¹ I wished it might not be the means of giving your Lordship trouble by writing an answer to it. I expected Mr Vaughan would inform me of your situation and state of health. I have however been much gratify'd by the kind letter I have received, and I return your Lordship many thanks for it.² I wish you every possible relief and comfort. The company of Miss Vernon and Miss Fox must undoubtedly help to make a residence at *Bowood* more agreeable. The simplicity and innocence which your Lordship says they possess are the best of all good qualities. I am in a place where, except at one house (Mr Wyndham's³ chosen last friday member for the County) I see manners rather low than simple. I here devote myself, as I do almost every where to reflexion; and I am in hopes that sea=air and sea=bathing will furnish me with some recruit of health and spirits for the

ORIGINAL: Bowood. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

1. See R.P. to Lansdowne, 16 Aug. 1789.

2. Not located.

3. Thomas Wyndham (1763?-1814), educated at Eton and Oxford. His father retired from Parliament in August 1789 to make way for his son who, after an energetic campaign, was returned unopposed. He represented Glamorgan from Sept. 1789 until his death in Nov. 1814 (Namier and Brooke, III, 667).

approaching winter. Being now in my 67th year I see that my life is drawing fast to an end. This has led me to consider how it has been spent, and lately to resolve to write some reflexions on the transactions of it and my conduct in it.

I have begun, since I have been here, to execute this resolution, and I hope I shall not find it an unprofitable or uncomfortable employment.⁴

Your Lordship has mistaken me if you think that my belief of Christianity is an *assurance* of its truth.⁵ I feel difficulties and wonder at the confidence of the men who think that on this point no honest man can doubt. This affords no argument in their favour, for it generally happens that there is the most confidence where there is the least reason for it. I have always hated dogmatism as one of the greatest enemies to improvement and true wisdom. My conviction on most points is only a preponderance on one side. In the instance of Christianity this preponderance is considerable; and, as the assurance it gives, if true, of a resurrection from death to a happy immortality is unspeakably important to dying men, any degree of this preponderance is a sufficient ground for hope and comfort amidst the trials of this world.

I know little of what passes in the Political world except what I learn from the Gazeeter which I receive every morning from London, and supplies me with an intelligence from France which is often very delightful to me. What an instruction to the world are the Patriots there now giving by their declaration of rights, abolition of tithes, etc. etc.⁶ What great effects must this have on the general state of the world? I find that a similar Revolution has already taken place in the Principality of Liege.⁷ Other European states will, I hope, soon follow; and sometime or other, perhaps, Britain ashamed to be left behind, will catch the contagion and demand with an irresistible voice like that of France a correction of abuses, and particularly an equal and virtuous representation⁸ in the room of that partial and corrupt one with which it is now

4. Price began his journal in shorthand on 25 Mar. 1787. He suggests here that he is starting to write his memoirs or autobiography, but he left neither.

5. Price would never hold that anyone's belief in a doctrine provided assurance of its truth. For his general views on knowledge and truth, see *Review*, pp. 85–90. For his view on the probable truth of Christianity, see *Four Dissertations*, especially the fourth dissertation entitled "On the Importance of Christianity, the Nature of Historical Evidence and Miracles." See also D. O. Thomas, pp. 128–34.

6. *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* was, according to Vincent T. Harlow in *The Founding of the Second British Empire, 1763–1793* (London, 1952), p. 601, the principal opposition newspaper to the Pitt ministry. For a note on "Patriots" in France, see Thomas Jefferson to R.P., 8 Jan. 1789, n.7.

7. Influenced by the revolutions in America and, more recently, in France, a popular democratic movement in the Belgian principality of Liège culminated in the overthrow on 18 Aug. 1789 of the parliament. For several years the rest of Belgium was in one or another stage of revolt against Austria and the Austrian Emperor Joseph II, largely because of clerical opposition to his rather drastic and sudden religious reforms. See John Howard to R.P., 18 Jan. 1787. For an account of both revolutions up to 1795, see Adrien de Meeüs, *History of the Belgians*, trans. G. Gordon (New York, 1962), pp. 231–48.

8. For Price's views on representation, see D. O. Thomas, pp. 187–213.

mocked. If I mistake not a day of Judgment is coming upon slavish governments and Hierarchies; and their abettors were they wise would prepare for it, and by yielding in time and consenting to reform gradually would endeavour to lessen the violence of their fall.

I have just heard of the death of one of my best Friends at Hackney, Mr. Jellicoe.⁹ This has shocked me much, and must shorten my stay here. I shall, therefore, set out next monday, and hope to be at Bath on tuesday. I shall leave my sister and niece there for a night or two with a relation that lives there and some other friends, and come on Wednesday or Thursday by myself in order to have the pleasure of dining and spending one night with your Lordship at Bowood.

Under a grateful sense of your Lordship's kind attention to me, and with great regard

I am your Lordship's

most obedient and humble servant.

Richd Price

9. Adam Jellicoe (d. 31 Aug. 1789), first clerk in the Office of Paymaster to the Navy for forty years, member of the Committee of New College, Hackney. In his journal Price noted that the cause of death was apparently a fever, but he was convinced it resulted from a rather drastic loss of money through an unfortunate investment. See "Journal," pp. 391, 411, n.113.

From Thomas Jefferson

Paris Sep. 13, 1789.

Dear Sir,

My departure being now fixed to within a week or ten days from this time,¹ I cannot omit first to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of Aug. 3, together with the book and pamphlets by Mr. Stone,² which I am sure I shall read with pleasure and improvement. The outlines of their constitution have now been fixed by the National assembly. They have decided that their legislative assembly shall be of constant existence. Opinions vary whether the elections shall be annual, biennial, or triennial: that it shall consist of a single

ORIGINAL: Recipient's copy not located. PRINTED: *Jefferson*: Boyd, XV, 425. TEXT: Press copy from the Library of Congress.

1. Jefferson left on 26 Sept. See Thomas Jefferson to R.P., 19 May 1789.

2. Probably John Hurford Stone (1763–1818), Unitarian, resident of Hackney, member of R.P.'s congregation, and one of his nearest neighbors. See R.P. to Thomas Jefferson, 3 Aug. 1789. He was a member of the Society of the Friends of the Revolution (of 1688), the "Revolution Society," and strongly in favor of the French Revolution. He was a frequent visitor in France where he was naturalized in 1817.

body: but they are still free to divide that body into two or three sections, or to establish a council of revision with only powers of advice: and that the king shall have a negative, which may suspend a law till reconsidered and passed again by a subsequent assembly in which case it will become law. These outlines are to be filled up. It remains to give the outlines and fill up the plan of their judiciary system and provincial and municipal assemblies. Tranquillity is perfectly established at Paris, and pretty generally so thro' the whole kingdom. There has been a faction in the assembly with very dangerous views.³ But they have found the mass of the nation so solidly united, that they seem to have abandoned all expectations of confusing the game. Accept my effectionate Adieus, and assurances of the sincere esteem and respect with which I have the honor to be Dear Sir Your friend and servant,

TH: JEFFERSON.

3. Clearly the faction revolved around the Duke of Orleans. In a letter to John Jay of 27 Aug. 1789 Jefferson writes of the "faction . . . of the most desperate views. . . . These wish to dethrone the reigning branch and transfer the crown to the Duke d'Orleans. The members of this faction are mostly persons of wicked and desperate fortune, who have nothing at heart but to pillage for the wreck of their country. The Duke himself is as unprincipled as his followers, sunk in debaucheries of the lowest kind, and incapable of quitting them for business. Not a fool, yet not head enough to conduct anything. In fact, I suppose him used merely as a tool because of his immense wealth and that he acquired a certain degree of popularity by his first opposition to the government, then credited to him as upon virtuous motives." In a letter to James Madison written the next day Jefferson is more explicit and implicates Price's friend Mirabeau. "His [Duke d'Orleans's] name and his money therefore are mere tools in the hand of those who are duping him. *Mirabeau is their Chief.*"

The phrase emphasized and some others in the letter were written in code. They were decoded interlinearly by Madison and have been verified, using Code No. 9, by the editors of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*. Jefferson: Boyd, XV, 359, 366, 369.

From John Howard¹

Moscow Sepr 22 1789

My dear friend,

Your kind desire of hearing from me engages me to write; when I left England I first stopped at Amsterdam, I proceeded to Osnaburgh Hanover

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. This is the last letter received from Howard, as Price notes on the cover, and among the last Howard wrote. Before leaving on this journey he had put his affairs in order, revised his will, and indicated on several occasions that he did not expect to return. In Kherson in the

Brunswick and Berlin; then to Königsberg, Riga and Petersburg, at all which places I visited the Prisons and Hospitals, which were all flung open to me; and in some, the Burgo Masters accompanied me into the Dungeons, as well as into the other rooms of confinement. I arrived a few days ago in this City and have begun my rounds; The Hospitals are in a sad state; upwards of 70 Thousand Sailors and Recruits died last Year in the Hospitals; I labour to convey the love of Philanthropy into these distant Regions; as in God's hand, no Instrument is weak, and in whose presence no flesh much glory.

I go thro' Poland into Hungary, I hope to have few nights of this moon in my journey to Warsaw, which is about a Thousand miles.

I am pure well, the Weather clear, the morning fresh, Thermometer 48° but have not yet begun fires, I wish for a mild winter and shall then make some progress in my European expedition.

My Medical acquaintance give me but little hopes of escaping the plague in Turkey but my spirits do not at all fail me, and indeed I do not look back, but would readily endure any hardships and encounter any dangers to be an honour to my Christian profession.

I long to hear from my friend yet I know not where He can direct to me, unless to Sir Robert Ainslie Constantinople. I will hope all things. Remember me to Sister, Neices and Mrs. Morgan. I am, my much esteemed friend,

Most affectionately and sincerely yours,

John Howard

Ukraine in early January of 1790 he contracted a fever after treating a young woman who died the next day of the plague. It was widely believed that Howard had contracted the plague and that this was the cause of death. The three strokes he suffered over the next eighteen days, however, indicate that he probably died of apoplexy, 20 Jan. 1790. See Southwood, pp. 126–33.

From Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld

[Extract]

2 Dec. 1789

It belonged to Dr. Price to propose a motion tending to pay to liberty the fairest homage, that of national prejudices.¹ The address of congratulation

PRINTED: *Appendix to A Discourse on the Love of our Country*, 4th ed. (London, 1790), pp. 15–16. TEXT: *Appendix*.

1. On the afternoon of 4 Nov. 1789 Price preached his famous sermon, *A Discourse on the Love of our Country*, at the Old Jewry to the Revolution Society. In the evening of the same day he attended a dinner of the society at the London Tavern, and in the course of the

which Earl Stanhope has done the *Duke de la Rochefoucauld* the honour to transmit to him, has been received by the National Assembly with lively applause.² They have seen in that address the dawn of a glorious day, in which two nations who have always esteemed one another notwithstanding their political divisions and the diversity of their governments, shall contract an intimate union, founded on the similarity of their opinions and their common enthusiasm for liberty. They have directed their President to write to *Earl Stanhope*;³ but the multiplicity of the business of the Presidency not having yet permitted the expediting of that letter, the *Duke de la Rochefoucauld* has not delayed to do himself the honour of writing to Dr. Price.

Happy in having been chosen for such an honourable commission, he has rendered an account to it to the National Assembly; and, in presenting to them the address of a Society whose object is so noble and patriotic, he has acquainted them with the claim which it has to their esteem, and to the esteem of the whole French nation, etc. etc.

proceedings he moved a congratulatory address to the National Assembly of France. The text of the address, which was adopted unanimously, read:

"The Society for Commemorating the Revolution in Great Britain, disdaining National partialities, and rejoicing in every triumph of Liberty and Justice over Arbitrary Power, offer to the National Assembly of France their Congratulations on the Revolution in that Country, and on the prospect it gives to the first Kingdoms in the World, of a common participation in the blessings of Civil and Religious Liberty.

"They cannot help adding their ardent wishes of an happy settlement of so important a revolution, and at the same time expressing the particular satisfaction with which they reflect on the tendency of the glorious example given in France to encourage other Nations to assert the *unalienable* rights of Mankind, and thereby to introduce a general reformation in the governments of Europe, and to make the World free and happy." *Appendix*, p. 13. See also *Corr. Rev. Soc.*, p. 3.

2. The text of the congratulatory address, which was transmitted to the National Assembly by Earl Stanhope, was read in the National Assembly on 25 Nov. 1789.

3. The president of the assembly, the Archbishop of Aix, to Earl Stanhope, 5 Dec. 1789. *Appendix*, pp. 18–20. See also *Corr. Rev. Soc.*, pp. 7–10.

To the Marquis of Lansdowne

Hackney Dec 5th 1789

My Lord

The discourse that accompanies these lines is just out of the Press;¹ and I have thought that your Lordship would receive it soonest and safest by the

ORIGINAL: Bowood. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

1. *Discourse*. The first edition was sold out on the day it was published. A second edition

Post. Your Lordship undoubtedly knows that the Congratulatory Address has been presented and well received and an order given to publish it together with an answer to it. I wish I could have made this answer a part of the Appendix to the Sermon; but, I suppose Lord Stanhope has not yet received it.²

I return your Lordship many thanks for your letter.³ The Note has been printed very nearly as I communicated it to your Lordship. I find that the opposition as well as the Court dislike what is passing in France. Mr Erskin,⁴ who I suppose, speaks the sense of his party, used I am assured, in speaking on Walter's case,⁵ the following language "Let me beg of your Lordship to look across the Ocean to a neighbouring Kingdom. View there all restraints of law broken down, and murder and bloodshed and anarchy invading and destroying one of the best empires in the world." What can that man be who, instead of rejoicing in the fall of despotism, can use such language concerning it.

Should Miss Fox and Mis Vernon be with your Lordship deliver my respectful compliments to them.

I am, with great regard, Your Lordship's
most faithful and obedient servant
Richd Price

appeared on 11 Dec. 1789, and four more in 1790. It was the immediate occasion for Burke's *Reflections*.

2. See La Rochefoucauld to R.P., 2 Dec. 1789.

3. Not located.

4. Thomas Erskine, first Baron Erskine (1750–1823), Lord Chancellor. Educated at home, Uphall, and St. Andrews where, however, he did not matriculate. After a brief career in the military, and urged by Lord Mansfield, he entered Lincoln's Inn and matriculated as a gentleman commoner at Trinity College, Cambridge. He rose rapidly in fame and wealth and was widely regarded as one of the most effective practitioners of the law in his time.

5. John Walter (1739–1812), founder of *The Times*. At various times he was convicted of libel. On this occasion he was convicted of publishing two paragraphs in *The Times* stating that the Duke of York and two of his brothers were not sincere in their expressions of joy at the king's recovery. See *The Times*, 16 June, 3a–c; 15 July, 3; 24 Nov. 1789, 3a–d, for coverage of the trial. On 13 July 1789 the *Gazetteer* carried a summary that included the following paragraph: "Mr. Erskine, Counsel for the Crown, stated the case in a short and elegant address to the jury. He animadverted on the serious nature of the charges the libel contained, and the high rank of the personages to whom they referred. . . . The Jury immediately pronounced the defendant guilty."

None of these accounts includes information on Erskine's alleged remarks on France. They seem inconsistent with his general approval of the principles of the French Revolution, but that may have developed only after his visit to France in Sept. 1790.

To [an unidentified correspondent]

Hackney near London Jan^y 5th 1790

Dear Sir,

You would have received sooner the papers that accompany this letter had I not waited for an opportunity of conveying them; and I think myself fortunate in having so good an opportunity of doing this as is now offer'd me by the return of a person to *Paris* who has made me while in London very happy by his notice and conversation; I mean, M. Du Chatelet.¹

The letter and papers from Dr Hunter² will I hope prove satisfactory to you. Those from Dr Moreton,³ one of the Physicians to the Foundling Hospital and formerly Secretary to our Royal Society, will not be equally satisfactory. They go but a little way towards answering the queries you sent me, but from Mr McLellan,⁴ the person mention'd at the end of Dr Moreton's letter, and from another person belonging to the Foundling Hospital, I expect more information, which I will take care to send you as soon as I shall receive it. Illegitimate and deserted children in this country, and also the children of such of the poor as cannot maintain their own children, are taken care of by the parishes; but they are so neglected and the method of nursing and treating them is so bad as not to be capable of yielding any information worth communicating to you.

ORIGINAL: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

1. Probably Louis-Marie-Florent Châtelet-Lomond, Duc du (1727–93) also known as du Châtelet d'Haraucourt. He had a distinguished career in the army that led into politics. For example, he was ambassador to England, but refused the position of chief of finance. As a deputy of the nobles in the Estates-General he was initially disposed to accept some reforms, but basically he was in favor of retaining royal and aristocratic privileges. He was condemned by the revolutionary tribunal and executed 13 Dec. 1793.

2. Probably William Hunter (1718–83), Scottish anatomist and obstetrician, older brother of John Hunter (1728–93), who is considered by some to be the founder of scientific surgery. William was the author of a pamphlet, "On the Uncertainty of Signs of Murder in the Case of Bastard Children" (London, 1784). See *Medical Observations and Inquiries* (London, 1784), vol. 6, pp. 266–90. For a biography of the Hunter brothers, see George C. Peachey, *A Memoir of William and John Hunter* (Plymouth, 1924).

3. Charles Morton (1716–99) studied medicine in Leyden, was physician to the Middlesex Hospital and to the Foundling Hospital, and principal librarian at the British Museum Library from 1776 until his death. He was secretary of the Royal Society 1759–73.

4. Probably Robert McClellan (c. 1730–99), apothecary at the Foundling Hospital for forty-two years. Records do not reveal any publications on illegitimate or deserted children, although he did write several hymns. See Reginald H. Nichols and Francis A. Wray, *The History of the Foundling Hospital* (London, 1935), pp. 108–9, 216, 217, 271, and 274, and Ruth K. McClure, *Coram's Children: The London Foundling Hospital in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, Conn., 1981), pp. 175, 180, 213.

Accept, Sir, of the warm respect and best wishes of

Your most obedient and humble Servant
Richd Price

I had the honour of writing to you by M. Lominie.⁵ Should you see him remember me very kindly to him.

5. See Thomas Jefferson to R.P., 8 Jan. 1789, n.6.

From Ezra Stiles

Yale College January 8, 1790

Reverend and Dear Sir,

Your letter of 31 July with your list of Articles of the College Apparatus,¹ together with your Sermon at the New College Institution,² I received here in the Post Office 17 Nov last; but with no information whether the Apparatus was shipped or arrived. On 28 Nov I received a letter from Mr. Samuel Vaughan, Junr of N York advising the 8th boxes of Books had arrived there consigned to Mr Jay³ for this College, but without any letter or Invoice. I waited some time expecting a Letter and invoice without receiving any. At length I sent your letter and invoice by a Gentleman to N York, and thereby presuming that all the Articles were shipt excepting the Telescope and Orrery, thereby were enabled to Settle the Import Duties at the Custom House, and then we received the 8th Boxes which arrived here 24 December.

Upon opening them found all the Articles safe and in good and entire

ORIGINAL: Recipient's copy not located. TEXT: Copy in the hand of Ezra Stiles in the Yale University Library; with the kind permission of the Yale University Library. Stiles notes at the end of the copy:

In Dr Price's List			Received
Art. 3.	four Glass Receivers, 6. 8. and 10	} £6	two
	three ditto for Compressing		two
Art 16.	1/2 Doz Convex Lenses		3
	1/2 Doz Concave Ditto		3

1. See R.P. to Ezra Stiles, 31 July 1789 with enclosure.

2. *The Evidence for a Future Period of Improvement in the State of Mankind*. . .

3. Possibly Frederick Jay, auctioneer and warehouseman in New York. See *Extracts from the Itineraries (and other Miscellanies) of Ezra Stiles, D.D., L.L.D. (1755-1794) with a Selection from his Correspondence*, ed. F. B. Dexter (New Haven, Conn., 1916), p. 420.

Preservation. We have deposited them in the Apparatus Chamber in the College Edifice, and find the Machines excellent and to our great Satisfaction. (I do not mean at Present to write more to yourself or Mr Vaughan⁴ to whom my most grateful and repectful Compliments) untill the receipt of the Orrery and Telescope, upon opening the boxes we found all the articles in your Selection excepting.

The Thermometer and with it the Barometer and Hygrometer

Glass eye set in Brass

3 receivers for the air pump, viz, 2 closed receivers and one open Ditto for compressing air

6 Lenses

I hope you will be pleased to be Caused to be put up with the Telescope and Orrery, with great Obligations of Gratitude I am, Dear Sir,

Your affectionate Friend and Brother,
Ezra Stiles

4. Benjamin Vaughan.

From T. Procter¹

January the 12th 1790

Reverend Sir

An Englishman who has been early Acquainted with your talents and your Virtue but has never had the honour of knowing you professionally takes the liberty to send you, what you seem to desire, the speech of Mr Rabaut St. Etienne² translated from the french, together with a Speech of the Count Clermont-Tonnere³ on the Same Subject. in the letter you will See I have

ORIGINAL: The Bodleian Library. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Bodleian Library. Price docket: From Mr. Procter at Paris dated Jan 12th ans'd. The cover is addressed: To the Revd Doctor Price Member of the Revolution Society London.

1. Not further identified.

2. Jean Paul Rabaut St. Étienne (1743–93), French revolutionist, religionist, leader of the Protestants in France. Died on the guillotine 5 Dec. 1793. The speech was probably "Adresse aux Anglois; par un Représentant de la Nation Française" (Paris, 1789), translated as "Address to the English Nation."

3. Stanislas Marie Adelaide, Comte de Clermont-Tonnere (1757–92), French politician and revolutionist. He was killed by the mob during the rising of 9 and 10 Aug. 1792. The speech may have been the one translated into English with the title, *Translation of a Speech Spoken by Count Clermont Tonnere, Christmas Eve last, on the Subject of Admitting Non-Catholics, Comedians and Jews, to all the Privileges of Citizens, According to the Declaration of Rights* (London, 1790). Martin Fitzpatrick points out that it was used by the Dissenters in their campaign to

disposed it in Such a Manner that you may have the Whole speech printed, or only the part that regards the protestants and the Jews. Your last Sermon preached before the revolution Society⁴ is justly celebrated in this Country, it is quoted by the Writers of the day in support of the principles of liberty; Mr Rochefoucauld has got it well translated,⁵ and that has prevented some Gentlemen of the Lyceum to publish a translation they had Made of it and Which I have revised with them. Whatever other speeches you Would Wish for, or information on any Subject, you shall have by doing me the honour to send me your instructions directed to No. 15 rue basse du rempart St. honoré. the Cause you are contending for that of civil and religious liberty is the dearest to my heart and I pray the Almighty to bless your efforts with Success: it would be shameful for England not to follow the glorious example set by this Country: and I hope that in granting relief to the Dissenters, whom I have always considered as the most zealous defenders of liberty, she Will do something for the roman Catholicks; it is high time to forget the Animositities that kept them at so great a distance from the rights of Citizens: I beg Sir a thousand pardons for taking up your time with so many Unnecessary phr[] Pope says a Man may be easily known by [his] letters, I will add and his situation in [life] too, Mine may be soon known by my pedantick turn, it is Sir that of teacher of English in this City, a profession Which I glory in as it has given me the opportunity of contributing with many other fellow labourers to make the french Acquainted with the best english Works on liberty and by that means prepare them for that glorious revolution they are effecting. Notwithstanding My Occupations I Shall be happy to send you Anything else that May appear useful to your Object

I am Sir with all imaginable respect your most obedient and very humble servant

T. Procter

repeal the Test and Corporation Acts. See "Toleration and Truth," *Enlightenment and Dissent*, I (1982), 20.

4. *Discourse on the Love of our Country*.

5. See La Rochefoucauld to R.P., 13 Jan. 1790, nn.6 and 7.

From Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld

Paris 13 Jan. 1790

Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld a reçu avec reconnaissance la Résolution de la Société de la Révolution que le Docteur Price lui a fait l'honneur de lui envoyer, et il a celui d'en adresser ses remerciemens à la Société dans une lettre ci jointe qu'il prie le Docteur de vouloir bien faire passer au Comte de Stanhope.

Il a remis à M. l'archevêque d'Aix le lettre qui lui étoit destinée. Il présente mille remerciemens au Docteur Price des bontés qu'il a bien voulu témoigner au Comte de Chabot et au Marquis du Chatellet, et a l'honneur de lui envoyer quelques exemplaires de l'excellent Discours du Docteur qu'un jeune homme qui loge chez lui a traduit (il en parait encore une autre traduction par M. de Keralio).

Il y joint deux exemplaires d'Opinions de M. le Comte de Castellane que ce dernier a désiré présenter au Docteur.

En enfin trois exemplaires d'une Opinion sur les Banques Publique, dont il prie le Docteur de vouloir bien présenter un à la Société de la Révolution et envoyer un autre au Comte de Stanhope.

Il recevra avec bien du plaisir l'Édition nouvelle du Discours Docteur Price qui lui est annoncée par son obligeante lettre; il l'a lu avec une vraie satisfaction, et y a trouvé avec joie l'approbation honorable pour les efforts des françois vers la liberté qu'ils fixeront sans doute sur le Continent d'Europe.

Il l'exhorte à retrouver, s'il se peut, quelques lettres de M. Turgot. Tout ce qui reste de ce grand homme est précieux.

Le D. de la Rochefoucauld a l'honneur d'informer le Docteur qu'une Société dont M. de Condorcet lui a annoncé la formation sera bientôt en activité. Ce sera un Club mais avec un plan de travail utile sur toutes les matières de Législation et d'Administration. Elle s'intitulera *Société de 1789* et sûrement un de ses premiers desirs sera de se lier de correspondance avec la Société de la Révolution. Ces premières unions de Sociétés particulières seront le présage d'une alliance plus générale utile aux deux Nations au genre humain.

Le D. de la Rochefoucauld a l'honneur de renouveler au Docteur Price l'hommage de sa profonde estime et de son sincère attachement.

Translation

Paris 13 Jan. 1790.

Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld has received with gratitude the resolution of the Society of the Revolution¹ that Doctor Price did him the honor of sending, and he has the honor of expressing his gratitude to the Society in an enclosed letter that he beseeches the doctor to kindly pass to Count Stanhope.

He has delivered to the archbishop of Aix² the letter which was meant for him. He thanks Doctor Price profusely for the goodness he so kindly showed to the Comte de Chabot³ and the Marquis du Châtellet,⁴ and has the honor of sending him several copies of the excellent Discourse⁵ of the Doctor that a

1. La Rochefoucauld to R.P., 2 Dec. 1789, nn. 1 and 2. Walter P. Hall, in his book *British Radicalism, 1791–1797* (New York, 1912), gives us a picture of the Revolution Society. It was not radical, he insists, despite its name. In the words of its steward, it is composed of “all gentlemen who wished well to the principles of the revolution. To them a general invitation is issued to dine at a London tavern where, for seven shillings and sixpence, they may get as good a dinner and as much sherry, punch, and port as they liked, and leave, well contented with their country.” It was based on three principles of so-called radicalism: that all civil and political authority is derived from the people, that abuse of power justifies resistance, and that rights of private judgment, liberty of conscience, trial by jury, and freedom of election are sacred and inviolate. Yet, Hall says, the Revolution of 1688 was their excuse for wine and fellowship.

They gathered annually to recall and applaud the principles of freedom that entered the British Constitution in that year. The members were, he continues, patriotic Englishmen, some of whom boasted that during the Regency Crisis they had been more loyal to the king than the Whig Party. And, he concludes, “A bumper to King George never failed to conclude their festivities” (pp. 160–61).

2. Jean-de-Dieu-Raymond de Cucé de Boisgelin (1732–1804), cardinal, member of the French Academy. Archbishop of Aix from 1770 to 1790, he was president of the National Assembly from 29 Nov. 1789 until early in 1790 when, losing his archbishopric, he emigrated to England. He returned to France and after the concordat was named archbishop of Tours in 1802 and then cardinal.

3. Probably Louis-Antoine-Auguste Chabot, Duc de Rohan (1733–1807), known as Count Chabot until the death of his first cousin, Louis-Marie-Bretagne-Dominique, Duc de Rohan, in Nice, 28 Nov. 1791. At the time of this letter he was emigrating from France to Brussels. For reasons of health, he returned to Paris in 1792, where he died in 1807. He was married to Mlle de la Rochefoucauld d'Enville, sister of La Rochefoucauld, who, after the death of his first wife, married in 1780 Alexandrine-Charlotte-Sophie de Rohan-Chabot, Chabot's daughter and La Rochefoucauld's niece. See E. Jovy, ed., *La Correspondance du Duc de la Rochefoucauld d'Enville et de Georges Louis le Sage* (Paris, 1918), pp. 16, 32.

Possibly Alexandre-Louis-Auguste Rohan-Chabot, Duc de (1761–1816), son of the above.

4. See R.P. to an unidentified correspondent, 5 Jan. 1790, n. 1.

5. *A Discourse on the Love of our Country*.

young man who lives with him⁶ has translated. (Another translation, by M. de Keralio, has also appeared).⁷

He encloses two copies of the Opinions of M. le Comte de Castellane that the latter desires to present to the Doctor.⁸

And finally three copies of an Opinion on the Public Banks;⁹ he begs the Doctor to kindly present one of them to the Society of the Revolution, and to send the other to Count Stanhope.

He will receive with much pleasure the new Edition of the Discourse [of] Doctor Price¹⁰ announced by his obliging letter; he has read it with true satisfaction, and found in it an honorable approbation for the efforts of the french towards the liberty that they will without doubt firmly establish on the continent of Europe.

He exhorts him to find, if he can, several letters of M. Turgot.¹¹ All that remains of this great man is precious.

Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld has the honor to inform the Doctor that a Society whose formation M. de Condorcet announced to him will be soon

6. There are French translations of the *Discourse* in the Boston Public Library and the British Library, both dated 1790, with no identification of the translator. They seem to be reprints, however, of the translation by Keralio.

7. Louis-Felix Guinement de Keralio (1731–1793), soldier, professor of military science, member of l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. As a military inspector, he sent many reports to Benjamin Franklin. See Franklin: *Papers*, XXVIII, 98. The notice in *Biographie Universelle* says he was in favor of reform during the Revolution but detested revolutionary excesses. As head of a battalion of the National Guard, he died at Grosley in the valley of Montmorenci on 10 Dec. 1793.

8. He translated many works from English, German, and Swedish into French and was an editor of the *Journal des Savants* until its suppression in 1792. His translation of Price's *Discourse on the Love of our Country* appeared under the title, *Disours Sur l'Amour de la Patrie*, prononcé le 4 Novembre, 1789, par le docteur Price, dans l'Assemblée de la Société Formée par celebrer la Révolution de la Grand-Bretagne. . . . Traduit de l'anglois (Paris, 1789). Both copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale list Keralio as the translator.

9. Boniface Louis-André Castellane-Novejean, Count, then Marquis, de (1758–1837), politician and general. In 1789 he was a deputy among the nobles in the Estates-General. He joined the third estate and worked for their reforms and became secretary of the Constituent Assembly in Feb. 1790. After two imprisonments and release he was absent from politics from 1792 until 1802. He became successively baron, count, and marquis, won many honors, and held a variety of posts. The "Opinions" mentioned by La Rochefoucauld were published as *Précis de l'Opinion de M. le Comte de Castellane sur la Déclaration de droits, écrit de Mémoire après la Séance du Premier Aôut 1789* (Paris, 1789).

10. *Sur les Banques Publiques* (Paris, 1789).

11. Possibly *Additions to Dr. Price's Discourse on the Love of our Country* (London, 1790). Although published separately, both of these editions were incorporated in the fourth, fifth, and sixth editions of *A Discourse*. . . . See D. O. Thomas, p. 346.

11. Although it seems there was a fair amount of correspondence between Price and Turgot, apparently Price could locate only one letter aside from the lengthy one published in his *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution*. Its significance was a disappointment to La Rochefoucauld when it finally reached him. See La Rochefoucauld to R.P., 6 Aug. 1790.

reality. This will be a club but with a plan of work useful for every issue of Legislation and Administration. It will be called the *Société de 1789*¹² and surely one of its first desires will be to link itself by correspondence with the Society of the Revolution. The first meetings of special societies will presage a more general alliance that will be useful to both Nations and to mankind.

Le D. de la Rochefoucauld has the honor of repeating to Doctor Price the homage of his profound esteem and his sincere affection.

12. The Society of 1789 was founded early in 1790 by a group of moderates closely associated with Lafayette. It included Bailly, Condorcet, Mirabeau, Sieyès, Dupont de Nemours, Talleyrand, and Le Chapelier, in addition to La Rochefoucauld at whose house their early meetings were held. The establishment of the society grew out of a dissatisfaction with the more radical influences developing at this time within the Jacobin Club. The aim of the club was to restore order and achieve peaceful constitutional change in accordance with the principles of 1789, such as the decrees to abolish privilege, the Declaration of Rights, the unicameral legislature, the suspensive royal veto, the nationalization of church property, and the like. See Keith M. Baker, "Politics and Social Science in Eighteenth-Century France: The 'Société de 1789,'" in *French Government and Society, 1500–1800: Essays in Memory of Alfred Cobban*, ed. J. F. Bosher (London, 1973), p. 230.

To [James Wodrow]¹

Hackney Jany 20th 1790

Dear Sir

I return you my best thanks for the kind and agreeable letter with which I was favoured by you some time ago, and for sending me the Reports of the Trustees of the Widows Fund. Having bestowed much attention on this Fund and held for many years a correspondence with the late Dr Webster² on the subject of it, it cannot but be agreeable to me to be informed of its state and progress.

ORIGINAL: Dr. Williams's Library. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of Dr. Williams's Library.

1. James Wodrow (1730–1810), ninth son and fifteenth child of the sixteen children of Robert Wodrow (1679–1734), the ecclesiastical historian. Educated at Glasgow University, librarian there from 1750 until 1755, inducted into the parish at Dunlop in 1757, moved to Stevenston in 1759. See *Wodrow-Kenrick Correspondence c. 1750–1810*, Dr. Williams's Library, D.W.L. MSS 24:157. (My thanks to Martin Fitzpatrick for a photocopy.) See also "The Birmingham Riots of 1791, A Contemporary Account," ed. John Creasey, *T.U.H.S.*, XIII, no. 3 (Oct. 1965), 111, where Creasey cites *Monthly Repository*, VI, 122, for a memoir of Wodrow (thanks to Martin Fitzpatrick for this reference); and Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scotticanae*, 10 vols. (London, 1915–28), III, 92, 123.

2. Letter not located. For Price's interest in the Widow's Fund and some of his correspondence with Dr. Alexander Webster, see Vol. I, 104–13, 118–20.

I have received also the two volumes of Dr Leechman's Sermons.³ I can scarcely tell you how kindly I take this present, and how much I have been affected and edify'd, particularly by your introduction containing the Analysis of his Lectures and the account of his life and death. may Heaven help me to imitate him in what may remain of a life now in its last stage and grant me such an end.

I must farther thank you for Dr M^cGill's thanksgiving Sermon,⁴ which I have read with pleasure. I respect his character and abilities as well as his principles, and am sorry he should be made uneasy by the opposition of ignorance and bigotry.⁵

But such opposition must be expected, and it generally defeats its own end by promoting discussion and spreading liberal and just principles.

You will, I hope, soon receive a Discourse which I deliver'd on the 4th of November last to the Revolution Society in London,⁶ and which it has not been possible for me to avoid publishing. I have left it at Mr Hamilton's⁷ with

3. William Leechman (1706–85), *Sermons*, ed. James Wodrow, 2 vols. (London, 1789). On p. 71 Wodrow notes: "In the summer of 1744, Mr. Leechman rode to London in company with his first pupil Mr Geddes, then in a very declining state of health. [See Joseph Priestley to R.P., 4 Dec. 1787.] Their stay was short; yet Mr Leechman was then introduced to Lardner [Nathaniel Lardner (1684–1768), see Vol. II, 322], Benson [George Benson (1699–1762), theologian and author, perhaps best-known for his paraphrases and notes on the Epistles of St. Paul] and other eminent men among the Dissenters. His acquaintance with Dr Price commenced afterwards, with whom he corresponded occasionally." We have not been able to trace any such correspondence.

4. "The Benefits of the Revolution . . . a sermon preached at Ayr, 5 Nov. 1788" (Kilmarnock, 1789).

5. William McGill (1732–1807), educated at Glasgow University; licensed by Wigtown presbytery in 1759; assistant minister Kilwinning, Ayrshire; ordained to the second charge in Ayr, 1761. He was a member of the "moderate" part of the Scottish church but went further than its leader, William Robertson, the historian, by advocating before 1780 the abolition of subscription. The uneasiness mentioned by Price grew out of the delayed reaction to his publication, *A Practical Essay on the Death of Jesus Christ* . . . (Edinburgh, 1786). After he published the political sermon mentioned in the previous note and a complaint to the synod that *The Death of Jesus Christ* contained heterodox doctrines, the synod of Glasgow and Ayr put the case to the presbytery. It bounced from one to the other until McGill offered an explanation and apology that the synod accepted as satisfactory. Robert Burns, a friend of McGill, satirized the whole thing in "The Kirk's Alarm" and "The Twa Herds."

The literature on the McGill case is fairly extensive, ranging from a full-scale monograph by Alexander McNair, *Scots Theology in the Eighteenth Century* (London, c. 1928), to L. Baker Short, *Pioneers of Scottish Unitarianism* (Swansea, 1963), pp. 23–28 (thanks to Martin Fitzpatrick for this reference), to brief summaries in *D.N.B.*, and Hew Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scotticae*, III, 12–13. For an interesting discussion within a special context dealing with candour, see Martin Fitzpatrick, "Varieties of Candour: Scottish and English Style," *Enlightenment and Dissent*, Vol. 7 (1988), pp. 35–56.

6. *Discourse on the Love of our Country*.

7. Robert Hamilton (1743–1829), Scottish mathematician and political economist. For a critique of Price's views on the Sinking Fund, see his *An Inquiry Concerning the Rise and Progress, the Redemption and Present State and the Management of the National Debt of Great Britain*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 1814), pp. 129–48.

another for Dr Reid. Mr Hamilton tells me he has now an opportunity of conveying them by a Gentleman who is returning to Scotland. You will learn from this Sermon and the Appendix to it, how much I agree with you in rejoicing in the events that have lately happen'd on the Continent. Never perhaps did an event happen more favourable to civil and religious liberty than the late Revolution in *France*. A glorious prospect seems, as you say in your letter, to be opening. A spirit is gone forth which is likely to shake to the foundations the long establish'd fabricks of superstition and tyranny. I have sent you the second edition; but there is a third edition just publish'd, which differing in nothing very material from the former editions, I have sent you only the additions to it which have been printed separately in order to accommodate the purchasers of the former editions. I am, Dear Sir, with very great esteem and affection,

Your obliged
and very humble servant
Rich^d Price

To John Adams

Hackney Feby 1st-1790

My Dear Friend,

This comes to you with a Discourse¹ which has been much talked of here, and which, I hope, you will accept as a small testimony of my gratitude and respect. It is an effusion of zeal in the cause of human liberty and virtue, and, tho' a subject of censure with many in this country, I can be confident that you will approve the spirit of it, and the general sentiments it contains.

I thought myself greatly favoured by the letter which I received from you at the beginning of last Summer;² and it is impossible I should ever forget the kind attention with which you have always honoured me.

You must probably feel the same satisfaction and triumph in the late Revolution in France that I have felt. It appears to me that most of the events in the annals of the world are but childish tales compared with it. But the united states of America have the glory of having led the way to it. The new constitution of France deviates in some respects from those ideas of the best constitution of government which you have with so much ability explained and defended. But their deviation, as France is situated, seems to have been unavoidable; for had not the Aristocratical and Clerical orders been obliged

ORIGINAL: Massachusetts Historical Society, Adams Papers, Reel no. 373. Recipient's copy.
TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Adams Manuscript Trust.

1. *A Discourse on the Love of our Country*.

2. See John Adams to R.P., 20 May 1789.

to throw themselves into one chamber with the Commons, no reformation could have taken place and the regeneration of the Kingdom would have been impossible. And, in future legislatures, were these two orders to make distinct and independent states, all that has been done would probably be soon undone. Hereafter, perhaps, when the new constitution as now formed, has acquired strength by time, the national Assembly may find it practicable as well as expedient to establish, by means of a third estate, such a check as now takes place in the American governments, and is indispensable in the British government.

Remember me very kindly to Mrs. Adams. May you be long continued happy in one another and in your connexions. I feel myself in the decline of life. An indolence is increasing upon me, and a disposition to be encumber'd and burden'd by every little business that comes in my way. I rejoyce in your usefulness and eminence, and the just respect which has been shewn you by the united states. The new federal government has, I hope, now acquired such a firm establishment as will make it the means of extricating the united states from difficulties and rendering them permanently prosperous and happy.

Hoping never to be forgotten by you, I am, with sentiments of warm affection and respect,

Ever yours,
Richd Price

May I request the favour of you to convey to Mr. Smith³ the pamphlet I have directed to him and to deliver to him and to Mrs Smith my kind respects.

3. I.e., Colonel William Smith, Adams's son-in-law.

To [William Smith]¹

Hackney, *Mch* 1st 1790.

Dear Sir

I think it very hard to be charged, as I now am, with being a Republican, after repeatedly in my publications declaring the contrary. Should anything to

ORIGINAL: National Library of Wales. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the National Library of Wales.

1. The original manuscript of this letter bears a note—not in Price's handwriting—which reads "From Dr. Price to W.S." The recipient was probably William Smith, M.P. for Sudbury and a prominent Dissenter. Smith spoke and acted as teller when the House of Commons debated Fox's motion for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts on 2 Mar. 1790. Smith followed Edmund Burke in the debate, but there is no evidence in his speech as reported in

this purpose be said to-morrow in order to prejudice the House of Commons against the Dissenters, I wish some friend would contradict it by directing the attention of the House to the following passage in my Discourse delivered to the supporters of the new institution and entitled, *The Evidence for a future period of improvement in the state of mankind with the means and duty of promoting it.* p. 30th.

"I cannot help taking this opportunity to remove a very groundless suspicion with respect to my self, by adding that so far am I from preferring a government purely republican, that I look upon our own constitution of government as better adapted than any other to this country, and in Theory excellent, etc. And this I believe to be true of the whole body of *British* subjects among Protestant Dissenters. I know not one individual among them who would not tremble at the thought of changing into a Democracy our mixed form of government, or who has any other wish with respect to it than to restore it to purity and vigour by removing the defects in our representation, and establishing that independence of the three states on one another in which its essence consists."²

In my Pamphlet on the *American* Revolution, p. 72, I have felicitated the united states on their being a confederation of states "without Kings, without Lords, and without Bishops," But in a Note I have explained this by saying, "that I did not mean by it to express a general Preference of a Republican constitution of Government, and that in my opinion *Britain* did not admit of such a constitution; and that, in particular, by *Bishops* I meant, not any officers among christians merely spiritual, but *Lords Spiritual* as distinguished from Lords temporal, or Clergymen raised to pre-eminence and invested with civil honours and authority, by a state establishment."³

[no signature]

the *Parliamentary History* (XXVIII, 387–450) that he had any occasion to use the material Price had sent him.

Smith was M.P. for Sudbury from 1784 until 1790 and again from 1796 until 1802. He represented Camelford from 1791 until 1796 and Norwich from 1802 to 1806 and 1807 to 1830. Throughout this time he was a strong and constant supporter of the movement for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts and for the relief of the Catholic Dissenters. He also strove for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade.

This letter is significant because it shows that Price feared his political aspirations would be misrepresented to the detriment of the Dissenter's cause and also that he was averse to being classified either as a republican or as a democrat.

2. Price quoted from pp. 30–31. Apart from differences in the placing of commas, the only change in Price's quotation is that he substituted "What I have to say of myself" for, "... etc. And this I believe to be true. ..."

3. The 1785 edition of *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution, etc.*, has: "In a word, let the united States continue for ever what it is now their glory to be—a confederation of States prosperous and happy, without LORDS—without BISHOPS—and without KINGS." In a footnote Price writes: "I do not mean by *Bishops* any officers among Christians merely *spiritual*; but *Lords spiritual*, as distinguished from *Lords temporal*, or Clergymen raised to pre-eminence, and invested with civil honours and authority, by a State

establishment. I must add, that by what is here said I do not mean to express a *general* preference of a republican constitution of government. There is a degree of political degeneracy which unfits for such a constitution. BRITAIN, in particular, consists too much of the high and the low, (of *scum* and dregs) to admit of it. Nor will it suit *America*, should it ever become equally corrupt."

For a more extensive discussion of issues raised in this letter, see D. O. Thomas, "Neither Democrat nor Republican," *Price-Priestley Newsletter*, no. 1 (1977), pp. 49-60.

To J. Parker¹

Hackney March 13, 1790

Dear Sir,

It is now three weeks since I received your letter² and I am sorry that I have not sooner acknowledged the reception of it. In answer to the enquiry you make about the best scheme for establishing a provision for the widows and orphans of dissenting ministers, I can only refer you and the ministers of Suffolk to my Treatise on Annuities³ which contains all the information I am able to give on every subject of this kind.

The court and the High-church party are triumphing in their late defeat of the Dissenters.⁴ Mr Pitt's conduct in this instance can do him no honour; and I hope the Dissenters will not be discouraged. They contributed much towards giving the last general election a turn in Mr. Pitt's favour.⁵ They may now see he is no friend either to them or to the general interest of equal liberty; and, I hope, that at the next general election they will be guided by conviction of this.⁶ I am much obliged to you for the civility of your letter, and for the

ORIGINAL: Dr. Williams's Library. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of Dr. Williams's Library.

1. Not further identified, beyond the address of the letter: To Mr Parker/at Mettingham/Near Bungay/Suffolk.

2. Not located.

3. *O.R.P.*

4. On 4 Apr. 1790 Price wrote in his journal, "The public attention has been lately very much engaged by a *third* application from the *Dissent[er]s*, to Parliament for the repeal of the test laws. Mr. Pitt, as minister, has exerted his whole force against us. 'The Dissenters' cry has been raised throughout [?] that . . . and we have been defeated by a majority of 289 to 105." See "[Journal]," 393, 412, n.122. D. O. Thomas notes, "On 2 Mar. 1790 Fox's motion for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Act was debated in the Commons. See *Parl. Hist.*, VIII, 401."

5. In the general election of 1784 Pitt and the government received extensive support from the Dissenters. The details are controversial, but it seems the Dissenters were motivated by the expectation that Pitt would carry out parliamentary reforms. See Ehrman, I, 140-42, 146-53, 616-18; II, 59. See also Namier and Brooke, I, 87-96, 113-16.

6. They did, and were, but their lack of support did not have a material effect on the general elections held later that summer of 1790. See Ehrman, II, 56-58, 72-73.

approbation you express in it of my publications. May you and Mrs Parker enjoy all possible happiness. I have not lately been quite well, and my spirits have failed me. You will therefore, I hope, excuse a short letter, and believe me to be

truly yours,
Richd Price

To Jedidiah Morse

Hackney Near London Mch 29 1790

Dear Sir

I hope you will accept the discourse¹ that accompanies these lines as a small return for the copy you sent me of your Geography. I think this indeed a curious and valuable work, and hope that the reception of it by the public will be so favourable as to reward you in some degree for the pains you have taken about it. I have received the 40 copies of sheets which you have sent me and convey'd them to Mr *Stockdale* who has undertaken to get them bound and to account with you for any profits that may arise from the sale. I have informed him of all the directions and proposals contained in your letters to me; and you will probably soon hear from him. I wish I could have been of more service to you in this instance. I cannot but expect that when your Geography is properly known here, it will find many purchasers.²

I have not lately enjoy'd my usual health and spirits, and every thing is becoming burdensome to me. I hope, therefore, you will have the goodness to excuse the brevity of this letter. I am truly thankful to you for the expressions of your respect. The reflexion that I enjoy the approbation of many good men, and the hope that I have not lived quite in vain, are a sweet solace to my mind in that evening of life into which I am advanced. May you, Dear Sir, be

ORIGINAL: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

1. *A Discourse on the Love of our Country*.

2. John Stockdale published *The American Geography* in 1792 from the forty copies in sheets supplied to Price; he published another printing with alterations in 1794. The elaborately illustrated printing in oversize octavo of 1794 is generally regarded as an excellent piece of bookmaking, but Stockdale was not happy about the whole venture. He told Morse in a letter dated 16 Mar. 1793, "I have unfortunately printed three thousand of your *Geography*, but have not sold one thousand and have laid out more money in advertising than was ever done with another book in the English language. I am a considerable loser. . . ." In fact the only benefit Morse received from the foreign editions was scholarly recognition. See *D.Sc.B.*; Sprague, *Life of Jedidiah Morse*, pp. 203, 217, 219; R. H. Brown, "The American Geographies of Jedidiah Morse," *Annals of the Association of the American Geographers*, vol. 31, no. 3 (Sept. 1941), pp. 188-197, 214-216.

blest with all that can make you happy, and believe me to be, with sincere respect,

Your very obedient and humble servant
Richd Price

To John Lathrop

Hackney March 29th 1790

Dr Price requests Dr Lathrop's acceptance of the Discourse¹ that accompanies this note. He returns him many thanks for the letter which he received from him by Mr Montagu,² and is sorry he has not time at present to answer it. He hopes however never to lose a place in Dr Lathrop's remembrance whom he truly respects and loves.

ORIGINAL: Harvard University Library. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Harvard University Library.

1. Presumably *A Discourse on the Love of our Country*.

2. William Montague (1757–1833), a graduate of Dartmouth College in 1784, where he studied divinity. He was rector of Christ Church, Boston, from 1787 to 1792 and thus a colleague of John Lathrop. He officiated at Christ Church, Quincy, Mass., before becoming rector of St. Paul's Church in Dedham until 1818, where he presided until his death. See George T. Chapman, *Sketches of the Alumni of Dartmouth College* (Cambridge, Mass., 1867), pp. 33–34. He is mentioned, in derogatory and derisive ways, in Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, XIV, 12, 117, 118. Ezra Stiles notes that he voted for the excommunication of James Freeman. See Stiles, *Diary*, III, 301.

To John Adams

Hackney March 31st 1790

Dear Sir,

The Bearer of this is Count Andriani¹ a respectable Nobleman from Milan. He is a friend to the liberties of mankind and has determined to spend some

ORIGINAL: Massachusetts Historical Society, Adams Papers, Reel no. 373. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Adams Manuscript Trust.

1. Probably Paolo Andreani (1763?–1832). There is no reference to him in Adams's *Autobiography* or *Diary*, but Ezra Stiles notes in his diary for 11 July 1790, "Count Andreani a Nobleman of Milan visited me on the Tour of America with Lett. from Dr. Price of London." See R.P. to Ezra Stiles, 2 Apr. 1790. Benjamin Rush writing to James Madison 17 July 1790 says, "Count Andreani is just such a man as you have described him to be in your letter." See Philip Mazzei to Madison, 23 Mar. 1790, and Madison to Rush, 5 July (Library of Congress,

time in visiting the united States of America. Having been honoured by him with a request that I would write by him to some of my Friends in America I take the liberty to recommend him to your civilities. I almost wish I could share with him in the pleasure of seeing a country about which I once felt much anxiety but to which I now look as one of the happiest and most distinguished countries in the world.

Deliver my best respects to Mrs Adams and also to Mr and Mrs Smith. I writ to you a few weeks ago, and accompany'd my letter with a Discourse on the Love of our country which I hope you have received.

You are now probably attending Congress at New-York.² That you may be ever happy in the enjoyment of the esteem and gratitude of your country is, Dear Sir, the ardent wish of your obliged friend,

And very humble servant
Richd Price

Madison Papers; Butterfield, *Rush Letters*, I, 567–68.) He was described as an amateur of science and the first Italian to make a balloon ascension. See *Dizionario Biografico Degli Italiani* (Rome, 1960–).

2. He was, indeed, presiding over the Senate, a function he performed, as vice president, for eight years. See Stephen G. Kurtz, *The Presidency of John Adams: The Collapse of Federalism, 1795–1800*, (New York, 1957), p. 222.

From Alexander Christie¹

Montrose 1 April 1790

Reverend Sir,

I hope you will be so good as pardon the liberty I have taken, in printing your late Revolution Sermon, as well as some extracts from your other Sermons, in a book which necessity, and a love to Truth above all things, has obliged me to publish.² And of which I use the freedom to present you with a

ORIGINAL: Recipient's copy not located. TEXT: Transcription, with the kind permission of the National Library of Scotland.

1. Alexander Christie (1728–95), merchant, provost of Montrose, religious author. He was a popular official in Montrose, credited with having a bridge built across the estuary of the Esk River, establishing an asylum for the mentally deranged, the first in Scotland, and with being a leader among the public officials in refusing to compel persons accused of fornication to appear before the Kirk Session. See L. Baker Short, "William Christie and the First Unitarian Church in Scotland," *T.U.H.S.*, XIV, no. 1 (Oct. 1967), 10–27; XIV, no. 2 (Oct. 1968), 78–92, esp. pp. 10–14 and 81–86. See also James Wardrop, "A Discourse Occasioned by the Death of Alexander Christie, Esq., of Townfield, late Chief Magistrate of Montrose . . ." (Montrose, 1795).

2. *The Holy Scriptures the Only Rule of Faith, and Religious Liberty Asserted and Maintained, in Sundry Letters to the Kirk-Session of Montrose, with Extracts in Defence Thereof from the Writings of*

Copy, begging your kind acceptance of it as a small testimony or mark of the sincere regard I have for you.

It gives me much pleasure, to have this opportunity of acknowledging, the great benefits I have received from your religious publications; having the happiness to agree almost entirely with you, in every theological opinion.

I have a Son³ who lately studied Physic, who I think has the pleasure of your Acquaintance. He is at present in Paris, is now in the Mercantile line and was well and happy by last Accounts. I beg to offer my best wishes for your present and future happiness. And I remain with the greatest esteem

Reverend Sir, your most
obedient humble servant,
Alexandr Christie

Eminent and Rational Christians . . . As also Selected Passages from the Holy Scriptures . . . (Montrose, 1790).

The necessity Christie felt arose when the Kirk-Session tried to persuade him not to attend or to countenance the tenets of the Unitarian Church of Montrose, established by his much younger brother, William (1748–1823), the first church in Scotland explicitly to bear the name. After some written exchanges, the Kirk-Session dropped the controversy with a moderate reprimand, leaving Christie's last letter without an answer. Christie's response was this volume of more than 500 pages. It was published at his own expense and distributed free of charge. See Short, "William Christie," pp. 83–85.

3. Thomas Christie (1761–96). After preparations, and some time, in banking, merchandising, and medicine, he pursued a literary career. He wrote extensively on science and natural history and founded the periodical *The Analytical Review*. He was enthusiastic about the French Revolution, particularly after spending six months in France in 1789–90 where he went with introductions from Price and others and came to know many of the French leaders of the period before the republic. After his marriage in 1792, he turned to merchandising, which took him to Surinam where he died at age thirty-five.

To Ezra Stiles

Hackney April 2d 1790

Dear Sir,

I was very glad to be informed by your letter of the 8th of January last that the Philosophical and mathematical Apparatus for your college had arrived safe. I hope that you have by this time received the Telescope. The Orrery was sent to be shipped from New York about three weeks ago. It is, I believe, well made; and of the last and best construction. Mr Shuttleworth has charged for it £42 S12; and the whole cost of all that has been now sent exceeds the £200

which has been remitted by the sum of £6 d3. This excess your college will, I hope, accept as contribution from me testifying my goodwill and respect. Mr Vaughan has paid all the expences of insuring, shipping charges etc., etc., amounting to about £10; and he desires they may be accepted as his contribution to the College.

You have surprised me by telling me that the Barometer, Thermometer, and Hygrometer were wanting in the Apparatus you received. They had been paid for and sent from hence with the other instruments all put up together in a case. Is it not possible they may have been left behind at New-York? I shall hope, therefore, that you may be able to recover them. The artificial eye inserted by mistake in my list was not order'd, and only three convex and three concave Lenses were order'd because Mr Shuttleworth told me that he thought this a sufficient number to answer all purposes.

I am at present much in a hurry being unwilling to lose the opportunity I now have of conveying these lines to you. I can, therefore, only add that I am,
Dear Sir,

Very respectfully and affectionately yours
Richd Price

I send this letter by Count *Andriani* a Nobleman of character and consequence from *Milan*, and friend to liberty, whose zeal and curiosity have determined him to visit the united states. He will probably call upon you, and I take the liberty to recommend him to your civilities.

To Sir Joseph Banks

Hackney Ap: 17th 1790

Sir

In consequence of the information you gave me on thursday last, I cannot help writing to you to assure you that I feel very sensibly your openness and generosity in communicating to me that information. The anonymous letter¹

ORIGINAL: Brabourne Papers, County of Kent Archives. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the County of Kent Archives.

1. Sir Joseph Banks, president of the Royal Society, received an anonymous letter, dated 12 Apr. 1790, which he communicated to Richard Price. This letter, believed to have been written by Dr. Adair Crawford, advised against the election to the Royal Society of "the nephew of a celebrated dissenting patriot who, presuming on the acquisition of a medal, is emboldened to become a petitioner for more constant honours." (See *The Banks Letters*, ed. Warren R. Dawson [London, 1958], p. 238.) William Morgan, Richard Price's nephew, was awarded the Copley Medal of the Royal Society in 1789. He was elected F.R.S. on 6 May 1790.

must be derived from the quarter I mention'd. After the publication of Dr. Crawford's² pamphlet³ on animal heat and combustion Mr M[orga]n publish'd an examination⁴ of it which had a considerable effect in diminishing the credit of it by shewing that Dr Cr[awfor]d had committed great mistakes in making his experiments and had by no means establish'd his Theory. This brought upon him the displeasure of Dr C[rawfor]d and some of his friends. After promising a reply for some years, he at last publish'd a pamphlet⁵ which he called a second edition of his former pamphlet but which in reality is a work almost entirely new. In this second pamphlet, instead of defending his former experiments, he gives an account of others which bring out conclusions very different. Mr M[orga]n published remarks in the *Gentleman's Magazine*⁶ in which he took notice of this and pointed out particularly the alterations Dr. C[rawfor]d had made in his experiments and conclusions without any acknowledgments, adding some observations to shew that still the Theory was not proved. These remarks were answer'd by Dr C[rawfor]d;⁷ and here the dispute ended; but, being well acquainted with some of Dr C[rawfor]d's connexions, I have reason to know that the dispute has left a resentment in his mind which makes him very averse to Mr M[orga]n and is perfectly unworthy of a Philosopher. It is not conceivable to me that Mr Morgan can have any other enemy in the society, or, indeed, in the world. In the anonymous letter he is represented as skilled only in Arithmetic, whereas all that are in any degree judges of his publications must know him to be an able experimental Philosopher, and one of the first Mathematicians to whom one particular brand of mathematics is greatly indebted. Were he only an arithmetician he would be very unfit for his station in that office whose business he manages; and which, partly in consequences of his abilities, is now one of the first in the world and the greatest public benefit. I need not add such an insinuation is a reflexion on the Council of the Royal Society for conferring on him the honour he has lately received. But I will not trouble you by entering into a refutation of all the falsehoods in this letter and the misrepresentations it contains of Mr Morgan's character. It is probable that anonymous letters will be sent by the same writer to other members of the Royal Society; and, as all

2. Adair Crawford (1748–95), physician and chemist, F.R.S., physician to St. Thomas's Hospital, professor of chemistry at the Military Academy, Woolwich.

3. *Experiments and Observations on Animal Heat, and the inflammation of combustible bodies. Being an attempt to resolve these phaenomena into a general law of nature* (London, 1779).

4. William Morgan, *An Examination of Dr. Crawford's Theory of Heat and Combustion* (London, 1781).

5. *Experiments and Observations on Animal Heat*, etc., 2nd ed., with very large additions (London, 1788).

6. See a review of Crawford's second edition in *Gent. Mag.*, LVIII (1788), 895–99. The review is signed XYZ.

7. See "In Defence of Dr Crawford's Treatise on Animal Heat," by A.B., in *Gent. Mag.*, LIX, pt. 1 (1789), 129–32 and 219–21.

have not your candour and generosity, they may produce some effect, but it will be wonderful if an attack so Clandestine and mean and regardless of truth should make impressions that will render it prudent to withdraw Mr Morgan. This, however, shall be done should it appear to you necessary. I refer all to your judgment and candour; and, hoping to be excused the liberty I now take in writing to you, I am, Sir, with great respect,

Richd Price

Several copies of the inclosed pamphlet have been sent me by the bishop of Autun.⁸ It contains a Proposal to which he wishes to engage the attention of the Royal Society.⁹

8. Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, Prince et Duc de Bénévnt (1754–1838). He was bishop of Autun from 1788 until 1791.

9. "Proposition faite a l'Assemblée Nationale sur les poids et mesures par M. l'évêque d'Autun" (Paris, 1790). "In March 1790 Talleyrand proposed a bill to establish a uniform system of weights and measures for France and England the details of which were to be worked out jointly by the Royal Society in London and the Academy of France in Paris. He saw in it 'the basis of a political entente achieved through science.' That was the first official expression of his desire for an alliance with England, a lifelong desire." Jean Orieux, *Talleyrand*, trans. Patricia Wolf (New York, 1974), p. 82.

From John Adams

April 19th, 1790

My Dear Friend,

Accept of my best thanks for your favour of Feb 1st¹ and the excellent discourse² that came with it. I love the zeal and the spirit which dictated this discourse, and admire the general sentiments of it. From the year 1760 to this hour the whole scope of my life, has been to support such principles and propagate such sentiments. No sacrifice of myself or my family: No dangers, no labours have been too much for me in this great cause. The Revolution in France could not therefore be indifferent to me; but I have learned by awful experience to rejoice with trembling. I know that Encyclopedists and OEconomists, Diderot, and d'Alembert, Voltaire and Rosseau have contributed to

ORIGINAL: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *The Works of John Adams*, IX, 563–64. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

1. See R.P. to John Adams, 1 Feb. 1790.

2. *A Discourse on the Love of our Country*.

this great event more than Sydney Locke or Hoadley:³ perhaps more than the American Revolution; and I own to you, I know not what to make of a Republic of thirty million Atheists.⁴ The constitution is but an experiment, and *must* and *will* be altered. I know it to be impossible that France should be long governed by it. If the Sovereignty is to reside in one assembly, the King, Princes of the blood, and the principle quality will govern it, at their pleasure, as long as they can agree; when they differ they will go to war and act over again all the tragedies of Valois, Bourbons, Lorrains, Guise's and Coligni's five hundred years ago.⁵ The Greeks sung the praises of Harmodius and Aristogiton for restoring "Equal Laws."⁶ Too many Frenchmen after the example of too many Americans pant for "Equality of persons and property." The impracticability of this, God Almighty has decreed, and the advocates for liberty who attempt it, will surely suffer for it.⁷ I thank you Sir for your kind compliment, as it has been the great aim of my life to be useful. If I had any

3. Adams had in mind the difference between the emphasis of the Frenchmen—particularly Diderot (1713–84) and D'Alembert (1717–83), principal editor and science editor, respectively, of the *Encyclopédie*—on the role of reason in science and the practical, moral, psychological, and social changes that were, or could be, effected by the assimilation of science into the general culture, in contrast to the more theoretical justification of social change based on abstract principles of right, emphasized by the Englishmen, particularly Locke.

4. In *Memoirs* William Morgan wrote: "In a long letter which he (John Adams) wrote to Dr. Price at this time, so far from congratulating him on the occasion, he expresses himself in terms of contempt in regard to the French revolution; and after asking rather too severely what good was to be expected from a nation of atheists, he concludes with foretelling the destruction of a million human beings as the probable consequences of it. These harsh censures and gloomy predictions were particularly ungrateful to Dr. Price; nor can it be denied that they must have then appeared as the effusions of a splenetic mind, rather than as the sober reflections of an unbiassed understanding" (p. 158).

Adams was incensed that Morgan should have referred to his correspondence in this way without his consent. See John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, 13 Nov. 1815, *The Adams-Jefferson Letters*, ed. Lester J. Cappon (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1959), II, 456–58.

5. Adams had been pursuing the history of royal families of France and Italy in his *Discourses on Davila* (*A Series of Papers on Political History, Written in the Year 1790, and then Published in the Gazette of the United States*) (Boston, 1805). This was part of his argument in favor of a "mixed and balanced" form of government presented earlier in *Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States*. References to the various royal families and the disastrous results of their conflicts run through all of the discourses. The political lesson might be formed in a single sentence in Discourse 15, p. 88: "It is absolutely necessary, in a mixed government . . . that a due *proportion*, or *balance*, of power should be established among the several branches of the legislative."

6. Aristogiton, an Athenian youth who, together with his devoted friend, Harmodius, assassinated Hipparchus, tyrant of Athens. Honored with Harmodius (d. 514 B.C.) as hero of the Athenian people.

7. "We are told that our friends, the National Assembly of France, have abolished all distinctions. But be not deceived, my dear Countrymen. Impossibilities cannot be performed. Have they levelled all fortunes and equally divided all property? Have they made all men and women equally wise, elegant, and beautiful?" (Discourse 13, p. 78).

reason to think I was so, as you seem to suppose. it would make me happy. For eminence, I care nothing, for though I pretend not to be exempt from Ambition or any other human passion, I have been convinced from my infancy, and have been confirmed every year, and day of my life, that the mechanic and peasant are happier than any nobleman, magistrate or king, and that the higher a man rises, if he has any *sense* of duty, the more anxious he must be. Our new government, is an attempt to divide a sovereignty, a fresh essay at "Imperium in imperii"⁸ it cannot therefore be expected to be very stable or firm. It will prevent us *for a time* from drawing our swords upon each other, and when it will do that no longer, we must call a new convention to reform it. The difficulty of bringing millions to agree in any measure, to act by any rule, can never be conceived by him who has not tried it. It is incredible, how small is the number in any nation of those who comprehend any system of a constitution or administration, and *those few* it is impossible to unite. I am a sincere enquirer after truth, but I find very few who discover the *same* truths. The King of Prussia has found *one* which has fallen in my way. "That it is the peculiar quality of the human understanding that example should correct no [man.] The blunders of the father are lost to his children, and every generation must commit its own."⁹ I have never sacrificed my judgment to Kings, ministers, nor people and I never will. When either shall see as I do I shall rejoice in their protection, aid and honour; but I see no prospect that either will ever think as I do; and therefore I shall never be a favourite with either. I do not desire to be. But I sincerely wish and devoutly pray that a hundred years of civil wars may not be the portion of all Europe for want of a little attention to the true elements of the science of government. With sentiments, moral sentiments, which are and must be eternal

I am
Your Friend
John Adams

8. Should read "Imperium in imperio."

9. The lines appear near the end of the conclusion of Frederick's *History of the Seven Years War*. It was first published in vol. III of his *Works* in Berlin in 1788. An English translation by Thomas Holcroft was published in Dublin in 1791.

To Ezra Stiles

Hackney Ap. 20th 1790

Dear Sir,

I was very glad to be informed by your last letter that the Philosophical instruments had arrived safe at your college. I hope that the Telescope has since arrived. The Orrery was sent to be shipped for New-York about six weeks ago. It is well made and of the last and best construction, and will, I hope, give you satisfaction. Mr Shuttleworth has charged for it £42 19s; and the whole amount of the cost of all that has been sent to you exceeds the sum (£200) that has been remitted by £6 6s 3d. This excess I desire your College to accept as my contribution towards bearing the expence of this Apparatus. Mr Vaughan has paid all the expences of insuring, shipping charges etc. They amount, he tells me, to about £10, and he chooses to make a present of them to the College. You have surprised me by telling me that the Barometer, Thermometer and Hygrometer were wanting among the Articles you have received. They had been paid for and sent from hence. Is it not possible they may have been mislaid or left behind at New-York? The Glass eye was inserted by mistake in my list; and only three convex and three concave Lenses were ordered because Mr Shuttleworth told me, that this was a sufficient number to answer all purposes. I am much in a hurry and therefore I can only add that I am very

respectfully and affectionately yours,
Richd Price

This is a Duplicate of a letter sent by *Count Andriani*. Since that time the Case containing the Thermometer, Barometer, and Hygrometer has been found in Mr. Nairne's shop to whom the care of conveying it had been committed. It has been shipped for New-York, and I hope will arrive safely after the rest of the Philosophical Apparatus.

ORIGINAL: Yale University Library. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Yale University Library.

From Benjamin Rush

Philadelphia April 24 1790

Dear Sir,

Accept of my thanks for your excellent Sermon preached before the Revolution Society.¹ It is pregnant with noble sentiments. I rejoice to hear of your perseverance in opposing the infamous test laws of your country which disgrace both human reason and Christianity. They cannot much longer withstand the formidable attacks which have been made upon them. In the United States we view your religious establishment with horror, and the man who would attempt to defend it, publicly or privately, would be consigned to a physician, instead of a casuist or a politician, to be cured of his error.

The papers will inform you of the death of our late illustrious and beloved friend Dr. Franklin.² The evening of his life was marked by the same activity of his moral and intellectual powers which distinguished its meridian. Three days before he died he dictated a letter upon very important business relative to the boundaries of the United States to Mr. Jefferson,³ and three weeks before his death he wrote and published a very agreeable and ingenious parody upon a speech of a member of Congress in favor of the slavery of the Africans.⁴ His conversation with his family upon the subject of his dissolution was free and cheerful. A few days before he died, he rose from his bed and

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 374-75. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. *Discourse on the Love of our Country*.

2. Franklin died on 17 Apr. 1790. Rush wrote in his "Commonplace Book" for 18 Apr. 1790: "Last evening at 11 o'clock died the venerable Franklin. He had been reduced by the stone in his bladder, but died finally of a pleurisy which terminated in an abscess in his lungs from which he discharged matter a few days before his death. This pleurisy was caught by lying with his windows open. He possessed his reason to the last day of his life, but spoke nothing of his future existence or expectation beyond the grave." *The Autobiography of Benjamin Rush*, ed. George W. Corner (Princeton, N.J., 1948), p. 182.

3. Butterfield notes that "Jefferson had written Franklin on 31 Mch. requesting 'any facts which your memory or papers may enable you to recollect' regarding the intention of the peace commissioners with respect to the northeastern boundary of the United States (L.C., *Jefferson Papers*). Franklin replied on 8 Apr., nine days before his death . . ." (*Rush Letters*, vol. 1, p. 565).

4. Rush wrote in his commonplace book, "Dr. Franklin's last publication was to ridicule a defense of the slavery of the negroes by Genl. Jackson, a member of Congress. To record all the exploits of his benevolence, and the discoveries of his genius, would employ a volume" (*Autobiography*, p. 183).

The object of Franklin's ridicule was James Jackson (1757-1806), who at this time was representative in Congress for Georgia, later senator and governor. Franklin's letter, dated 23 March 1790, with the title, "On the Slave Trade," appeared in the *Federal Gazette*. Franklin used Jackson's own arguments in favor of enslavement of negroes by whites as arguments for the enslavement of Christians by Moslems. *Franklin*: Bigelow, X, 196-200.

begged that it might be made up for him so that he might die "in a decent manner." His daughter⁵ told him that she hoped he would recover, and live many years longer. He calmly replied "He hoped not." Upon being advised to change his position in bed that he might breath *easy*, he said "A dying man can do nothing *easy*." His will has extended his benevolence beyond the grave. He has left £1000 to the city of Boston, and the same sum to the city of Philadelphia; that to our city is to be put out on compound interest for 15 years, and afterwards to be applied to supply the inhabitants with water by means of Aqueducts, for before that time he predicted, that the water at present obtained from pumps, will be so much contaminated by the encrease of offal matters in our city as to be unwholesome. The remainder of his estate he has bequeathed to his daughter and grandson,⁶ excepting from it only a legacy to his sister in Boston,⁷ and all his lands in Nova Scotia to his son Governor Franklin now in London.⁸

All orders and bodies of people among us have vied with each other in paying tributes of respect to [his] memory. The philosophical Society, of wh[ic]h he was President, have ordered a funeral eu[log]ium to be delivered in honor of his illustrious character.⁹ Even the government of the U[nited Stat]es have shared in the general sym[pa]thy, agreeing to wear mourning for one month for him; [thus] proclaiming to the world that Republics [are] not deficient in Gratitude to those m[en] who have deserved well of their count[ry] for] wisdom and Virtue.¹⁰ I had like to ha[ve forgot] to mention that he desired in his will that the elegant epitaph (suggested by his original occupation) which he composed for himself some years ago should be inscribed upon

5. Sarah Franklin Bache (1743–1808), wife of Richard (1737–1811).

6. Benjamin Franklin Bache (1769–98).

7. Jane Mecom (1712–98), widow of Edward Mecom (1704–65).

8. William Franklin (c. 1731–1813). In view of the actions of his son William, it is interesting to note Franklin's words: "To my son, *William Franklin*, late Governor of the Jerseys, I give and devise all the lands I hold or have a right to in Nova Scotia, to hold to him, his heirs, and assigns forever. I also give to him all my books and papers, which he has in his possession, and all debts standing against him on my account books, willing that no payment for, nor restitution of, the same be required of him, by my executors. The part he acted against me in the late war, which is of public notoriety, will account for my leaving him no more of an estate he endeavored to deprive me of." *Franklin*: Bigelow, X, 207–8.

As Butterfield points out, Rush is not entirely accurate in his report of Franklin's will. *Rush Letters*, I, 565, n.4. For accurate details, see *Franklin*: Bigelow, X, 206–29.

9. The eulogy was delivered by Provost William Smith on 1 Mar. 1791. It was published as *Eulogium on Benjamin Franklin*. See Horace W. Smith, *The Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, D.D.* (Philadelphia, 1880), vol. 2, p. 329. See also *Rush Letters*, I, 565, n.5.

10. Butterfield points out that this report should be qualified: "On 22 Apr. James Madison introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives . . . that members wear mourning for a month, and it was carried out. The Senate, however, did not concur; and, according to Jefferson, The President disapproved of the Cabinet's going into mourning, since he should not know where to draw the line, if he once began that ceremony." *Rush Letters*, I, 563, n.1.

his tombstone. By this request he has declared his belief in the Christian Doctrine of a resurrection.¹¹

From my Dear Sir yours sincerely,
Benjn Rush.

11. False, as Butterfield points out: "Franklin's will called for only his and his wife's names to be placed on their tomb." *Rush Letters*, I, 565, n.7. The will reads: "I wish to be buried by the side of of my wife, if it may be, and that a marble stone, to be made by Chambers, six feet long, four feet wide, plain, with only a small moulding around the upper edge, and with this inscription:

Benjamin
and
Deborah

Franklin

178— "

Franklin: Bigelow, X, 226.

Rush is pretty clearly pushing things a bit in his interpretation of the epitaph Franklin wrote for himself at the age of twenty-three: "The Body/of/Benjamin Franklin/Printer/(Like the cover of an old book/Its contents torn out/And stript of its lettering and gilding)/Lies here, food for worms./But the work shall not be lost/For it will (as he believed) appear once more/In a new and more elegant edition/Revised and Corrected/by/The Author." *Franklin*: Bigelow, X, 229.

To [Sir Joseph Banks]¹

Hackney Ap: 27th 1790

Sir,

I have enclosed an anonymous letter² which I have received since I had the pleasure of seeing you, and which I think I ought to communicate to you. It shews that the letter to you comes from the quarter I suspected, and I have reason to believe that this letter to me is written by a relation of Dr Crawford's. The remarks in the Gentleman's Magazine to which it refers³ are represented in it as an invective against Dr Crawford's character justifying an opposition to Mr Morgan's admission into the Royal Society. This is a misrepresentation of those remarks. They contain no other invective against Dr C[rawford]d than a

ORIGINAL: New York Public Library. MSS. John Price Misc. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the New York Public Library; Miscellaneous Papers, Rare Books and Manuscript Division; Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

1. The recipient of this letter was probably Sir Joseph Banks. The letter continues the theme found in R.P. to Sir Joseph Banks, 17 Apr. 1790. There it appears that Banks had shown Price an anonymous letter concerning William Morgan's candidature for a fellowship of the Royal Society. Price has assumed that the letter came either from Dr. Crawford or from someone connected with him.

2. Not located.

3. See R.P. to Sir Joseph Banks, 17 Apr. 1790, n.6.

representation of the inconsistency between the two editions of his pamphlet, the incorrectness of his Experiments, and the absurdity of his Theory. But this is all below the notice of the Royal Society; nor can I think it possible that on such a ground Dr C[rawfor]d or his connexions can succeed in the poor attempt by the poorest means to form a party of any consequence against Mr M[orga]n's admission. I shall see you, I hope, at the meeting of the Royal Society next thursday and then you may, if you please, return to me the enclosed letter. I am sorry you should have any trouble about this business and hope you will always believe that, under a very grateful sense of your candour and attention, I am, with sincere respect,

Your obliged and very humble servant
Richd Price

I find that other anonymous letters have been written, but I shall give myself no trouble about them.

From Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld

Paris, 2 Mai 1790

Dear Sir,

Ma lettre vous sera présentée par trois voiageurs que je pense la liberté de recommander à l'accueil et aux bontés de l'homme célèbre qu'ils ont le plus grand desir de connoître.

L'un de ces voiageurs est l'Abbé Rochon célèbre dans les Sciences, et homme à tous égards très estimable; il étoit fort ami de M. Turgot.

Les deux autres sont le Marquis de Saint Vallier de nos amis, et M. Patricot qui a élevé Mrs de Chabot mes neveux et qui loge avec nous.

Les deux premiers ne sont pas aussi pénétrés que moi des avantages de notre révolution, mais ont pourtant de bons principes sans en appliquer toutes les conséquences.

Ils vous mettront au courant de l'état actuel de nos affaires, ainsi, je me bornerai à vous entretenir d'autre chose. Le Club ou Société de 1789, dont j'ai déjà eu l'honneur de vous entretenir, desiré avec ardeur de se lier avec le Société de la Révolution: je joins ici l'ébauche de son Reglement dont il s'occupe actuellement, et que je vous enverrai aussitôt qu'il sera terminé, mais en attendant je suis chargé de vous prier de témoigner son empressement à la Société de la Révolution.

Je vous serai très obligé aussi de vouloir bien lui faire agréer un exemplaire

de trois morceaux que je joins ici dont l'un est un excellent petit ouvrage de M. Turgot que je viens de faire réimprimer.

Permettes que j'y ajoute les expressions de sincère attachement avec lequel j'ai l'honneur d'être,

Dear Sir,
Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur
Le D. de la Rochefoucauld

Translation

Paris 2 May 1790

Dear Sir,

My letter will be presented by three travelers whom I take the liberty of recommending to the welcome and the goodness of the celebrated man whom they have the greatest desire to know.

One of these travelers is the Abbé Rochon,¹ celebrated in the sciences, and a man in every respect most worthy of esteem; he was a close friend of M. Turgot.

The two others are the Marquis de Saint Vallier,² one of our friends and M. Patricot, who was the tutor of my nephews, the Marquesses of Chabot,³ and who lives with us.

The two first are not as imbued as I with the advantages of our revolution, but yet have sound principles, though they do not apply all their consequences.

They will inform you of the present state of our affairs, thus I will limit myself to discussing something else with you. The Club or Society of 1789, which I have already had the honor of discussing with you, desires ardently to link itself with the Society of the Revolution: I enclose here the rough draft of its By-laws⁴ with which it is now engaged, and which I will send as soon as

1. Alexis-Marie de Rochon (1741–1817), astronomer, scientist, traveler, member of the Academy of Sciences, friend of Turgot and Franklin. In 1790 he was sent to England by Montmorin, the French minister of foreign affairs, to work on a new system of weights and measures for France.

2. Possibly Jean-Denis-René Lacroix de Chevières Saint-Vallier (1759–1835).

3. (a) Alexandre-Louis-Auguste, Duc de Rohan-Chabot (1761–1816), first son of Louis-Antoine-Auguste, Duc de Rohan-Chabot, and La Rochefoucauld's sister. Distinguished militarist, émigré, prince of Léon, peer of France.

(b) Armand Charles-Juste de Chabot (1767–92), younger brother of Alexander-Louis. Also a military man, he was killed in Sept. 1792 at the Abbaye Saint-Germain des Prés.

4. *Règlements de la Société de 1789 et liste de Ses membres* (Paris, 1790). In its first form it is attributed to Emanuel Sieyès under the title *Ébauche d'un Nouveau Plan de Société Patriotique, adopté par le club de mil Sept cent Quatre-vingt neuf* (Paris, n.d.).

completed, but meanwhile I have been charged to ask you to testify its eagerness to the Society of the Revolution.

I will be most obliged to you also if you would kindly accept a copy of three pieces that I enclose within, one of them is an excellent little work of M. Turgot that I have just had reprinted.⁵

Permit me to add expressions of the sincere affection with which I have the honor of being,

Dear Sir,
Your most humble and most obedient servant
Le D. de la Rochefoucauld

5. Possibly *Réflexion sur la Formation et la Distribution des Richesse* (Paris, 1766; reprint, 1788).

To Alexander Christie

Hackney May 11th 1790

Dear Sir,

Accept my best thanks for the letter with which I have been favoured by you, and for the volume which accompanied it.¹ The approbation you express of my theological sentiments, and your insertion of my Revolution sermon, among the extracts in your book, cannot but be a pleasure to me.

It has been the business of my Life, to endeavour to promote according to my best judgment, the cause of Truth, Liberty and Virtue; and any encouragement which can be given me to hope that I have in any instance or degree, been successful in doing this, is the sweetest consolation I can receive in the evening of life.

My Revolution sermon has been received by the Public, in a manner more favourable than I could possibly have expected. I have just been informed from Paris, that five editions of it, have been published there.²

Your correspondence with the High³ Session of Montrose, has amused and instructed me.⁴ It does great honour to your good sense, integrity, and candour, but at the same time, it gives an affecting specimen of the folly, and misery of that Religious bigotry, which often contracts and darkens good

ORIGINAL: Recipient's copy not located. TEXT: Transcript, with the kind permission of the National Library of Scotland.

1. See Alexander Christie to R.P., 1 Apr. 1790.

2. See La Rochefoucauld to R.P., 13 Jan. 1790.

3. A Scotticism for "high."

4. One of his letters runs to twenty-five printed pages, the other to fifty-four. See Short, "William Christie," XIV, 85.

minds. By this publication, and your firmness and perseverance, you are likely to do much good. But what can be said of Dr. McGill?⁵ I think of him almost with tears. How was it possible he should make that recantation⁶ which has been published in the Newspapers? Why could he not have stood out, at least so far, as to have brought his cause before the General Assembly? Had he done this, he would have endeared himself to the friends of Religious Liberty, and might have occasioned a discussion, which would have shaken the foundations of Ecclesiastical Tyranny in Scotland.

What a display of a zeal almost blasphemous, was made when the holy synod returned thanks to God, for maintaining the authority of *their Standards* and enabling them to triumph over the constancy of a worthy Brother? Indeed I cannot express to you the concern, which this event gives to all that I converse with.

I am glad you have mentioned your son⁷ in your letter. I have the pleasure of knowing him; and I respect him much, for his abilities, learning and liberal principles.

My engagements are too many to allow me to think of encreasing my correspondence; but I should have been inexcusable, had I omitted to express my gratitude to you, for the notice you have taken of me. With great respect, and the best wishes, I am, Dear Sir,

Your obliged and very humble servant,
Richd Price

5. See R.P. to James Wodrow, 20 Jan. 1790, n.5.

6. The exact nature and significance of McGill's "recantation" are, not surprisingly, controversial. James Wodrow, for example, writing to his lifelong friend, Samuel Kenrick, denied any recantation: "[M'Gill] did not retract a single sentiment sentence or iota of his publication nor was he required to." See Martin Fitzpatrick, "Varieties of Candour," *Enlightenment and Dissent*, VII, 49. George Grub says, "Dr. M'Gill made an apology for any erroneous or unguarded expressions which he might have used, and declared his readiness to conform to the Standards of the Church." See *An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland* . . . , 4 vols. (Edinburgh, 1861), IV, 146. Henry F. Henderson speaks of McGill's "manly recantation." See *The Religious Controversies of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1905), p. 91. Alexander McNair quotes from the "Proceedings of the very Reverend the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, held at Ayr, 13th and 14th April, 1790:" "I am sorry," said he [M'Gill], "that my publications should have given offence to any of my brethren or to the world. . . . I am sensible that there are ideas contained in these publications which may appear improper, and modes of expression ambiguous and unguarded, particularly respecting the original and essential dignity of the Son of God, the doctrine of the Atonement by His sufferings and death, the priesthood and intercession of Christ, the method of reconciling sinner to God, and subscription to the *Confession of Faith*; all which I hereby disclaim, and for such expressions I am heartily sorry, and hereby declare my belief of these great articles, as they are laid down in the Standards of the Church." McNair finds this, except for the closing declaration, ambiguous, artfully chosen, indefinite, and open to double interpretation. See *Scots Theology in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 100.

7. See Alexander Christie to R.P., 1 Apr. 1790, n.3.

To Theophilus Lindsey

May 14th, 1790.

Dear Mr. Lindsey,

I cannot avoid writing to you to return my best thanks for your second address,¹ and for the very kind notice you have taken of me in it. Your favourable opinion cannot but give me particular pleasure, and I hope I shall never lose it. I am afraid, however, that I shall be in danger of this, when I tell you, that after reading your book carefully, and being instructed by it, I remain unconvinced of the doctrine of the simple humanity of Christ. This must, I doubt, appear to you a striking kind of obstinacy; for I find you think that you have infallibly settled this point; and you sometimes use expressions which imply, that no serious searcher after the truth, who takes his opinion from the Bible, and is of a sound understanding, can embrace a different doctrine. But I know your candour; and you will, I doubt not, consider in my favour, that this is a time of life in which we are under a necessity of making up our minds; and it is my comfort, and whether I have done this on the side of truth or error, I shall be equally accepted, provided I have been serious, honest, and diligent in my inquiries. I wish you, Dear Sir, all happiness, and that the remainder of your useful and valuable life may be crowned with a constant increase of the enjoyments inseparable from exemplary integrity.

I am most affectionately yours,
R. Price

PRINTED: *Memoirs*, 111–12. TEXT: *Memoirs*.

1. See Theophilus Lindsey to R.P., May/June 1788.

From Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld

Paris 15 Mai 1790

Le D. de la Rochefoucauld a l'honneur de présenter les hommages de sa profonde estime au Docteur Price, et de recommander à ses bontés M. Jaume Membre de la Société de 1789.

Il joint ici le Prospectus de Journal de cette Société qui desire bien de contracter une liaison intime avec la Société de la Révolution.

Voici un moment critique entre les deux Nations, la notre veut la Paix, mais

ORIGINAL: Cyfarthfa Castle Museum. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Cyfarthfa Castle Museum.

elle la veut sans craindre la guerre. Notre révolution est au point de n'avoir pas à redouter cette commotion; la même force d'opinion publique qui a commencé cette heureuse révolution ne la laissera pas s'échapper.

Le D. de la Rochefoucauld est obligé de quitter le Docteur, pour l'Assemblée, ou l'on traitera peut être dès à présent la question constitutionnelle du Droit de Paix, de Guerre et d'Alliance.

Translation

Paris 15 May 1790

The D. de la Rochefoucauld has the honor of presenting the testimony of his profound esteem to Doctor Price, and of recommending to his good graces M. Jaume,¹ a member of the Society of 1789.

He encloses the Prospectus of the Journal of that Society² which wishes strongly to develop an intimate relationship with the Society of the Revolution.

Now is a critical moment between the two nations, ours wants Peace, but wants it without the fear of war. Our revolution is to the point that it need not fear such upheaval; the same force of public opinion that began this fortunate revolution will not let it fail.

The D. de la Rochefoucauld is obliged to leave the Doctor for the Assembly where we will perhaps even today deal with the constitutional question of the Law of Peace, of War and of Alliance.³

1. François-Thomas Jaume (1750–?) or Honoré-Henry (1761–?). Biographical sources say both men were citizens of Grasse (Var) and in 1789 deputies for Toulon in the third estate. In Augustin Challamel, *Les Clubs Contre-Révolutionnaires* (Paris, 1895), p. 408, M. Jaume is listed as a member of Société de 1789, living at rue Traversière, 21, but is not identified further, other than also being a member of the Club de Feuillants.

2. Published with the first number of the *Journal de la Société de 1789* on 5 June 1790, pp. 1–8. It also appeared in *Règlements de la Société de 1789 et Liste de Ses Membres* (Paris, 1790).

3. In May 1790 the National Assembly debated the constitutional question, "La nation doit-elle déléguer au roi l'exercice du droit de la paix et de la guerre?" See *Archive Parlementaires de 1787 à 1860*, for 16 May 1790, p. 256. As a result of the debates, the assembly made the king's right to declare war subject to legislative approval.

To John Dun¹

Hackney near London may 20th 1790

Dear Sir,

It was a long time after the date of your letter² that I received your two volumes of sermons.³ Accept my thanks for an instance of attention which I had so little reason to expect. I find with pleasure that on political points we think nearly alike; and, though on some Theological points our opinions are different, this is of little consequence provided candour and charity are maintained. You enquire, whether, as your second Jubilee Sermon is dedicated to the President of the Revolution Society in London it would not be right to make Earl Stanhope a present of your sermons. This would, I doubt not, be taken kindly; but it seems to me that it is not necessary. Earl Stanhope was Chairman of the company at the Feast on the 4th of November;⁴ but he is not properly the Chairman of the Society; and tho' a Nobleman of a very respectable character and the best public principles, he seldom, I believe, reads or even attends sermons.

My time being much engaged and my health and spirits but indifferent, I hope you will excuse a short letter and believe me to be with the best wishes and sincere regard

Your obliged and humble servant
Richd Price

It is now about six weeks since I received your letter and the two volumes of your sermons, and I am sorry I have not acknowledged the reception of them sooner. Your second Volume contains an interesting History and both volumes much serious and good advice.

ORIGINAL: Yale University Library. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Yale University Library.

1. John Dun (1724–92). Educated at the University of Edinburgh, chaplain in the family of Alexander Boswell, and tutor to James Boswell for about four years (1748–52). He left when he was ordained minister of Auchinleck where he remained until his death. See *The Correspondence of James Boswell and John Johnston of Grange*, ed. Ralph S. Walker (New York, n.d.), p. 91n.

2. Not located.

3. *Sermons*, 2 vols. (Kilmarnock, 1790).

4. See R.P. to Lansdowne, 30 Oct. 1788, n.6.

From Alexander Christie

Montrose 20 May 1790

Reverend and Dear Sir,

For such from the sincerity of my heart can I call you, not only from the great benefit I have received from your writings, but on account of the attention and honour shewn me, by your kind and instructive letter.¹

I am happy that my conduct with regard to the Hich Session here, and the publication thereof, with the selections from other authors annexed thereto, meets so much your approbation.

Believe me my good Sir, I am more proud of your esteem than that of many thousands. The good opinion of one thinking, upright Man of abilities is of more consequence and importance than sometimes that of a whole Nation, who are often led like the silly herd, and often too by persons of but little real worth. The best of Men experienced of how little moment popular applause is—Hosannah the one day, and Crucify the other. His followers need not expect more. Therefore I have ever study'd to gain the good opinion of the thinking few than that of the inconsiderable many.

I have spread my publication generally over Scotland, amongst my friends, although many of them of very *different* sentiments—and I have the satisfaction of receiving the cordial thanks and approbation of all ranks of Men but the Bigots in our established Church, who are either quite silent, or write me in a dry and fretted style. They are much hurt by it, for it is read universally, and tends to encourage them to *assert* the liberty, wherewith Christ has made them free. If it is of any service in this respect, happy shall I be, nor shall I ever be concerned for the trouble and expence I have been put to.

I was pretty certain, that your Revolution Sermon would be favourably received both at home and abroad, even before I heard of the extraordinary and rapid demand for it. I was sure that was the case, from the alarm it gave, and the opposition made to it by *Bigots* and *high Churchmen*. Had you never done more for Mankind at large, than the publishing of that single sermon, that masterly piece of composition, that almost divine work, in favour of the Civil and Religious Liberties of Men, you had not lived nor laboured in vain, and had mett with more solid and universal applause, from the Good and the Great, than falls to the lot of most, even the best of Men; besides the pleasing reflection, of having *sown* that good Seed, which will in due time grow up to Maturity, and transform almost Brutes into Men and Men almost into Angels, and make Millions yet unborn call you Blessed.

ORIGINAL: Recipient's copy not located. TEXT: Transcript, with the kind permission of the National Library of Scotland.

1. See R.P. to Alexander Christie, 11 May 1790.

Alas, alas! for Dr Macgill! he has much hurt the Friends of Religious Liberty, and given a triumph to their Enemies. His sun is set at noon. He is fallen to rise no more here, and has lost himself with both sides, unless like good *Cranmer*² he recant, return to the charge, and with Humility and Sorrow, confess to the Public at large, that like Peter in the hour of temptation, he was unawares overcome, and deserted his Master's cause but now is returned to his Duty and determined to witness for the Truth although he should suffer the loss of all things.

I am not personally acquainted with Dr M——, my Son was, and introduced him to me in the way of Correspondence, and I procured him many subscriptions for his book.³ I have exchanged sundry letters with him since the Synods attack upon him, in all which I endeavoured to make him fight the good fight of Faith. I send you inclosed [a] Copy of a letter which I wrote him on the 10th April, and must have come to his hand the day before he recanted and, after the Popish manner, set aside the Scriptures from being the Explainers of themselves, by declaring "that the Standards of the Church of Scotland, are the *only* authoritative interpreters of the sacred Scriptures" as also his belief of *all the Articles* laid down in the Confession of Faith. My letter however, has not had the effect upon him I meant it to have had—but I am happy that thereby I did to him what I conceived to be my Duty. I send you inclosed *in confidence* a copy of his answer to mine—to which I shall reply at leisure, and however painful it will be to me, I shall not bely the Truth, but do one of the best although the hardest duties of human Life—*correcting my friend*.

Permit me to offer my best wishes for your present and future happiness. May your valuable Life be lengthened out for the good of many—and, like a shock of Corn, in due season, may you be brought to your Grave laden with Honour, ripe for Glory, and so enter upon the joys of your Lord welcomed by thousands, to whom you have been eminently useful, and who will add unto your Crown of Glory in that day when God maketh up his Jewels. I am with the most sincere regard, Dear Sir,

Yours most sincerely,
Alexandr Christie

2. Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556), archbishop of Canterbury, who, at the last moment before death at the stake, retracted his previous recantations of the Protestant faith.

3. *A Practical Essay on the Death of Jesus Christ*.

From Louis-Felix Guinement de Keralio¹

Paris 29 May 1790

Dear Sir,

Before I had received your last letter² I was enjoying the tracts with which you have favoured me. Pray, accept my very sincere acknowledgement of so precious a present; I will make use of them for my own and some other's improvement.

Permit me to send you another pamphlet on the liberty of the press,³ I have newly published. The paper on the same matter, you have kindly received, I had written it hastily, at the moment wherein the question was ready to be moved in the national assembly. Then our publick-spirited writer arose against any regulation whatsoever, which would restrain the liberty of the press: and I then also throwed amongst their thoughts some general ones. But afterwards, thinking as you, Sir, no order of zeal can be too great for the preservation of it, I have holden to be conducive to the publick benefit, to handle this important matter more groundly and particularly: this consideration has produced these sheets I offer you.

We wrestle always with the ministry's despotism the nobility's prejudice and arrogance, their parliamentary spite, the clerical rage, the fanaticism of some poor mobs, misled by monks, priests, bishops, who would adore Mahomet, if he would relinquish them their superfluous and luxurious goods. Undoubtedly now you know, sir, that the national assembly has retained the right of war and peace. She was strongly inclined to it; but, if she had not made it, a new insurrection in Paris was indubitable. The will of the french nation is to have a constitution and no war: the will of the french ministry is to engage the nation into a war, at home or abroad, that she may not have a constitution. We do hope their struggle may become ineffectual, and the englishmen and even the english ministers, far from helping them in such inhumane and sanguinary plots, will reject them with horror. The french people does esteem and love the english people, much more than any other, and we are pleased to think that those sentiments are reciprocal, chiefly on present. We have rivaled, as long as we have been mistaken by our leaders, according to their selfish and savage passions. It is time, more than enough, those mistaken be leaded by us according to our common and human reason.

ORIGINAL: Cyfarthfa Castle Museum. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Cyfarthfa Castle Museum.

1. See La Rochefoucauld to R.P., 13 Jan. 1790, n.7.

2. Not located.

3. Probably *De la Liberté d'enoncer, d'écrire, et d'imprimer la pensée* (Paris, 1790), or *De la liberté de la Presse* (Paris, 1790).

Pray sir, do me the favour of sending to the earl Stanhope the copy here annexed with all my homages and respects

I am, dear sir, with great acknowledgements and respect

Your obliged and very humble servant,
De Keralio

Pray, sir, transmit this letter to Mr Stone;⁴ it is of our worthy representant M. Rabaud de St. Etienne⁵

4. Probably John Hurford Stone.

5. In *Memoirs* William Morgan published an extract from a letter he implies was written by Rabaud de St. Étienne to Richard Price (see pp. 159–60). Among the Cyfarthfa manuscripts there is an English translation of a letter from Rabaud de St. Étienne, not dated in the manuscript but approximately datable to July 1790, that contains this extract and some more. The recipient is not known but could not have been Price, despite Morgan, since the author asks the recipient “to present my respectful homage to your celebrated friend Dr. Price. . . .” Keralio’s postscript suggests that it could have been John Hurford Stone.

To Benjamin Franklin

[Shorthand draft]

[c. 30 May 1790]

My dear Friend,

I writ to you in March last¹ and accompanied my letter with a discourse² which I hope you have received. I cannot help taking the opportunity which Mr Will[iams’s]³ return to *America* offers me to write again a line to you to return you my best thanks for that account of your life⁴ which with your permission Mr Vaughan⁵ has allowed me to peruse and which indeed I have

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Shorthand draft, written on Franklin’s letter to Price, 31 May 1789. PRINTED: “Journal,” pp. 397–98. TEXT: Transcription from draft, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. We have not been able to trace any letter written by Price to Franklin in March 1790.

2. *A Discourse on the Love of our Country*.

3. Jonathan Williams (1750–1815), a merchant, was the grandson of Franklin’s sister Anne.

4. In 1789 Franklin’s grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, prepared two copies of the three parts of his autobiography Franklin had finished. Franklin sent one copy to Benjamin Vaughan in England asking him to show it to Price. He sent the other to La Rochefoucauld for delivery to Louis Guillaume Le Veillard, mayor of Passy, asking all four men to give him their opinions whether it should be published and what alterations should be made. For the subsequent history of the manuscripts, see *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* (New Haven, Conn., 1964), ed. L. W. Labaree et al., pp. 26–40, and “at the appropriate place in a future volume of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, not yet published.”

5. Benjamin.

read with particular pleasure and satisfaction. *Mr Vaughan* will probably send you some remarks but none have occurred to me that I can think worth communicating to you. Your life has been so distinguished that your account of it must, were it made public, excite much curiosity and be read with eagerness, and it is agreeable to look forward to the good it must do. It is writ with an agreeable sense of *pleasantry* and many parts of it convey the most important instruction by showing in a striking example how talents when tied to industry, prudence and integrity may elevate us from obscurity to the first consequence and eminence. I cannot however help wishing that the qualities and talents which produced this eminence had been aided by a faith in Christianity and the animating hopes of a resurrection to an endless life with which it inspires. Had this been the case such talents and qualities would I fancy have [been] raised to still greater eminence. But indeed is it not wonderful that the nonsense that has been mistaken for Christianity and the liberality generally encountered with the profession of it should render many wise and upright men *averse* to them. Nor do I think that such will suffer in any other way than by losing in this life a satisfaction and an additional spur to eminence for a character which they might have derived from their bright views of the government of the world and those boundless hopes which true religion communicates. But I am afraid I have reason to apologise for writing thus to you. I have no doubt of the equal happiness hereafter of all equally virtuous men and honest inquirers, whether they have or have not been attended with a feeling of difficulties, whatever their faith has been and I wish I was myself better than I am by the faith I profess. A faith, however, in most instance only a *preponderance*, greater or less, in favour of particular points.

I have heard with great concern of your ill-health and wish it may not prevent you from going on with the account of your life. Having been witness to and actively concerned in bringing about two of the most important revolutions that ever took place in the world, it is extremely desirable that your health and your life may be preserved to see it down to the present time. I cannot express to you the satisfaction that the proceedings in France continue to give me. They seem a prelude to happier times than any this world has yet seen. And the last determination, the account of which is just arrived here—that the right of declaring peace and war shall belong to the nation and not to the King, and that they renounce for ever all offensive wars—exhibits an example to the world which may produce the time when the aspirations (?) of Kings and the intrigues of court will be no longer capable of kindling the flame of war and delighting the rich.⁶

I know what it is from my own experience how burdensome it is to have a

6. Price notes in his Journal for 23 May 1790 that his “revolution discourse” is applauded in Paris and has gone through five editions. He also expresses hope that he has contributed to the spirit of liberty in France and anxiety about the locus of the power of war and peace. This draft was apparently written after 22 May 1790 when the National Assembly determined that the king could not declare war or peace without the consent of the assembly.

multiplicity of letters to write. I would not therefore encumber you by desiring you to write to me. Should I by any means hear that you are tolerably well and going on with your important history and also that I retain a place in your favorable remembrance I shall be satisfied and happy. I continue to enjoy as much health as well as a man of weak(?) constitution [at] my age can well expect. My spirits however often fail me and all business becomes more and more a burden to me. I am often thinking of withdrawing into some distant corner in order to spend the remainder of my life as much as possible in obscurity and quietness.

I am, my dear Friend, with the warmest affection and the greatest respect.
[draft, no signature]

But indeed I cannot wonder that the liberality which commonly encountered with regard [to] and the nonsense which is commonly mistaken for Christianity should render many wise and honest men averse to them

Nor do I think that such men will suffer in any other way than by a loss in this world of satisfaction inspired (?) from the boundless hopes and bright views of the Divine Government. I have no doubt of the equal happiness hereafter of all equally honest and virtuous men

From Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld

Paris, 6 Juin, 1790

Le D. de la Rochefoucauld profite du départ de M. Taylor pour avoir l'honneur de répondre au Docteur Price; il a donné le Prospectus pour le faire annoncer dans nos papiers publics.

Mais il recoit avec inquietude l'annonce d'une lettre que le Docteur lui a écrite il y a six semaines et qui en contenoit une de M. Turgot; ni l'une ni l'autre ne sont parvenues, et il prie le Docteur de lui donner quelques renseignements plus précis pour les retrouver, s'il se peut.

Il a l'honneur de lui envoyer deux exemplaires du 1^{er} N° du Journal de la Société de 1789, dont il le prie de présenter un à la Société de la Révolution.

Il desire bien que la Paix ne soit pas troublée par une petite querelle de commerce.

Il n'a pu voir qu'une fois M. Taylor, mais il a cherché à lui témoigner l'impression qu'il aura toujours à accueillir les personnes qui lui seront recommandées par le Philosophe estimable à qui le liberté doit tant, il le prie d'agréer le sincère hommage de son bien véritable attachement,

Translation

Paris 6 June, 1790

The D. de la Rochefoucauld takes advantage of M. Taylor's¹ departure to have the honor of responding to Doctor Price; he has arranged for the Prospectus to be announced in our public papers.

But he receives with concern the news of a letter that the Doctor wrote him six weeks ago and that contained a letter of M. Turgot; neither has reached him, and he begs the Doctor to give him some more precise information so that he can recover them, if it is possible.

He has the honor of sending him two copies of the first number of the Journal of the Society of 1789,² and he requests him to present one to the Society of the Revolution.

He desires strongly that the Peace not be troubled by a small commercial quarrel.³

He was able to see Mr. Taylor only once, but he endeavoured to show him the eagerness with which he will always welcome the people recommended to him by the estimable Philosopher to whom Liberty owes so much, and he begs him to accept the sincere testimony of his deep affection.

1. William Taylor (1765–1863) went to France on 9 May 1790 and “kissed the earth on the land of liberty” at Calais. He attended the debates of the National Assembly and returned to England in June. Only twenty-five years old, he later was known as “Taylor-of-Norwich” and became famous as poet, translator, and literary critic.

2. The first number of the journal was dated 5 June 1790. Fifteen numbers were published, the last on 4 Sept. 1790. Keith M. Baker says that the journal “lacked funds and had little influence. The state of the journal was indicative of the state of the society as a whole.” “Politics and Social Science in Eighteenth-Century France: The ‘Société de 1789,’” in Bosher, ed., *French Government and Society, 1500–1850*, p. 266.

3. La Rochefoucauld probably refers to the Nootka Sound crisis. This involved France only indirectly but still reached a point that peace was indeed troubled.

Originally made known to the world by Captain James Cook, Nootka Sound is a small inlet on the western shore of Vancouver Island. It became a center of the fur trade between China and the northwest coast and attracted expeditions from Spain and England, which, not surprisingly, came into conflict. When the Spanish seized English ships, destroyed buildings, and dispossessed land, Parliament voted £1 million as a military credit, and both nations prepared for war. Spain turned to France and other allies for help but, receiving none, despite some apparent efforts by Mirabeau (whose sincerity in the matter has been questioned), in the end signed the Nootka Convention, which opened a new era of the North Pacific. The crisis was at its peak about the time of La Rochefoucauld's letter, had officially been resolved by the following Oct., but dragged on until a final settlement in Mar. 1795. See J. Steven Watson, *The Reign of George III, 1760–1815* (Oxford, 1960), p. 296. See William R. Manning, “The Nootka Sound Controversy,” *American Historical Association, Annual Report 1904* (Washington, D.C., 1905), pp. 279–478; and “Journal,” pp. 394, 412, n.125.

To Mr [Isaac] Ledyard¹

Hackney near London June 19th 1790

Sir

I think myself obliged to you for the kind civilities in the letter² which I received from you some weeks ago; and I wish it was in my power to procure for you the Manuscripts mentioned in it. I have apply'd with this view to Mr Beaufoy; but he tells me that he cannot think himself warranted to give up the Journal in his possession without being assured that he will be subject to no future application for it from the heirs of Mr Ledyard the traveller.³ None of the papers which you wish to obtain can be had without the consent of Sir Joseph Banks and the other Gentlemen who have contributed to bear the expences of Mr Ledyard's travels,⁴ and possibly you may obtain them by a petition sanctioned by respectable names in America, and particularly by such names as those you have mentioned, or Mr Adams's and Mr Jay's. I suppose

ORIGINAL: New York Historical Society. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the New York Historical Society.

1. Isaac Ledyard (1754–1803), medical doctor, author, first cousin of John Ledyard the Traveler. Before writing to Price for help, Isaac wrote to Joseph Banks on 29 Jan. 1790 saying that John the Traveler wanted him to publish an account of his travels, requesting his journals, and also patronage for the project. Banks replied that John had left the journal of his Siberian journey with Beaufoy, to be returned if he came back from Africa, but, in the case of his death, to be retained as a testimony of gratitude for favors received. The journal of his observations between England and Cairo, consisting almost entirely of information concerning Africa collected from people he met, was considered by the Africa Association to be its property. See *The Banks Letters*, ed. Warren R. Dawson (London, 1958), pp. 525–26.

2. Not located.

3. John Ledyard the Traveler (1751–88?), adventurer, explorer, journalist, sailed with Captain James Cook on his third voyage. His journal of that voyage includes the only eyewitness account of Cook's death. After various proposals for travel and exploration were nearly fulfilled but then frustrated, he started a walking tour across Siberia, hoping eventually to get to Nootka Sound and travel across North America to Virginia, making contributions to the opening of trade in the Pacific Northwest in the process. He reached Yakutsk before he was turned back and deported. In London he was again befriended by Sir Joseph Banks, met Henry Beaufoy, and was engaged by the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa. He visited Thomas Jefferson, who thought highly of him, on his way to Alexandria and then to Cairo to prepare for his travels where he died unexpectedly after a fit of anger and an overdose of vitriol intended as a cure. The exact date of his death is controversial. *The Dictionary of American Biography* specifies 10 Jan. 1789. Correspondence of Jefferson, Banks, Beaufoy, and Thomas Paine, however, place it in late November 1788. See *Jefferson*: Boyd, XV, 197–99. Dawson, editor of *The Banks Letters*, says 17 Jan. 1789 (p. 252).

4. In addition to the financial support provided by Banks on several earlier occasions, the "other Gentlemen" presumably include the 140 members of the Africa Association. Among them were many who appear in Price's correspondence, Lord Daer, Dr. Lettsom, William Pitt, Benjamin Vaughan, and the Earl of Wycombe.

Mr Beaufoy may himself have written to you on this subject.⁵ He has no reason for doubting that you are the person you say you are; but having never before heard of you, he expects I believe to receive some farther information about you. Wishing you success in the work you are undertaking I am, Dear Sir,

Your very obedient and humble servant
Richd Price

5. If Beaufoy wrote to Isaac Ledyard, it has not come to light. As secretary of the Africa Association, he made extensive use of Ledyard the Traveler's journals in *Proceedings of the Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa* (London, 1790). See especially chaps. I and II. At one point Ledyard writes "it is singular that the Arab language has no word for Liberty although it has one for Slaves" (p. 33).

Ledyard the Traveler's journals or other papers presumably remain the possession of the Africa Association in accordance with the regulation in the bylaws: "that the Committee will not disclose, except to the Members of the Association at large, such intelligence as they shall, from time to time, receive from the persons who shall be sent out on the business of Discovery . . . without endangering the object of their Association . . ." (p. vii).

To Benjamin Rush

Hackney June 19 1790

Dear Sir,

I am hardly able to tell you how kindly I take the letters, with which you favour me. Your last, containing the account of the death of our excellent Friend, Dr. Franklin, and the circumstances attending it, deserves my particular gratitude.¹ I had just finished reading an account of his life² which he had sent to be perused by me and my Friend Mr. B. Vaughan: and I had, in consequence of having read it writ to him³ by his Nephew Mr Jonathan Williams, who, I suppose, is now at sea going for America. Should that letter get into the hands of any of his relations or friends it may very well be open'd for it contains nothing secret. I have been long happy in his friendship, and I have always thought myself honoured by it. The account which he has left of his life will show, in a striking example, how a man by talents, industry, and integrity, may rise from obscurity, to the first eminence, and consequence in the world; but it brings his history no lower than the year 1757, and I

ORIGINAL: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Library Company of Philadelphia. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

1. See Benjamin Rush to R.P., 24 Apr. 1790.

2. See R.P. to Benjamin Franklin, c. 30 May 1790, n.5.

3. See shorthand draft dated c. 30 May 1790.

understand that, since he sent over the copy which I have read, he has been able to make no additions to it. It is with a melancholy regret I think of his death; but to death we are all bound by the irreversible order of nature, and in looking forward to it, there is comfort in being able to reflect, that we have not lived in vain, and that all the useful and virtuous shall meet in a better country, beyond the grave. Dr Franklin, in the last letter I received from him,⁴ after mentioning his age and infirmities, observes, that it has been kindly order'd by the author of nature, that, as we draw nearer to the conclusion of life, we are furnished with more helps to wean us from it, among which, one of the strongest is the loss of dear friends.

I was delighted with the account you give, in your letter, of the honour shewn to his memory at Philadelphia, and by Congress; and yesterday I received a high additional pleasure, by being informed, that the National Assembly of France had determined to go into mourning for him.⁵ What a glorious scene is open'd there. The annals of the world furnish no parallel to it. One of the honours of our departed friend is, that he has contributed much to it.

The person by whom I send this letter to New York goes off tomorrow,⁶ and I have not time to say more to you. A disposition to be burden'd by my engagements grows upon me with age and is encreased by very weak spirits. This often makes me less punctual than I ought to be in my correspondence; but I rely on your candour, and hope you will continue to me your favorable remembrance, and always believe me to be, with great respect, your obliged and very obedient servant,

Richd Price

We are at present threatened here with a War with Spain, and a little dispute about commerce, may possibly produce calam[ity] to both countries, for which no commerce can be a compens[ation].⁷ We are also in the middle of the heat of a general Election, and this country exhibits now, a sad scene of bribery, riot, and corruption.

4. See Benjamin Franklin to R.P., 31 May 1789.

5. See La Rochefoucauld to R.P., 21 June 1780, n.2.

6. The cover carries a note: "Received in London in July 1790 and forwarded by, Sir, your very humble servant Sam Broome New York 25 Octr. 1790."

7. The dispute over Nootka Sound. See La Rochefoucauld to R.P., 6 June 1790, n.3.

From Le Duc de La Rochefoucauld

Paris 21 Juin, 1790

M. De la Rochefoucauld profite avec empressement d'une occasion qu'il trouve pour remercier le Docteur Price de la lettre du 14 Mai qu'il lui a fait l'honneur de lui écrire; il seroit bien affligé que la lettre de M. Turgot fut perdue, et il espère encore que celui que le Docteur en a charge s'acquittera plus tard de cette commission.

Le Docteur est surement bien douloureusement affligé de la perte que l'humanité vient de faire du Grand franklyn; il aura appris avec sensibilité l'hommage que l'Assemblée Nationale lui a rendu.

M. de la Rochefoucauld prend la liberté de lui envoyer un tribut de son amitié, dont il le prie de présenter de sa part un exemplaire de la Société de la Révolution; et un au Comte de Stanhope, ainsi que les deux Numeros du Journal de 1789.

Il rend mille graces au Docteur de ses honnêtetés pour M^{rs} de St. Vallier, Patricot et pour le bon Abbé Rochon.

Il desire bien ardemment que les semences de division entre leurs deux Nations ne produisent pas une guerre, et il supplie le Docteur d'agreer l'hommage de son estime et de son attachement.

ORIGINAL: Cyfarthfa Castle Museum. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Cyfarthfa Castle Museum.

Translation

Paris 21 June, 1790

M. de la Rochefoucauld eagerly takes advantage of an opportunity he has found to thank Doctor Price for the letter of 14 May that he did him the honor of writing to him; he would be very distressed if the letter of M. Turgot were lost, and he still hopes that the one to whom the Doctor entrusted it will later fulfill this commission.¹

The Doctor is surely most grievously distressed by the loss that mankind has just suffered [by the death of] the Great franklyn; he will have learned with emotion of the homage that the National Assembly paid him.²

1. See La Rochefoucauld to R.P., 6 June 1790.

2. Mirabeau delivered a brief but highly laudatory eulogy of Franklin to the National Assembly on 11 June 1790. His recommendation that the assembly observe a period of

M. de la Rochefoucauld takes the liberty of sending him a tribute of his regards, and he requests him to present on his behalf one copy to the society of the Revolution; and another to Count Stanhope,³ as well as two Numbers of the Journal of 1789.

He thanks the Doctor deeply for his courtesy towards M. de St. Vallier, Patricot and towards the good Abbot Rochon.

He desires ardently that the seeds of division between their two Nations not produce a war, and he beseeches the Doctor to accept the token of his esteem and of his affection.

mourning for three days was seconded by La Rochefoucauld and Lafayette and accepted by acclamation. See *Archives Parlementaires*, vol. 16, pp. 170–71.

3. Possibly "Letter from the Members of the Patriotic Union of the Town and Castleward of Lisle, to the Chairman and Members of the Revolution Society in London" (Lisle, 1789); or "Resolution of Thanks from the Patriotic Society at Dijon, transmitted by M. l'Abbé Volsius, the Chairman, to Earl Stanhope, Chairman of the Revolution Society" (Dijon, 1789). See Appendix to *Discourse*, pp. 21–29.

To Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld¹

[Extract]

London, July 2, 1790

. . . that you have urged me to leave this week for Paris in order to be present at the ceremony of the 14th. That will be without doubt a most glorious day and it ought to contribute greatly to sustaining the patriotic ardour which has freed France from bondage. The Society of the Revolution had intended to send a deputation to assist in that great occasion in order to witness how much it captures the joy and triumph that the day inspires in all the friends of human happiness and liberty, but the season and circumstances do not permit us to assemble the members necessary for that important step.

Permit me, Sir, to share your grief at the death of Dr Franklin. I have learned with great pleasure of the honour that the National Assembly has rendered to his memory, I do not think they could have done anything more fitting.

I am very satisfied with the declaration of the National Assembly in which they denounce all war undertaken with the aim of conquest. It is good for a country so abundantly provided with all the means of defense to assign its

PRINTED: *Journal de la Société de 1789*, no. 7 (17 July 1790), 45–47. TEXT: *Journal de la Société de 1789*.

1. This is a translation from the French of a published extract of a letter from Price to La Rochefoucauld. It is, we believe, close to Price's original.

forces to that one use, and to be content with the glory and inner happiness which it ought to draw from a constitution which must seem to be, in the highest degree, favorable to the advancement and true interests of the human race. . . .

Lord Wycombe left for Paris last week. Many others of my friends have gone also in order to be there on the 14th. I can hardly imagine a scene which would bring me as much pleasure as that day will give; and I would have certainly yielded to the solicitations of my friends to be with them there as a spectator if the low state of my health did not render me incapable of enduring the difficulty and fatigue of the journey. . . .

Everything will depend on the 14th on the vigilance of the Marquis de la Fayette. What an excellent and distinguished citizen he is! I remember the enthusiasm and warmth with which he defended American liberty when he was in London during the war with America. He did not doubt then that he would one day effectively contribute to giving liberty, not only to America, but to his own country.

P.S. I am presently occupied with many of my friends in making preparations to celebrate the 14th of this month with a public dinner. This morning was published the enclosed announcement. Lord Stanhope will preside if private matters with which he is now occupied do not prevent it.

[no signature]

[To Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld]

[Shorthand draft]¹

July 15th 1790

Dear Sir,

It is with particular pleasure that I take the first opportunity to inform you by the post that our public dinner on Wednesday last² has been attended by a most numerous and respectable company of gentlemen.³

ORIGINAL: Shorthand draft at Cyfarthfa Castle Museum. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Trustees of Cyfarthfa Castle Museum.

1. Apparently only this shorthand draft has survived. From La Rochefoucauld's reply dated 29 July 1790, however, we know that he received from Price a fair copy of a letter substantially the same as this one.

2. Wednesday, 14 July 1790.

3. Six hundred and fifty-two men, "friends of liberty," met at the Crown and Anchor Tavern to commemorate the first anniversary of the fall of the Bastille. As Price has occasion to point out in his letter of 14 Oct. 1790 to La Rochefoucauld, this group of "Friends of the Revolution in France" is not the same as "The Revolution Society," that is, "The Society for Commemorating the Revolution [of 1688] in Great Britain."

Earl Stanhope was in the chair and it was not possible we should have a better chairman.⁴ The burst [] of applause with which the toast⁵ was accompanied cannot be described and nothing could be more encouraging or animating than the [] and zeal discovered by 652 gentlemen on this occasion.

The enclosed paper⁶ will inform you of many of the particulars. My address introductory to one of the toasts I have given on the next page nearly as it was delivered.⁷ There were two other toasts to which I was intended to speak but the interruption occasioned by Mr *Horn Took*⁸ and mentioned in the enclosed papers produced a clamour that left me no opportunity for it. This interruption also prevented the drinking of several toasts that had been previously proposed and agreed upon by the stewards. Some of these I have transcribed. I was one of the three persons *deputed* by the other stewards to apply to the French Ambassador⁹ to request that he would honour us by his attendance. We have much reason to thank him for his polite attention to our request. His heart he assured me was with us, but it happened unfortunately for us that in consequence of a previous indispensable arrangement it was not in his power to comply with our wishes.

I am impatient to know how the grand rejoicing at *Paris* yesterday has been

4. Besides presiding, Stanhope also praised the French for improving on the English Constitution.

5. Price proposed the toast, "An Alliance between France and Great Britain for perpetuating peace, and making the world happy."

6. Probably a copy of the printed program that gave details of the society, stewards, sequence of events, and the like.

7. In his introductory address Price said that a long period of peace was necessary to reduce Britain's debts, and an alliance with France was the best way to ensure such peace. This union of freedom-loving people, he claimed, would draw Holland, other countries, and the United States of America into a confederation that would "be able to say to contending nations PEACE, and there will be PEACE." *Discourse on the Love of our Country*, 4th ed., *Appendix*, pp. 35–37.

8. John Horne Tooke (1736–1812), educated at Cambridge, ordained a priest in 1760, but preferred a career in law, which he never achieved. From the first he was an "original," controversial and involved in controversy of one kind or another much of his life; politician, political activist, linguist, student of language and meaning, philologist, philosophical grammarian, author, host. Price collaborated with him in writing *Facts: Addressed to the Landholders, Stockholders, Merchants . . . and . . . all the Subjects of Great Britain* (London, 1780).

On this occasion, according to the report in *Correspondence of the Revolution Society*, he rose to call attention to the difference between the French and British governments but was shouted down. According to his biographer, "when Mr. Sheridan moved a resolution highly complimentary to the French Revolution, he [Horne Tooke] expressed a strong desire that some qualifying expression might be added to this general motion of approbation and insisted 'that the English nation had only to maintain and improve the constitution which their ancestors have transmitted to them.' This position, although at first opposed with tumult and vehemence, in consequence of his arguments and perseverance, was at length carried unanimously." Alexander Stephens, *Memoirs of John Horne Tooke, Interspersed with Original Documents*, 2 vols. (London, 1813), II, 112–13.

9. Anne-César de la Luzerne. See Benjamin Franklin to R.P., 31 May 1789, n.3.

conducted and hope to be soon informed by the return of some of my friends from thence.

I have just received your letter¹⁰ with the three pamphlets that accompanied it.¹¹

I shall take care to deliver those intended for Earl *Stanhope* and our Revolution Society. Your discourse on Dr *F[ranklin]*¹² has particularly interested and delighted me. The manner in which you mention me in it does me an honour which I feel very much. It is far [] from being easy for me to tell you with how much affection and reverence for your character I am your obliged

[draft, no signature]

10. See La Rochefoucauld to R.P., 21 June 1790.

11. Probably some of the pamphlets La Rochefoucauld wrote as a member of a committee on finance established by the National Assembly.

12. Extrait du Journal de la Société de 1789. Dans le comité-général de discussion, tenu 13 juin à la Société de 1789, m. de la Rochefoucauld, député de Paris à l'Assemblée, a lu le morceau suivant sur Benjamin Franklin (Paris?, 1789?).

The point of "interest and delight" was probably La Rochefoucauld's statement that of the Europeans who applied themselves to politics, Price, Turgot, and Condorcet were, with him, among the few who understood and approved Franklin's views on a single legislative body and a plural executive. See William Temple Franklin, ed., *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin* . . . 3 vols. (London, 1817-18), I, 303-4. Thanks to Kate Ohno for this reference and a photocopy.

From Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld

Paris 29 Juillet, 1790

Dear Sir,

Je profite d'une occasion que me procure M. Jaume pour vous assurer la réception de l'Adresse de votre Assemblée d'Amis de la Liberté réuni le 14 Juillet: l'Assemblée Nationale l'a recue avec applaudissemens, et son Président a été chargé d'écrire au Comte de Stanhope pour le lui témoigner.

Les details de cette intéressante fête ont fait un grand plaisir à tous ceux de nos Patriotes à qui je les ai communiqués, et nous les avons donnés au Public dans le Journal de 1789: nous avons eu bien du regret en apprenant votre projet de venir assister avec nous à la fédération, c'eut été une belle chose que de voir l'illustre Richard Price à cette fête civique; mais vous l'avez célébrée à Londres, et d'une maniere bien propre à propager l'esprit et les sentimens de liberté, de patriotisme et de bienveillance générale qui doivent animer tous les honnêtes gens de toutes les Nations.

J'ai été bien aise de voir M. Smith et M. Vaughan, mais bien fâché de ne pouvoir pas procurer à Mr Williams des billets d'Assemblée: sa lettre est venue me chercher à la campagne où pour la première fois depuis quinze mois j'avois été passer trois jours: je vous prie de lui en témoigner tous mes regrets et de recevoir les assurances d'un sincère attachement avec lequel j'ai l'honneur d'être

Dear Sir,
Votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur,
La Rochefoucauld.

Translation

Paris 29 July, 1790

Dear Sir,

I take advantage of an opportunity provided me by M. Jaume to assure you of the reception of the Address of your Assembly of the Friends of liberty which met on July 14:¹ the National Assembly received it with applause, and its President has been charged to write to Count Stanhope to bear witness to it.²

1. See R.P. to La Rochefoucauld, shorthand draft of 15 July 1790, n.3.

2. In his letter to La Rochefoucauld, by whom the addresses were presented to the National Assembly, Stanhope explicitly mentions only the address by Sheridan, which was actually an extension and support of Price's, and it is the one that appears in *Archives Parlementaires* for 21 July 1790; but it is clear from the letter to Price from the District of Quimper (see 4 Aug. 1790) that Price's address was presented to the National Assembly as well.

Both addresses were received with applause and acclamation, although, interestingly, each of them inspired an attempted expression of qualification. In the first case, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, this attempt was made by Horne Tooke (see R.P. to La Rochefoucauld, shorthand draft of 15 July 1790, n.7). In the National Assembly, a M. de Foucault raised the issue that a private society could not enter into correspondence with a national body, but was shouted down (see *Archive Parlementaires de 1787-1860*, ser. 1, vol. 17, p. 229).

The president of the National Assembly who was charged to write Stanhope was the Count Jean Baptiste Treilhard (1742-1810). He was a deputy from the city of Paris to the third estate in the Estates-General and secretary before becoming president. He voted for the death of the king, with a reprieve. He was a member of the Society of 1789, a member of the National Convention, the Council of Five Hundred, and the Court of Cassation. Under Napoléon he became president of the Court of Appeals in Paris and was active in drafting various legal codes.

In his letter to Stanhope, dated 28 July 1790, he said it was fitting for the French Revolution to be judged in Great Britain, "a country in which liberty may be said to be naturalized," and he appealed to Stanhope and the members of the Revolution Society to hasten the day when "governments will be distinguished by their humanity and good faith." See Stanhope and Gooch, *Life of Stanhope*, p. 95.

The details of this interesting celebration have greatly pleased all of our Patriots to whom I communicated them, and we have given them to the Public in the *Journal* of 1789;³ we felt much regret on learning of your plan to come attend the federation with us,⁴ it would have been a wonderful thing to see the illustrious Richard Price at this civic festival; but you have celebrated it in London, and in a manner calculated to propagate the spirit and the sentiments of liberty, of patriotism and of general benevolence that should inspire all honourable people in every Nation.

I was very happy to see Mr. Smith⁵ and Mr. Vaughan,⁶ but rather annoyed not to have been able to attain tickets to the Assembly for Mr. Williams;⁷ his letter reached me in the country where for the first time in fifteen months I spent three days:⁸ I beg you to convey to him all my regrets and to receive the assurances of a sincere affection with which I have the honor of being

Dear Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,
La Rochefoucauld.

3. The details of the celebration at the Crown and Anchor Tavern appeared in no. VIII of the *Journal de la Société de 1789*, pp. 30–38. It included a record of many of the toasts, the introductory remarks by Lord Stanhope, Price's address and toast, Sheridan's address and resolutions, and even mentioned Horne Tooke's "observations déplacées."

4. See R.P. to La Rochefoucauld, 2 July 1790, for Price's response to the invitation to attend the celebration in Paris.

5. Probably William Smith (1756–1835). For a biographical note, see R.P. to [William Smith], 1 Mar. 1790, n.1.

6. Probably Benjamin. He was at this time in Paris with John Henry Petty, Lord Wycombe, eldest son of Lansdowne. Vaughan was closely connected with those opposed to the French court and his sympathies for the French people continued, even through the violence of later years. When he thought he was in danger of arrest in England as a result of investigations of revolutionary enthusiasts, he took refuge in France, although during the Terror and the war with England he was also subject to arrest there as a "moderate" or a "foreigner." So he lived in hiding, known only to a few, including Robespierre and Bishop Grégoire. He was discovered in June 1794 and imprisoned for a month before being released and banished. He lived in Geneva until 1796 before returning to Paris for a year. He distrusted assurances he could return to England and resume his parliamentary position, so he finally joined his family and brother Charles in Hallowell, Maine, where he lived out his years in activities, honor, and respect, dying in 1835. See *D.N.B.* and *D.A.B.* See also *Englishmen in the French Revolution*, by John G. Alger (London, 1889), pp. 89–97.

7. Probably David Williams (1738–1816), a man of many parts: Dissenter, author, philosopher, reformer, educator, theologian, moralist, liturgist, teacher, translator, political theorist, historian, student of constitutions, and, with all these, probably best-known as founder of the Royal Literary Fund. In the 1780s some of his writings on constitutional principles and political liberty had been translated into French. He was made a French citizen by an act of the Constituent Assembly and was invited to help formulate the new constitution. He was in Paris from Aug. 1792 until Jan. 1793 when Louis XVI was executed, a measure he strongly disapproved. See *D.N.B.*; Alger, pp. 84, 116–17; David Williams, *Incidents in my own Life which have been Thought of Some Importance*, ed. Peter France (Sussex, 1980).

8. At the Chateau de Roche-Guyon on the Seine, whose beginnings date from A.D. 998.

To Alexander Christie

[2 Aug. 1790]¹

Dear Sir

As I am going to absent myself from London, for the remainder of the summer. The weak state of my health and spirits, makes a retirement from my engagements necessary for me, and I shall spend the next two months at the seaside in Glamorganshire, near the place where I was born. But I should not be equally easy *there*, did I not carry with me the remembrance, that I had written to you, to thank you for your last kind letter, and for the copy it enclosed, of your correspondence with Dr McGill.² I can scarcely tell you, with what an admiration of your good sense and integrity, and also with how much concern for Dr McGill I read this correspondence. How great would he have been, and what good might he have done, had he been firm, and acted as you would have acted, in the same circumstances. But we must learn to make allowances for one another. Notwithstanding his fall I must love him.

I have had the pleasure of conversing a good deal with your son³ since his return from *Paris*. He possesses your liberal principles, and is the worthy son of a worthy Parent. He joined us on the 14th of last month, in celebrating the *first* Anniversary of the French Revolution. This was indeed a most joyous and animating meeting. It originated with some of my Friends who engaged me to be one of the stewards of the Feast. We were once doubtful about our success, but we have been very agreeably disappointed. But, what was our meeting to the Grand Confederation at *Paris*? Never before was such a scene exhibited on this earth!⁴

I am straitened in time, and must rely on your goodness to excuse haste. My intention in this letter is only to renew the assurance of my gratitude and

ORIGINAL: Recipient's copy not located. TEXT: Transcript, with the kind permission of the National Library of Scotland.

1. Dated from Alexander Christie to R.P., 25 Oct. 1790.

2. See Alexander Christie to R.P., 20 May 1790.

3. Thomas Christie. See Alexander Christie to R.P., 1 Apr. 1790, n.3. This would be shortly after his first return from France where he had spent six months. At this time he published "A Sketch of the New Constitution of France" and shortly afterward entered the lists against Burke with "Letters on the Revolution in France and the New Constitution established by the National Assembly, Part I." Part II never appeared, but he returned to Paris in 1792 at the request of the National Assembly to write the English part of the new (revised) constitution. It was supposed to be published in eight languages, but only Christie's English version and an Italian version appeared, in three volumes, in Paris in 1792.

4. See R.P. to La Rochefoucauld, 15 July 1790.

respect, and to express to you my hope, that I shall never lose a place in your favourable opinion and remembrance.

I am Dear Sir,
truly and very affectionately yours
Richd Price

From Citizens of the District of Quimper in the department of Finisterre¹

Bretagne, Aug 4th, 1790

We have been affected even to tears in reading the discourse which the love of mankind dictated to you at the meeting of the friends of the *British* Revolution. It is with an emotion which we cannot express that we see English Citizens developing those principles of liberty which the hearts of *Frenchmen* cherish with so much enthusiasm. You have observed, that when *Frenchmen* were debased by despotism, the two kingdoms could not unite; but now, since the love of liberty has raised us to your level, the two first kingdoms in the world ought to form only one family, encouraging by the unions of its children all enslaved countries, and giving to unfeeling despots a lesson that may overwhelm them.²

It has not been possible for us to believe that the people of England would prostitute their aims by opposing them to the rising liberty of *France*; but

PRINTED: Richard Price, *Additions to the Discourse on the Love of our Country*. TEXT: *Additions, etc.*, pp. 39, 40.

1. In the administrative reorganization of France by the Constituent Assembly in late 1789, France was divided into eighty-three departments, the departments were divided into districts, and the districts into cantons. In the former province of Brittany this placed the district of Quimper in the department of Finisterre.

2. The issue of the union of France and England has been a recurring one, of course, since 1066, rising to the surface at various times of crisis. In addition to this occasion it is appropriate, for example, to recall circumstances in France after the Treaty of Troyes and, again, in the world wars. Barbara Tuchman bridges the centuries in her comment, "With the English occupying the capital after the Treaty of Troyes courage had sunk low. Frenchmen did not lack who were ready to accept reunion under one crown as the only solution to incessant war and economic ruin. In most, however, resistance to the English tyrants, was . . . axiomatic. . . . Between England and France the [Hundred Years War] left a legacy of mutual antagonism that was to last until necessity required alliance on the eve of 1914" (*A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century* [New York, 1978], pp. 588, 594.) For details of what is perhaps the most official and serious offer of union, see Avi Shlaim, "Prelude to Downfall: The British Offer of Union to France, June, 1940," *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 9, no. 3, (1974), pp. 27-63. See also R.P. to Sir Joseph Banks, 17 Apr. 1790, n.9.

should any rash and daring ministers attempt this, we are persuaded that, at the first onset, the friends of liberty in the two countries would recognize one another, and, far from fighting, would cement by fraternal embraces that union which ought ever to subsist between two nations destined to exhibit to the astonished world an example of all the social virtues. We are happy in giving you this testimony of our admiration. Principles so excellent when professed by you, cannot fail to draw together, throughout the world, all the true friends of mankind.

The citizens of the District of Quimper.³

3. Among the many citizens who signed the letter were François Noel Bremaudière, president of the district; Charles le Sawn, of the directory of the district; and Ambrose du Hafford, administrator of the district. See *Corr. Rev. Soc.*, p. 98. This letter was directed to the Revolution Society, that is, the Society for Commemorating the Revolution of 1688 in Great Britain, by way of La Rochefoucauld. It was included in the Appendix to Price's *Discourse on the Love of our Country* and in the later Additions to the *Discourse*, along with his answer, "because directed more particularly to the proposer of the toast just mentioned," that is, to Price because of his toast to an alliance between France and Great Britain and the address that preceded it. For Price's answer, see his letter of 14 Oct. 1790 to the citizens of the District of Quimper.

From Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld

Paris, 6 Août, 1790.

M. de la Rochefoucauld a l'honneur de faire mille complimens au Docteur Price et de l'informer que M. Dennis lui a remis la lettre de M. Turgot, il a été bien aise de l'avoir, quoique cette lettre soit peu importante; mais si le Docteur Price en retrouvoit quelque autre plus intéressante il lui en demanderoit copie.

Il vient d'apprendre avec une véritable douleur la mort du célèbre Adam Smith dont la perte doit être bien sensible à tous ceux qui avoient eu le bonheur de le connoître; la science du cœur humain et celle de l'Economie Politique lui ont eu de grandes obligations; des principes sains, et des developemens toujours clairs étoient le caractère de ces ouvrages, et son caractère personnel le rendoit aussi estimable que célèbre.

Si le Docteur Price a quelques détails sur sa mort, et sur les ouvrages qu'il a pu laisser, M. de la Rochefoucauld lui sera très obligé de vouloir bien les lui donner.

ORIGINAL: Cyfarthfa Castle Museum. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Cyfarthfa Castle Museum.

Translation

Paris 6 August, 1790

M. de la Rochefoucauld has the honor of paying profuse compliments to Doctor Price and of informing him that Mr. Dennis has returned to him the letter of Mr. Turgot;¹ he was very happy to have it, even though the letter is of little importance; but if the Doctor were to find some other, more interesting letter, he would ask for a copy.

He has just learned with genuine grief of the death of the celebrated Adam Smith,² whose loss must be felt by all those who had the good fortune of knowing him; the science of the human heart and of political economy owed him great obligations; sound principles and always lucid expositions characterized his works, while his personal nature made him as estimable as he was famous.

If Doctor Price has some details about his death, and on the works he may have left, M. de la Rochefoucauld would be very obliged to him if he would kindly give them to him.³

1. See letters from La Rochefoucauld dated 13 Jan., 6 June, and 21 June 1790.

2. Adam Smith died 17 July 1790. For an account of his travels in France and his friendship with La Rochefoucauld, see Dugald Stewart, *Biographical Memoirs of Adam Smith* . . . (Edinburgh, 1811), pp. 64–67.

3. See R.P. to La Rochefoucauld, 14 Oct. 1790, n.12.

From Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld

Paris 24 Août, 1790

M. de la Rochefoucauld a l'honneur de faire ses complimens au Docteur Price, et de s'acquitter d'une commission dont il est chargé pour lui, en lui transmettant une lettre qui vient de lui être remise par un Député de la ci devant Province de Bretagne, contenant une lettre adressée au Docteur par un grand nombre de citoyens pénétrés d'estime pour lui.

Il attend avec impatience les observations annoncées¹ par M. Vaughan à M. le Veillard sur les Mémoires de notre illustre ami franklyn; il espere aussi que

ORIGINAL: Cyfarthfa Castle Museum. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Cyfarthfa Castle Museum.

1. The manuscript appears to read "annonées."

le Docteur voudra bien lui donner des détails sur les Ouvrages posthumes que le célèbre Adam Smith a pu laisser.

Il regrette que ses occupations ne lui laissent pas le loisir de causer plus longtems avec le Docteur, et il le prie d'agréer l'hommage de son attachement.

Translation

Paris 24 August, 1790

M. de la Rochefoucauld has the honor of paying his compliments to Doctor Price, and of discharging an errand with which he is entrusted, in transmitting to him a letter which has just been given him by a Deputy of the former Province of Brittany,¹ containing a letter addressed to the Doctor by a great number of citizens imbued with esteem for him.²

He awaits impatiently the observations mentioned by Mr. Vaughan to M. le Veillard³ on the Memoirs of our illustrious friend Franklin;⁴ he also hopes that the Doctor will be so kind as to provide him with details on the posthumous Works that the celebrated Adam Smith may have left.⁵

He regrets that his work does not leave him the leisure to chat with the Doctor any longer, and he begs him to accept the token of his affection.

1. That is, the district of Quimper.

2. See District of Quimper to R.P., 4 Aug. 1790.

3. Louis Guillaume Le Veillard (d. 1794), mayor of Passy and close friend of Franklin during his residence there. Member of the Society of 1789. Died on the guillotine during the Terror.

4. See R.P. to Benjamin Franklin, c. 30 May 1790, n.5.

5. See R.P. to La Rochefoucauld, 14 Oct. 1790.

From Joseph Priestley

Birmingham: Aug 29 1790

Dear friend,

Every expression of your much valued friendship gives me particular pleasure, and I hope our correspondence will never be wholly discontinued as

long as we live. I have indeed no idea of greater happiness than what will result from the society of such persons as you are in another world.

I must sincerely congratulate you on the glorious effulgence of liberty in France, and especially on the share that is with so much justice ascribed to you with respect to the liberty both of that country and America, and of course of all those other countries that, it is to be hoped, will follow their example. I do not know any man who appears to have lived to better purpose.

The commemoration of the French revolution at the Crown and Anchor was most happily conceived, and the success of it gives me the greatest pleasure. Your speech I admired exceedingly, but especially your toast.¹ Little things have sometimes great effects, and such, I can not help auguring from this. But I do not wonder at the hatred and dread of this spirit of revolution in *kings* and *courtiers*. Their power is generally usurpation, and I hope the time is approaching when an end will be put to all usurpation, in things civil or religious, first in Europe, and then in other countries.

When shall we see the life of our venerable friend Dr. Franklin.² The Public will be impatient for it, and after your revisal, it will, I am confident, be highly useful and edifying. I told you that I had drawn up a short account of myself.³ Whenever it shall be most convenient to peruse it, I will send it. One evening will be sufficient for the reading of it, and I hope you will be thinking of something of the same nature for yourself. I think it will be attended with many advantages. I wrote mine in one of my summer excursions. I wish you would employ one of yours in the same way, and remember that life is precarious.

I have been urged by Mr. Lindsey to do what I can to procure a degree of DD for Mr Toulmin of Taunton.⁴ I think him intitled to it, and that there will be a particular propriety in it after it has been obtained for Mr Evans,⁵ who is

1. See R.P. to La Rochefoucauld, 27 July 1790.

2. See R.P. to Benjamin Franklin, 30 May 1790, n.5.

3. His eldest son, Joseph (b. 1768), says his father's narrative closes with his arrival in the United States in June 1794. His own continuation starts in Apr. 1794 and continues until his father's death on 6 Feb. 1804. The world of letters suffered from the younger Joseph Priestley's decision to destroy "letters addressed to my father by persons of eminence in this country as well as in Europe. But those communications that were intended to be private shall remain so; as I do not think I have a right to amuse the public either against, or without, inclination of those who confided their correspondence to his care." *Memoirs of the Rev. Dr. Joseph Priestley to the Year 1795. Written by Himself With a Continuation to the Time of His Decease. By his son, Joseph Priestley* (London, 1809), p. 14.

4. Joshua Toulmin (1740–1815), Dissenting minister, historian, biographer. He was minister at Taunton for thirty-eight years, preceded by four years at Colyton, Devonshire, and followed by eleven years at the New Meeting in Birmingham. Harvard awarded him the diploma of D.D. in 1794.

5. Caleb Evans (1738–91), Dissenting minister, active in the interests of education, received the degree of D.D. from the University of Aberdeen in 1789. See Walter Wilson, IV, 236–39.

considered as at the head of the Orthodox Baptists, as Mr Toulmin may be said to be at that of the liberal ones, and he is much superior to him in knowledge, and respectability of character. With your concurrence the business will be very easy. I have, however, ventured to draw up such a recommendation as, *if you approve*, you may copy with any alterations that you please, and when signed by us both, it may be sent by Mr Lindsay to any University in America that you shall recommend.

Dr Price and Dr Priestley take the liberty to recommend the Revd Joshua Toulmin, Baptist minister at Taunton, as a proper person on whom to confer a degree of doctor of Divinity. His character is truly respectable, his ability very considerable, and his application to the studies suitable to his profession has always been unremitted. His publications are numerous, and valuable, and among them we particularly specify his *Dissertation on the internal evidence and excellence of Christianity, and on the character of Christ, compared with that of some other celebrated founders of religion or philosophy*.⁶ We are persuaded that a degree conferred on such a person will do no discredit to those who have the power of conferring it, and will be [co]nsidered by those who know Mr Toulmin given him with propriety.

This transaction need not be known to [any] of our friends except Mr. Lindsey, and thus no [in]convenience will arise to us from the expectations of other persons. I need not say how ready I am to concur with you on any measure of the kind in favour of any of your friends.

The next week I and my wife set out on a visit to our friends at Leeds, to be absent about a month. I can but ill spare the time, tho' I propose not to be wholly idle. Wishing you much enjoyment of your seasonable retreat from labour, and intrusion, I am, Dear friend, yours sincerely.

Joseph Priestley

6. Toulmin's biographer in *D.N.B.* considered him a "voluminous writer," counting "forty-nine separate pieces, not including his biographical articles in magazines or his posthumous volume of sermons." He also asserts that the degree from Harvard was (in addition to Priestley's recommendation) in recognition of his new edition of Daniel Neal's *History of the Puritans*, 5 vols. (London, 1793-97). See also Wilson, III, 99.

To Joseph Priestley

[Shorthand draft]

[After 29 Aug. 1790]¹

My dear friend,

I received your letter while I was in Wales giving myself up among my relatives there to calm and dissipation. I never was before so long absent from my duties in London. I have now for some weeks been settled at home and I hope with a recruit of health and spirits that may carry me through the winter and enable me to proceed with the little that I am now capable of doing. In my retirement I tried to draw up a sketch of reflexions on my own life, to be prefixed to the second volume of sermons which I may probably publish should my life be spared a few years longer.² I have had this for some time at heart as my last work but I have made very little progress in it and I am now drawn off to other things not near so agreeable. The greatest part of this winter is likely to be employed in writing letters, the new edition of my book on annuities, and in making some additions to it and alterations in it which I find to be necessary.³ I learned from your letter⁴ that you have drawn up an account of yourself and you are so good as to say you will send it to me. I shall accept it whenever you can conveniently send it [to] me and think myself much obliged to you for allowing me the perusal of it.

I have received your volume containing your letters to Mr. Madan and the inhabitants of Birmingham⁵ and thank you for it. These letters must have

ORIGINAL: Shorthand notes on ms. of Joseph Priestley to R.P., 29 Aug. 1790. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Bodleian Library.

1. Price wrote this shorthand draft on the ms. of Priestley's letter to him dated 29 Aug. 1790, although he mistakenly docketed the letter as dated 25 Aug. 1790. He did not return from Wales, where he received it, until 2 Oct. 1790. See "Journal," 3 Oct. 1790, p. 395.

2. No such sketch ever appeared in any of Price's publications, although in his journal, in shorthand, which he kept from 25 Mar. 1787 until 6 Feb. 1791, he expresses the hope that he can find the time to write reflections on his past life. See "Journal," 1 Aug. 1790 and 2 Jan. 1791, pp. 395, 396. Unfortunately, his life was not spared long enough to publish the second volume of sermons. William Morgan edited and published *Sermons on Various Subjects* in 1816, which may be considered to be this second volume, *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine* being the first.

3. He mentions among these "encumbrances" his correspondence, preparing a new edition of *O.R.P.*, and on 3 Oct. 1790, after returning from his two-month visit to Wales, he wrote in his journal, "O! the apprehension of being a great deal too much encumbered by engagements, visits, writing letters, etc."

4. See Joseph Priestley to R.P., 29 Aug. 1790, n.3.

5. Spencer Madan (1758–1836), educated at Westminster and Trinity College, Cambridge; successively curate of Wrotham, Kent; rector of Bradley Magan, Suffolk; prebend and vicar of Tachbrook, Warwickshire; rector of St. Philip's, Birmingham; chaplain in ordinary to the king; canon residentiary of Lichfield; chancellor and prebend of Peter-

done good and some part of them, particularly the account you give of the comparative state of the colleges and of Dissenting ministers, are fitted to strike Churchmen themselves however prejudiced.

I have transcribed the recommendation of Mr. T[oulmin] without seeing any reason for making any alterations in it.⁶ I have also signed it, and if you will return it to me with the addition of your signature [] it in a letter to Dr. Will[ar]d, the President of the University at Cambridge, who has long been my correspondent and begged the favour of him to transact the business.⁷

Mr. L[indse]y may if he pleases convey my letter with a letter of his own to Mr. F[reema]n,⁸ his correspondent at *Boston*. Or I will convey it myself by the first opportunity that may offer to Dr. Will[ar]d. Mr. B[enjamin] V[aughan] can best inform you about Dr. F[rankli]n's life.⁹ He has left it to his relatives to be printed for his benefit and he is I believe coming to London with this view.

The revolution in France I think to be the hope of the world. It has still I fear many difficulties to counter but I must not enter on this subject

I am ever, my dear friend, most affectionately

[draft, no signature]

[Docketed by Price:] From Dr Priestley dated August 25th 1790, with a recommendation in it of Mr Toulmin for a degree in one of the American Universities.

borough. His exchanges with Priestley occurred while he was rector of St. Philip's (*D.N.B.*). On 14 Feb. 1790 he gave a sermon entitled "The Principal Claims of the Dissenters Considered" (Birmingham, 1790), to which Priestley replied in "Familiar Letters, addressed to the Inhabitants of Birmingham, in Refutation of Several Charges Advanced against the Dissenters and Unitarians. By the Rev. Mr. Madan." Also "Letters to the Rev. Edward Burn, in answer to his on the apostolic testimony concerning the Person of Christ" (Birmingham, 1790). Madan responded in, "A Letter to Dr. Priestley in Consequence of his 'Familiar letters addressed to the inhabitants of . . . Birmingham'" (Birmingham, 1790).

6. See Joseph Priestley to R.P., 29 Aug. 1790, including n.4.

7. In view of Price's long correspondence with President Willard, Toulmin's biographer in *D.N.B.* might well have said Toulmin received the diploma of D.D. from Harvard in 1794 on the recommendation of Price, as well as of Priestley.

8. See R.P. to Theophilus Lindsey, 2 June 1788, n.2.

9. For some of the complications about Franklin's autobiography, see R.P. to Benjamin Franklin c. 30 May 1790, n.5.

From Sir William Jones¹

Crishna nagar Sept^r 14th, 90

Dear Sir,

I give you my warmest thanks for your friendly letter² and acceptable present of an Excellent discourse³ which I have read with great delight. We shall both live to hope to see free government established in Europe and to hear the good old maxims universally applauded. That Law (by which I always mean the will of the people) is the only *Sovereign* but in regard to our own poor country I am nearly in a state of dispondence. Ex omnibus terris *una Bristannia*. (Tully says *Gallia* but would have changed the word if he could have forseen the late revolution *communi non ardet incendio*.⁴ We have twenty millions (I speak from good information) of Indian subjects whose laws I am now compiling and arrangeing in hopes of securing their property to themselves and their Heirs.⁵ They are much pleased with the work but it engages all my leisure and makes me a very bad correspondent. I had flattered myself with a hope of making a visit to our venerable friend at Philadelphia⁶ before the retreat which I meditate to my humble Cottage in Middlesex. But God's will be done. We shall all meet I devoutly hope in a happier state.⁷

belive [me] to be my Dear Sir your ever-faithful friend and affectionate

servant

W. Jones

ORIGINAL: The Bodleian Library. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: Cannon, II, 866–67. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Bodleian Library.

1. See Vol. II, 53, n. 1, for a biographical note up to 1783. The next ten years have been called the most important of his life because of his contributions to India and to Indian and Oriental studies.

2. Not located.

3. *A Discourse on the Love of our Country*.

4. Garland Cannon notes, "Orator, x. 34 ('Consequently Gaul is the only country in the world which is not ablaze in the general conflagration')." Cannon, II, 867.

5. In his own words, Jones set out to be "the Justinian of India" by codifying and explaining the entire system of Hindu and Muhammadan law as observed in India, an enormous undertaking. He had the enthusiastic support and help of many native specialists and made significant progress, although he never finished.

6. Jones had not yet heard of Franklin's death. For details of their relationship, see Garland Cannon, "Sir William Jones and Benjamin Franklin" (Oxford) *University College Record*, IV (Oct. 1961), 27–45.

7. Jones never reached Middlesex, never again saw his beloved Anna Maria who, because of ill-health, had departed for England in Nov. 1793, expecting him to follow in two years after completing the digest of Indian law. He died from his labors on behalf of India on 27 Apr. 1794, in Calcutta, of inflammation of the liver. Besides his other enormous accomplishments, it has been said, "He was perhaps the only significant European administrator ever sent out to the East who was non-political, honest, and completely sympathetic to the native peoples." Garland Cannon, *Oriental Jones* (Bombay, 1964), p. 185.

To the Marquis of Lansdowne

Oct 6th 1790

My Lord

I was sorry to find when I got to Bowood on thursday last that Lord Wycombe had been take ill, and that this had been the means of depriving me of the pleasure of seeing your Lordship. The very obliging manner, however, in which I was received by Miss Vernon and Miss Fox did a great deal towards making me amends for the loss of that pleasure.

My sister and niece were particularly struck with the kindness of their attention to them, and were made very happy by it; and they joyn with me in requesting their acceptance of our best thanks.

In passing on Saturday thro' London, I called at Lansdown House and was very glad to learn that Lord Wycombe was much better. I hope he has now quite recovered his health, and that he will be long preserved to be a comfort to your Lordship and a blessing to his country.

I am shocked at the preparations we are making for war, and fear that our ministry have braved and dared Spain till they have made a war unavoidable, and produced a combination against us. I learn from a person concerned in importing and selling naval Stores that the old Stock in the King's warehouses has been consumed in making these preparations without being replaced as it might have been at a peace price, the consequence of which must be, should there be a war, a vast increase of expence in carrying it on. It is obvious that the reason of this must be, that the ministry wish to make the expence of their preparations appear as little as possible to Parliament. Surely, Mr Pitt must have something very important to say to justify his conduct in thus running the Kingdom into a great expence without its consent, and in provoking a war that may prove ruinous to it. But I cannot find any person who can guess what it is. The support of a set of adventurers and smugglers at *Nootka Sound*, and the right of trading there for skins, one would think too trifling to be mentioned.¹

Has your Lordship read *M. Rabaut de St Etienne's* Address to the people of England?² I have been much impressed by it.

I thought myself greatly oblig'd by the letter which I received from your Lordship before I left Wales.³ I am now settled at home for the winter, and

ORIGINAL: Bowood. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind consent of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

1. See R.P. to Rochefoucauld, 6 June 1790, n.3.

2. *Adresse aux Anglois, par un représentant de la nation française* (Paris, 1791). Price had apparently read an advanced copy.

3. Not located.

going to be very busy in preparing a fifth edition, new in the press, of my two volumes on Annuities into which (in the chapter on public credit) it will be necessary for me to take notice of the Sinking Fund establish'd by Mr Pitt, and of my transactions with him at that time.⁴

I shall be wishing for the time when I shall be able to see your Lordship in London. Deliver my compliments to Dr Ingenhouz⁵ and Mr Dument⁶ should they still be at Bowood.

I have the honour to be ever your Lordship's most obedient and humble servant.

Richd Price

4. See Vol. II, 330–37, and R.P. to Pitt, 12 Feb. 1786.

5. Although Ingenhouz was in England and frequently visited Bowood, it is not clear that he was there at this time. He wrote to Bentham on 27 May and 2 June 1791 from Covent Garden and on 25 May 1792 from Marylebone Street. See Bentham: *Correspondence*, IV, 300, 309, 365.

6. Pierre Étienne Louis Dumont (1759–1829), "The Apostle of Benthamism." Invited to Bowood from St. Petersburg to tutor Lansdowne's sons, Dumont in 1788, between visits to Paris, met Bentham and was deeply impressed. From 1789 to 1791 Dumont was in Paris, closely associated with Mirabeau, many of whose speeches he wrote. In 1791 he returned to England and Bowood where he devoted himself to the editing of Bentham's manuscripts and the education of Lansdowne's sons. He returned to his native Geneva in 1814 when Switzerland achieved independence from France and Sardinia; in Geneva he devoted himself to improvements in the judicial and penal systems.

From Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld

Paris le 9 [Octo]bre 1790

M. de la Rochefoucauld a l'honneur de faire mille complimens au Docteur Price, et de le remercier du Pamphlet qu'il lui adresse sur le Baron de Winkelmann, dont il fera usage.

Il prend la liberté de lui recommander M. de Lomenie par qui cette lettre lui sera présentée.

M. de Lomenie neveu de l'Archevêque, at Coadjuteur de l'Archevêché de Sens est un homme avide de connoissance, en aiant déjà beaucoup, et d'un caractere éprouvé par toutes les vicissitudes de grande fortune et d'adversité. M. de la Rochefoucauld l'a connu à ces diverses époques; et a pour lui beaucoup d'estime et d'amitié, il prie le Docteur de l'accueillir.

Une suite de travaux urgens sur l'Impôt l'oblige d'être bref sans ses correspondances, il prie le Docteur d'agréer les sinceres assurances de son attachement.

Translation

Paris 9 [Octo]bre 1790¹

M. de la Rochefoucauld has the honor of paying profuse compliments to Doctor Price, and to thank him for the pamphlet he addressed to him on Baron Winckelmann² of which he will make use.

He takes the liberty of recommending to him M. de Loménie³ by whom this letter will be presented.

M. de Loménie, nephew of the Archbishop, and coadjutor of the Archbishopric of Sens, is a man eager for knowledge, who has a great deal already, and a character tested by all the vicissitudes of good fortune and adversity. M. de la Rochefoucauld has known him through his various ages and has for him a high estimation and great affection and begs the Doctor to welcome him.

A collection of urgent work on taxes⁴ obliges him to be brief in his correspondence, he begs the Doctor to accept his sincere assurances of his affection.

1. La Rochefoucauld wrote the dateline "Paris. le 9. bre 1790." Price had written on the cover, however, that he received it "From the Duke de la Roch'd Paris Nov. 4th 1790." It seems reasonable to infer, then, that it was written on 9 Oct. (rather than 9 Sept.).

2. Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–68), German archaeologist, published extensively on the history of art, including the epoch-making *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (Dresden, 1764) and *Monumenti Antichi Inediti* (Rome, 1766). La Rochefoucauld had met Winckelmann in 1765 while traveling in Italy on scientific research. See Jovy, p. 12. The pamphlet on Winckelmann has not been identified.

3. Pierre-François-Marcel de Loménie de Brienne (1763–94). He also was archbishop of Trajanopolis and was one of five members of the Brienne family who were executed on 10 May 1794, having been condemned by the revolutionary tribunal of Paris.

4. Throughout this period La Rochefoucauld was active in the National Assembly on matters concerning finance. As one of the leading members of the committee, he was usually chosen to be their spokesman. The records of the National Assembly contain many of his reports on banks, paper money, and the sale of national land, as well as on taxation. See, for example, "Opinion de M. de duc de La Rochefoucauld, député de Paris sur les assignats-monnoie le 15 Avril 1790" (Paris, 1790) and "État actuel des travaux de Comité de l'imposition; présenté à l'Assemblée nationale . . ." (Paris, 1790). See also Ambrose Sacks, *A Bibliography of the Frank E. Melvin Collection of Pamphlets of the French Revolution in the University of Kansas Libraries* (Lawrence, Kan., 1960), p. 291, and Jovy, p. 18.

To Le Duc de la Rochefoucauld

[14 October 1790]¹

Dear Sir,

I should not have delay'd so long writing to you had I not been for the last nine weeks absent on an excursion into the country in hopes of obtaining a recruit of health and spirits. I am now settled at home and glad to employ some of my first moments of leisure in making the acknowledgments I owe to you for your last letters. I am always truly sensible of the kindness of your attention, and of the honour it does me.

Our Feast on the 14th of July was very animating; and I think with satisfaction on the concern I had in calling together the friends of the Revolution in France, to testify on that day their joy. This meeting has, I find, in France been mistaken for a meeting of our Revolution Society.² But the members of this Society made but an inconsiderable part of that company; and it is probable that they will make but an inconsiderable part of the company that will attend our annual feast on the 4th of November next for commemorating the British Revolution. Earl Stanhope has been the Chairman at these public dinners and I hope he will continue to be so; but the Society has at present no fixed President. It is however now increasing; and it will, I hope, in time become sufficiently respectable to deserve the notice with which your Society of 1789 has honoured it.

The letter from the district of *Quimper* in Bretagne has, you will easily believe, given me particular pleasure. I request the favour of you to convey the inclosed answer to the President.³ I have sent it open that you may read it. I have received another letter from the Litterary Society at l'Orient.⁴ I know not well how to convey my answer to it. May I rely so far on your goodness as to beg the farther favour that you, after reading and sealing it, would convey it in whatever manner you may think best?

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Draft. PRINTED: *M.H.S.P.* (1903), 376–78; Rutt, II, 87–89. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. Price wrote in his shorthand journal that he returned on 2 Oct. from two months in Wales. See "Journal," p. 395. He found waiting a letter from La Rochefoucauld containing a letter from the District of Quimper. See the letter of 24 Aug. 1790 from La Rochefoucauld and the letter of 4 Aug. 1790 from the Citizens of the District of Quimper. He enclosed his reply to the District of Quimper dated 14 Oct. 1790. So it is reasonable to infer that this letter was written on or about the same date.

2. See La Rochefoucauld to R.P., 13 Jan. 1790 and 29 July 1790.

3. See R.P. to the District of Quimper, 14 Oct. 1790.

4. If this is a separate letter from the one dated 8 Aug. 1790 to the Revolution Society approving its support of the Revolution in France (see *Corr. Rev. Soc.*, pp. 51–52), it has not survived; nor has Price's answer.

I am glad to find that you have recovered *M. Turgot's* letter.⁵ It is not indeed a letter of much importance, nor did I receive from him any letter more interesting except that which I have publish'd,⁶ and also one in which he gave me an account of the reasons of his dismission from power.⁷ This last letter I am afraid I shall never be able to recover.

I have not seen my friend Mr. Vaughan⁸ since my return from the country. Probably he may before this time have performed the promise he made to convey to M. de *Veillard* his observations on Dr Franklin's *Memoirs* of his own life.⁹ I had read these memoirs, and writ to Dr Franklin in consequence of having read them about a fortnight before I received the account of his death. This letter must have fallen into the hands of his Executors; and as it contains all the remarks I had to offer, I have copy'd it for your perusal.¹⁰

There have been two other deaths this year among my acquaintance and friends which have greatly affected me. I mean, Mr Howard's¹¹ death and Dr Adam Smith's.¹² The former had been my intimate friend from early life. The latter I looked up to as a writer of the first abilities. A few weeks before his death I had writ to him in consequence of having received from him the sixth edition of his *Treatise on Morals*. This work in the former editions of it made but one volume. In this edition it is increased into two volumes. In the Preface he takes notice of a promise he had made to the public of a *Treatise on the general principles of law and government*, and the different revolutions they had undergone in the different ages and periods of society, and then adds that he had performed this promise in his book on the wealth of nations as far as it concerned Police, revenue and arms, but that with respect to what remained

5. See La Rochefoucauld to R.P., 13 Jan., 6 June, 21 June, and 6 Aug. 1790.

6. See Vol. II, 3–19. See also Peach, pp. 215–24.

7. See Peach, pp. 42, 216.

8. I.e., Benjamin.

9. See La Rochefoucauld to R.P., 24 Aug. 1790.

10. Although, as Bigelow says, the recipient's copy of this letter has not survived, the shorthand draft has. See R.P. to Benjamin Franklin, c. 30 May 1790.

11. See Howard to R.P., 22 Sept. 1789. He died 10 Jan. 1790.

12. Adam Smith died 17 June 1790. No correspondence between Smith and Price has survived. It is clear, however, from a passage in a letter from Smith to George Chalmers, dated 22 Dec. 1785, that Smith did not hold Price in the same high regard: "Price's speculations cannot fail to sink into the neglect they always deserved. I have always considered him as a factious citizen, a most superficial Philosopher and by no means an able calculator." *The Correspondence of Adam Smith*, ed. Ernest C. Mossner and Ian S. Ross (Oxford, 1977), p. 290. Despite his low opinion, Smith's library contained copies of the first edition of Price's *Review* (1758), *Observations on Reversionary Payments* (4th ed., 1783) *Observations on Civil Liberty* . . . (both the editions of 1776, called the sixth, and of 1778, called the eighth), *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution* . . . (2nd ed., 1785), and *An Appeal to the Public on the Subject of the National Debt* (2nd ed., 1772). See James Bonar, ed., *A Catalogue of the Library of Adam Smith* (London, 1894), p. 90, and Hiroshi Mizuta, ed., *Adam Smith's Library, a Supplement to Bonar's Catalogue* . . . (Cambridge, 1967), p. 48.

(the Theory of Jurisprudence) his occupations had prevented him. He had not, however, abandoned the design tho' his very advanced age had left him very little expectation of being able to execute so great a work to his own satisfaction. Soon after this, death put an end to all his labours; and this must soon happen to us all. Happy are those who at the close of life can reflect they have lived to a valuable purpose by contributing, as he did, to enlighten mankind, and to spread the blessing of peace and liberty and virtue. He was indeed one of the ablest writers, and his personal character was, as far as I ever knew or heard, irreproachable. We thought differently on the subject of the origin of our ideas of moral good and evil,¹³ but such differences among speculative men must always exist and they do good by occasioning a more thorough investigation of important points, and in the end a clearer development of truth. Dr Smith had been gradually declining for more than a year before he died, nor do I know that his disorder had any particular name given it.¹⁴ His only publications were his treatises on morals and on the wealth of nations; and I am told that he has left the world no room to hope for any posthumous work, except, perhaps, a few Essays. He has burnt many Volumes of Manuscripts to prevent the possibility of publishing them.¹⁵ Mr.

13. In general terms Smith held that because we have by nature a psychological mechanism that enables us to share in the emotions of others (that is, "sympathy"), we ultimately arrive at ethical values and standards through experience. Price, on the other hand, held that we arrive at our ethical values and standards by reason operating intuitively or demonstratively. For details, and for interesting modifications in Smith's views between the first and the sixth edition, which Price had just received, see vol. 1 of the Glasgow Edition of the Works of Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, ed. D. D. Raphael and Alec L. Macfie (Oxford, 1976). For details, and remarkably few modifications between the first edition of 1758 and the third edition of 1787, see *Review*, ed. D. D. Raphael (Oxford, 1948) (new impression, Oxford, 1974).

14. This interpretation apparently still holds. His latest biographers mention the possibility of a growing hypochondria in his later years but do not give any particular cause of his death. See Roy H. Campbell and Andrew S. Skinner, *Adam Smith*, (New York, 1982), pp. 213–24.

15. This is Price's response to La Rochefoucauld's request in his letter dated 24 Aug. 1790 for "details on the posthumous works that the celebrated Adam Smith may have left." Not long before his death, Smith had his friends and literary executors, Dr. James Hutton and Dr. Joseph Black, who had replaced Hume in this capacity, burn sixteen folio volumes of manuscript. So Price was right in telling La Rochefoucauld that Smith left little hope for any posthumous work. Ernest C. Mossner, embarking on a biography of Smith in 1969, complained that he "is one of the most elusive modern authors of distinction that ever a biographer and historian of ideas set himself to cope with." ("Adam Smith: The Biographical Approach," thirtieth lecture of the David Murray Foundation [Glasgow, 1969], p. 1.) The final edition of Smith's correspondence contained only 304 letters. He saved from the fire some pieces that later appeared in *Essays on Philosophical Subjects* (London, 1795). Virtually everything that remained of his manuscripts, augmented by notes from his students, has now been published in *The Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith*, including lectures, unsigned published articles, and reviews. Given his knowledge at the

Dugald Stuart,¹⁶ the Professor of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh, is to give an account of his life in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Transactions*, and to attend it with some critical remarks on his book on morals and the wealth of nations.

[draft, no signature]

time, however, Price was justified in advising La Rochefoucauld not to expect posthumous works.

16. Stewart presented his "Account of the Life and Writing of Adam Smith, LL.D." to the Royal Society of Edinburgh on 21 Jan. and 18 Mar. 1793. It was first published in 1811 under the title *Biographical Memoirs of Adam Smith, LL.D., of William Robertson, D.D., and of Thomas Reid, D.D.* (Edinburgh, 1811). It has appeared in various editions and collections since, most recently in vol. III of *The Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith* (1980).

To Citizens of the District of Quimper

Oct. 14, 1790.

Gentlemen,

The letter¹ which has been conveyed to me by your excellent fellow-citizen and co-patriot M. de la *Rouchefoucauld*, brought me a testimony of your approbation, on which I set a high value. Such notice confers a greater honour than any that titles can give or kings bestow. Accept my thanks for thus encouraging the attempts of a feeble individual to serve the best of all causes.

The Discourse delivered on the 14th of July, at the feast in *London* for celebrating the Anniversary of the glorious Revolution in *France*, and which you have thus honoured, was indeed an emanation from a heart warm with zeal to promote peace and philanthropy among nations, and with an admiration of that disdain of slavery which now pervades your country, and which has produced there a Revolution unparalleled in history, to which philosophers and virtuous men are now looking as a noble burst of the human mind from the fetters of slavery and superstition, and the commencement of a general reformation in the governments of *EUROPE*. May Heaven prosper the great work, and grant that no adverse event may interrupt its progress, or prevent its happy completion!

Hitherto the world has groaned under despots; and the best interests of society have fallen a sacrifice to their passions and follies. We are now seeing

PRINTED: Richard Price, *A Discourse on the Love of our Country*, 5th ed. (London, 1790), Appendix, pp. 40–42; *The Correspondence of the Revolution Society* (1792), pp. 97–100. TEXT: *A Discourse on the Love of our Country*.

1. See Citizens of the District of Quimper to R.P., 4 Aug. 1790.

the dawn of better times, and the example of France is likely to increase it into a glorious effulgence. From the instruction there given, the world will learn, that, as subjects of government and law, all men are equal; that in every state the Majesty of the People is the only Sacred Majesty; that all civil authority is a *trust* from them; that its end is not to take away, but to establish liberty, by protecting equally all honest citizens; and that the governing power in every nation ought to be, not the will of any man or classes of men pretending to hereditary rights, but the collected wisdom of the nation drawn from the general mass, and concentered in a NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, by such modes of election, and such an extension of its rights, as form a part of the new constitution of France.

I am, GENTLEMEN, with the greatest respect,
Your most obedient and humble servant,
RICHARD PRICE

From Alexander Christie

Montrose 25 Oct 1790

Reverend and Dear sir,

Understanding by my Son that you was now returned to Town, I with much pleasure embrace the first spare moment gratefully to acknowledge the favour of your kind letter of the 2 August and to congratulate you on your safe return to your home and to your Hackney—Hoping and wishing that you may have got much good by a little relaxation from Business and by the change of Air and Exercise.

I am very much obliged to your particular attention to me and the favourable opinion you have of my Son. I hope he will do honour to himself and to his Friends and to our holy Religion, not only by liberal sentiments, but by a truly Christian Life and Conversation, imitating our blessed Lord and Master in going about continually doing good. He has lately sent me a small work entitled “*The Spirit of the times*,”¹ which enlarges my ideas and entertains me much. I have also read with much pleasure a pamphlet entitled “*Reflections on the causes and probable consequences of the late revolution in France* by

ORIGINAL: Recipient's copy not located. TEXT: Transcript, with the kind permission of the National Library of Scotland.

1. *The Spirit of the Times Considered in an Address to the People of Eastwood* (Glasgow, 1792). The author was Stevenson MacGill (1765–1840), who was educated at Glasgow University; then was a private tutor, minister at Eastwood, minister of the Tron church of Glasgow, a leader in forming the Glasgow Literary and Theological Society; and was active in behalf of prisons, infirmaries, and asylums in Glasgow. He was professor of divinity in Glasgow University from 1814 until his death.

Monsieur B——.”² I can scarce believe that a Frenchman, or indeed any other person but an intelligent and well informed Scotsman could be the Author thereof. It is elegantly wrote and full of matters and although I have lived near sixty years in this Country, and thought myself tolerably well informed, yet it has brought things to recollection that were forgot and informed me of many things which I knew not. Its really a masterly performance. It draws a melancholly, but too true picture, both of the Religion and of the greater part of the Clergy in this Country. I have ordered some Copies of it, to be given away *gratis* in this part of the Country, in order to endeavour to diffuse light and Knowledge, as we are still here very unenlightened and ill informed; the feudal system prevailing too much in Government—and Calvin and John Knox in Religion. In short, this performance has greatly increased and highly exalted my ideas in favour of Civil and Religious Liberty, for I will not deny, but own to you, that from the prejudices of Education, the opinions of many, indeed of *the all* around me, and the want of proper information, my original principles were narrow and confined, and I was turned *fourty* before that I had eyes to see, ears to hear, or even to think properly for myself. But having a mind open to Conviction, Diffident, and willing to yield to Truth above all things, I surmounted even late in Life every obstacle, and became cheerfully willing to run the risque of losing all things, rather than to act against the light of my mind, choosing rather to connect myself with the thinking and *enquiring few* than with the credulous and bigotted *many*; and this now is a never failing source of delight to me.

By making this sacrifice of the World, and the things thereof, I feel my importance as a Man, and as a Candidate for eternal Happiness. it has also tended to cherish and strengthen every other Christian Grace and Virtue, and to be a strong guard against the imperfections and weaknesses of human Nature, while it enobles and exalts the dignity of that Nature, which what is called Orthodoxy is even vilifying and depressing. That you may have a specimen, and may be satisfied as to the influence and force of these principles upon my Mind, and in a situation where you would least expect it, in Politics, I have ordered my Son, to give you a reading of a Correspondence that lately past betwixt a Gentleman in this Neighbourhood, a Member of Parliament, and me, in which I hope you will think while I have studied to act with the Spirit of a Man I have not forgot the humility and propriety of a Christian; not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, nor sacrificing his divine precepts, to the corrupt maxims of the present age.

The welfare of the French National Assembly is never out of my mind, and is interwoven with the best wishes I have for myself. God preserve them from

2. *Reflections on the Causes and Probable Consequences of the late Revolution in France: with a View of the Ecclesiastical and Civil Constitution of Scotland, and of the Progress of its Agriculture and Commerce, translated from a Series of Letters, written originally in French, and dedicated to the National Assembly, by Mons. B——de* (Dublin, 1790).

the machinations of their many Enemies, and bless them with great and complete success, for I hope they will be a light to enlighten all the Nations of the World, particularly Europe.

How much I am pleased, with the feeling and forgiving manner in which you express your self as to poor Dr Macgill who is indeed much to be pitied. He had lately two daughters deprived of Reason, one of which is since dead.³ He had also the misfortune to lose his all, £2500, by a failure;⁴ and is naturally a man of weak nerves. These things came altogether upon him, at the time he was engaged in the Antichristian process raised against him, which joined with Poverty looking broad in the face to him, was indeed very hard to bear. With you, although I cannot exculpate him, yet I make great allowances for him. For as my great favourite says (the author of the *Night Thoughts*)⁵ "Some forgiveness needs the *best* of Friends." I enclose you a copy of a correspondence that past betwixt him and me last July, wherein you will see how plainly, but feelingly, I told him my mind as to his conduct. It was truly the hardest thing for me to do that ever I attempted, but Duty compelled me. You will also notice his answer, which is most ingenious and grateful, and proves the goodness of his Heart. He says much to extenuate and alleviate, but it is not satisfactory even to me, and what I like worse in it is that he rather justifies the part he has taken, as the best upon the whole and, what is very remarkable and inconsiderate in his conduct, adds that a mutilated account of it appeared in the Newspapers and that if he mistakes not, there was no word of recantation there: and that I may be assured from the Authority of the Synod, there was no one Doctrine, one proposition, one sentence, one word in his writing out to be recanted, extracted or altered and Concludes thus: "upon the whole my Dear Sir, I have not succeeded in promoting the cause of Religious Truth and Righteousness and Liberty so well as I could have wished. Far from it. And that so much Popery remains in the Protestant Church, that such a spirit of Bigotry and persecution prevails in our Country, and that such a daring and violent attack has been made upon the liberty of the Press—these things are truly to be lamented. We should endeavour to oppose, and remove such Evils as far as we can. But we can do nothing beyond the Talents and sphere which God hath assigned us, and he is too good a Master to require any thing of us, but to do what appears best in our circumstances. Upon the most cool and deliberate reflection, I cannot see what better could have been done by me, in the instance complained of, whether by one

3. A daughter, Douglas Heron, born 30 Sept. 1773, had died 29 Apr. 1790; another daughter, Elizabeth, born 24 Dec. 1765, died 18 Aug. 1791. Of McGill's eight children, three sons and five daughters, it is recorded that two died before reaching thirty and three before twenty. See Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scotticae*, III, 12–13.

4. McGill had invested his wife's "portion" in the Ayr Bank, and it had collapsed. See Fitzpatrick, "Varieties of Candour," p. 39.

5. *The Complaint; or Night Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality* (London, 1742–45), by Edward Young (1683–1765).

party or another, than what I have done; and I review my conduct not only without remorse but with complacency and with thankfulness. Let those who view it in different lights make a better improvement of their own talents and opportunities, and God grant them more success in every good cause."

I thought it now high time to close this correspondence, by a soothing and sympathizing letter, praising where I could, and being silent where I could not commend; as its needless, yea even cruel, to add Affliction to the Afflicted. The Die was cast, the affair finished, and I was not to expect that, Cranmer like, he would undo what he had done.

I am afraid I have wearied you with so long a letter. I shall therefore conclude with my best wishes for long Life, Health, and Happiness to you here, for the good of others, although against yourself, in keeping you *longer* from that complete state of Bliss where no Alloy is mixed with it—Bliss past the power of Man to paint or of time to close.

I remain
my Dear Sir,
Yours most sincerely
Alexander Christie

[Christie adds the following note:]

NB Soon after Dr Price received this letter he was seized with an afflicting disorder, which having born patiently for some months, terminated at last in his Death; so that he never had it in his power to write me a return thereto. But he desired my Son to thank me for it and how much he approved of my conduct in the different scenes it referred to. His loss I greatly regreted. It was a national one—a loss to all Mankind.

To Jeremy Bentham¹

Hackney 4th January, 1791

Dear Sir,

I have this morning received your letter, which, having been directed to Newington instead of Hackney, has been too long in coming to me. In the

PRINTED: *The Works of Jeremy Bentham*, ed. John Bowring (New York, 1962), X, 246; Bentham: *Correspondence*, IV, 214–15. TEXT: Bentham: *Correspondence*.

1. Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) became a member of the Bowood circle shortly after the publication in 1776 of his *A Fragment on Government*, which impressed Shelburne. He disagreed with Price on politics, particularly Price's support of the colonists, but admired his abilities in economics. In letters to Caroline Vernon he refers to Price as "The Patriarch." See Bentham: *Correspondence*, IV, 103, 109. This letter, so near the end of Price's life, was written in the early phase of Bentham's contributions to economics from 1786 to 1804. See *Jeremy*

second volume of my book on Annuities, I have published Tables which give the produce or amount of an annuity of £1, for any term of years, at any rate of compound interest; but this book is out of print, and I am now employed in correcting the press for a new edition of it.² They also make a part of Mr Smart's Tables of Interest; but this book is likewise not easily to be found, and therefore I have taken out of that copy of it which I possess, the two enclosed leaves, which will give you the information you desire, without any farther trouble. When you have done with them, be so good as to return them to me, that I may restore them in the book from which I have taken them. It is probably very needless to tell you that any annuity multiplied by the numbers, even with the years in these leaves, will give the amount of that annuity in those years at the rate of compound interest specified at the head of the columns. Thus £200 *per ann.* bearing 4 per cent. compound interest, and forborne for 18 years will produce twenty times £200, but that is £4000. On twenty years it will amount to £200, multiplied by 29.778—that is, £5,955 12s.³

I am glad, dear sir, of this opportunity of assuring you that I am, with great respect and the best wishes, your very obedient, and humble servant

Richard Price

Bentham's Economic Writings, Werner Stark, ed., 3 vols. (London, 1952–54), esp. introduction to vol. I.

2. *O.R.P.* First published in 1771, it reached a fourth edition in 1783. Price was working on the fifth edition, but was not able to get far with revisions. The work was completed by William Morgan and published in 1792 as the fifth edition. See "Journal," p. 374, and *Memoirs*, p. 174.

3. Probably Mr. [John] Smart's *Table of Interest, Discount, Annuities*, etc. (London, 1726), first published as *Tables of Simple Interest and Discount*, etc. (1707). Smart discusses the length of time it would take to pay off the national debt by a sinking fund as an example of the use of his tables (pp. 98–99). He hopes for statistical tables on births and deaths, lamenting that the lack of them makes actuarial calculations impossible (p. 113). He concludes by also hoping that God will grant "that as we increase in Riches, we may also increase in Good Works; that we may be more Virtuous as well as Richer than our Neighbours . . ." (p. 122).

One of the leaves Price sent Bentham probably included p. 68. The figures for twenty years that Price gives are there, although the figures he gives for eighteen years are in fact for fifteen.

To [Sir Charles Stuart]¹Hackney Jany 16th 1791

Dear Sir,

I hope I do not take too great a liberty with you by introducing to you the two young Gentlemen who will deliver to you this letter. One of them (Mr Boddington)² is the son of one of our first West India Merchants; and the other (Mr Rogers)³ is the son of a Banker in London who from early life has been one of my most intimate friends. They are both [of] them amiable and worthy; and any notice that it may be convenient to you to take of them will make them very happy. They are induced to visit Paris by the satisfaction they feel in the establishment of liberty in France, and their admiration of the example there given to the world.

You have probably seen Mr Burke's abuse of me;⁴ several answers to his book have been publish'd here. My friend Dr Priestley in particular has enter'd zealously into this controversy, and his answer⁵ has been convey'd to

ORIGINAL: The Boston Public Library. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Trustees of the Boston Public Library.

1. Sir Charles Stuart (1753–1801), soldier, politician, and diplomat.

2. Thomas Boddington was a director of the Bank of England in the late 1780s. Benjamin Boddington was treasurer of the City of London Lying-in-Hospital during the same period. This was probably Samuel Boddington (1767–1843), a former pupil of George C. Morgan, who has accompanied him, Dr. Rigby, and Mr. Olyett Woodhouse on a tour of France and through western Europe in 1789. See Caroline E. Williams, *A Welsh Family*, 2nd ed. (London, 1893), pp. 90, 96, 105, 126, and notes to George C. Morgan to R.P., 13 Aug. 1789. He later followed his father to become a leading West India merchant in partnership with Richard Sharp (1759–1835) and George Philips (1766–1847) of 17 Mark Lane, London. See Bentham: *Correspondence*, VII, 429.

3. Samuel Rogers (1763–1855), poet. In the extensive notice of him in the *D.N.B.* the author makes much of Rogers's taste in architecture, objects of art, and social relations; also of his acid tongue and warm heart. He ranks Rogers below his contemporaries in the most brilliant age of English poetry, praises him for embellishing human life with taste, benevolence, and wit, and attributes to him the distinction of exemplifying "almost beyond any other poet what a moderate poetical endowment can effect when prompted by ardent ambition and guided by refined taste."

4. *Reflections on the Revolution in France and on the Proceedings in Certain Societies in London Relative to that Event: in a letter intended to have been sent to a gentleman in Paris*, by Edmund Burke. First published on 1 Nov. 1790, it went through many editions and raised a storm of controversy. Burke's abuse is most pointed and frequent in the preface and the early pages, but it is never far beneath the surface throughout. For excellent discussions of Price and Burke, see D. O. Thomas, pp. 309–40, and Cone, pp. 187–95.

5. *Letters to the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, Occasioned by his Reflections on the Revolution in France . . .*, by Joseph Priestley (Birmingham, 1791). In letter no. 5, pp. 43–48, Priestley defends Price on personal grounds, saying, basically, he is a patriot, a citizen of the world, a morally good man, not a regicide as Hugh Peters was. See also Rutt, II, 99–102, and XXII, 145–44.

you. Three or four of my friends are preparing answers,⁶ but the best of all answers will be the happy settlement of the Revolution against which Mr Burke writes, and the prosperity of *France* under the new constitution. May God grant the world this blessing.

I had the pleasure of writing to you by M. Lominie.⁷ When you see him deliver to him my kind and respectful remembrances.

I am, with the greatest respect,

Your very obedient and humble servant
Richd Price

6. These would include Thomas Christie, Capel Lofft, Catherine Sawbridge Macaulay, John Scott-Waring, Gilbert Wakefield, and Mary Wollstonecraft, among others. The answers all have titles with a basic similarity, some of them appearing within weeks of the publication of Burke's *Reflections*. See also D. O. Thomas, pp. 339–40.

7. Letter not located. Probably Pierre-François-Marcel de Loménie de Brienne, nephew of the archbishop, who had visited Price with a letter from La Rochefoucauld three months earlier. See La Rochefoucauld to R.P., 9 Oct. 1790.

From Joseph Priestley

Bir. Jan 27 1791.

My Dear friend,

I am very happy to find that I have given you satisfaction with respect to Mr Burke's gross abuse of you.¹ These things do not, however, I hope, give you any material disturbance. They are the necessary consequence of any man's distinguishing himself, let him conduct himself in the best manner possible, and there is no field in which a man is exposed to more serious hatred than in that of *Politics*. This must always nearly affect the governing power, and then on many depending upon them, in all departments. I have sinned beyond forgiveness in many respects, but happily I am not apt to be disturbed at

ORIGINAL: The Bodleian Library. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: Rutt, I, Part II, 99–100, omitting the paragraphs about Toulmin and Blythe, and without indicating conjectures. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Bodleian Library.

1. *Letters to the Right Honourable Edmund Burke, Occasioned by his Reflections on the Revolution in France* (Birmingham, 1791). In summary, Priestley argued that the French Revolution had the same ideals as the American, which Burke had approved; that he attacked Price unjustly for rejoicing in evil consequences, whereas Price only applauded the prospect of new freedoms for the French people; that he was inconsistent in supporting the English "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 and then expecting no further changes. Priestley concluded, more positively, that the aims of the American and French revolutions should be to make it possible for people to enjoy as many of their natural rights as possible. For additional discussion, see F. W. Gibbs, *Joseph Priestley, Adventurer in Science and Champion of Truth* (London, 1965), pp. 187–90.

censure from any quarter, when I know it to be ill founded. With respect to the church with which you have meddled but little, I have a long time ago drawn the sword, and thrown away the scabbard, and I am very easy about the consequences. Mr Charles Vaughn,² I understand, is soon to return to America, and as you intend to send Mr Toulmin's certificate³ by him, I wish you would hasten it that I may sign it in time. As you said you should not make much alteration in the form that I sent you, you still have little to do besides transcribing it, and sending it to me which you may do by Mr Lindsey, who easily gets carriers for me.

As to the *Memoirs*, you may as well keep them till I come. You will be so good as not to mention them to any person whatever. I wish you would write yours as much at large, and not confine yourself to a Preface.⁴ We are much at a loss for a successor to Mr Blythe,⁵ and at present I see no prospect of our being supplied. As you recommended Mr Wood⁶ to succeed me at Leeds, I wish you could recommend to us a person as proper for Birmingham. I wish much to see Dr Franklin's life [and h]ope it will be published by itself [and not] merely annexed to his works, where [it will be] comparatively of very little use.

I rejoice with you that [the] *French Revolution* goes on, to all appearances, so well and I hope the example will be followed in other countries. I also rejoice that the Russians are so near Constantinople.⁷ That is the only war that I wish to go on. With my best regard, I am, dear Friend, yours sincerely,

J. Priestley

2. Charles Vaughan (1759–1839) fourth son of Samuel Vaughan (1720–1802), was in England to develop trade connections for his business enterprises in Maine (*D.A.B.*).

3. See Joseph Priestley to R.P., 29 Aug. 1790, n.3.

4. See R.P. to Lansdowne, 9 Sept. 1789, and R.P. to Joseph Priestley [after 29 Aug. 1790], n.2.

5. Samuel Blythe (1719–96) senior minister at the New Meeting, Birmingham, a man of "truly Christian temper." Priestley was originally engaged only for Sunday duty so he agreed "to leave the business of baptizing and visiting the sick to Mr. Blythe" (*Memoirs*, p. 87).

6. William Wood (1745–1808), botanist and nonconformist minister. Educated at Market Harborough and David Jennings's Academy. Served at Debenham, Suffok; Stamford, Lincolnshire, and Ipswich. As a botanist, he was a member of the Linnean Society of London, gave a series of lectures for the young for a number of years, and wrote numerous articles on botany. He succeeded Priestley at the Mill Hill Chapel in Leeds on 30 May 1773.

7. The second Russo-Turkish war ended with the Peace of Jassy in Jan. 1792.

To Joseph Priestley

[Shorthand draft]¹

[After 27 Jan. 1791]

My dear friend,

I have received with much pleasure your letter.² Your defense of my tract most filled me with gratitude to you and it does me great honour. You endeavour very kindly to comfort me over Mr. Burke's abuse but I have not been much impressed by it. Though it could seem to entertain the worst opinion of me it may in the end do me more good than harm. One lady, an acquaintance of yours, Mrs. M³ calls me fool. Such has been the fate of most persons who have aimed at mending the world and opposed the corruption prevalent in the world. The apostles were charged with turning the world upside down. I am much obliged to you for the memoirs of your life. I have been [] in reading them and received benefit from them (but perhaps it is too soon for you to think of publishing them). The appropriate time for publishing them will be some years hence when you will be arriving at my age and able to continue them to the last parts of your life. I have kept them entirely to myself. No one except Mr. L[indsey] knows that I am possessed of them. I will as you desire keep them until I have the pleasure of [] to you in person. What I shall say of myself will be less [] minute and much shorter.

To mention Mr. Cogan⁴ to you as a person likely to make an appropriate

ORIGINAL: Shorthand notes on the ms. of Joseph Priestley's letter to R.P. dated 27 Jan 1791. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Bodleian Library.

1. The reader may have noticed that these three volumes do not contain any recipient's copies of letters from Price to Priestley. This is not only because most of Priestley's papers were destroyed when the mob set fire to his house and laboratory in Birmingham. According to his son, Priestley himself "destroyed all the letters he had received from Mr. Lindsey and Mr. Belsham to the end of 1802" (Rutt, I, pt. II, iv). If Priestley's son had listed all of the names of Priestley's correspondents, it almost certainly would have included Price. In any case, if Price's letters to Priestley had survived at that point, they would have disappeared on Priestley's death in 1804 when the remainder of his correspondence "was burned by Joseph Priestley, Jr., in what now seems an excessive regard for the privacy of the writers" (Schofield, p. ix).

2. See Joseph Priestley to R.P., 27 Jan. 1791.

3. Unidentifiable.

4. Eliezer Cogan (1762–1855) scholar and Dissenting minister. Born when his father was sixty-four years of age. Taught by his father and self-taught in early life, then at Market Harborough and Daventry, both student and tutor at the latter where he was a colleague of Thomas Belsham. From Daventry he went to Cirencester, and at the time of Price's letter he was briefly in different locations, Ware, Enfield, and Cheshunt, establishing a school at the last, "being encouraged as an educator of men." Later he preached at Higham Hill, Walthamstow, and moved his school there where it became famous, including among its students Samuel Sharpe, Benjamin Disraeli, and Russell Gurney. He had a high reputation as a Greek scholar and in theology and metaphysics as a follower of Priestley.

successor to Mr. B[lythe] But he tells me that he is determined to prefer the scheme of taking a house somewhere within 17 miles of London, being encouraged as an educator of men. I was at one time much afraid that you would have drawn Mr. Bel[sham] from the college. The particular suitability of a partnership with you at Birmingham to Bel[sham] made me once apprehensive that we should have lost him at the College. I believe he has looked upon it as one of the best situations in the world for him. But he seems resolved to stand by the College though at present in a discouraging state.⁵ Dr. K[ippis] resigned⁶ and Mr. Wak[efield] giving offence to our Governors by never attending public worship.⁷ Perhaps you may think of one or two substitutes as Mr. B[roadhurst] or Mr. Jones.⁸ They are both excellently qualified and much in your own way

[draft, no signature]

5. Belsham stayed until the college closed. See R.P. to Thomas Belsham, 12 May–4 June 1789, n. 1.

6. Price does not make any special note in his journal about the resignation of his good friend of a lifetime, Andrew Kippis, who had taught "Belles Lettres, including History."

7. Gilbert Wakefield (1756–1801), scholar, translator, controversial writer, educated at Nottingham and then at Cambridge where he was elected fellow immediately on taking his degree. Studies of theology led him toward Arianism or Unitarianism and away from the established church, although he never formally joined any Dissenting body. He became classical tutor at Warrington where he stayed for four years as a fellow tutor with Joseph Priestley until the academy closed. It was after an attempt to attract private students that he became classical tutor at the new college in Hackney, but he stayed only a year, resigning not long after this letter from Price to Priestley, partly because he was dissatisfied with the college and partly because, as Price notes, he objected to, and would not attend, public worship. He defended his views in a pamphlet, "An Enquiry into the Expediency and Propriety of Public or Social Worship" (London, 1791).

His opinions, particularly his political opinions, grew more and more extreme and his actions more impulsive until he was convicted of seditious libel for a publication criticizing the government. He served two years in prison and died shortly after his release.

8. Thomas Broadhurst and David Jones were both students of Price, and of his nephew George Cadogan Morgan, at the college in Hackney.

From Joseph Priestley

Birm. Feb. 16. 1791

Dear friend

I shall think myself happy if my *Letters to Mr Burke*¹ have done any service to the common course of civil and religious liberty, and especially if they have given any pleasure to yourself. Every friend of liberty is interested in defending you, who are the great champion in the cause.

My *Memoirs* are not to be published till after my death, and what I wished you to do was something of the same kind, as you would then write with greater freedom, and a greater confidence of an unprejudiced perusal. However, any sketch of your life written by yourself will be very useful.

I am concerned to hear of the difficulties attending the *New College*, but have not as yet any clear idea how they have arisen. Whatever they be, I hope they are not insurmountable. I am particularly sorry to hear that Mr Wakefield attends no public worship, and cannot imagine how he can defend such strange conduct.² But, if he has taken it up, I fear he will not soon lay it down.

I am invited to preach your *annual Sermon*, but have rather wished to decline it, thinking that the preference should have been given to Mr Wakefield, and that it would be difficult to find any thing that would be *new* and at the same time *proper* for the occasion, after so many had gone before me. However, I have since thought of a subject, and if no other person be applied to, shall not object to my appointment. It will lead me, however, to say several very strong things of the subject of civil and religious liberty which may not please some of the hearers. I shall send the discourse to Mr Lindsey, who will show it to you for your opinion beforehand.³

I have received your generous benefaction, and that of Mr Brown,⁴ to whom I beg my compliments and thanks when you see him. It gives me, however, real concern to take from you.

ORIGINAL: The Bodleian Library. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: Rutt, I, pt. II, 102–3, omitting the two sentences about Wakefield and public worship, the last part of the penultimate paragraph, and the paragraph about Mr. Broadhorst. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Bodleian Library.

1. See R.P. to Joseph Priestley [after 27 Jan. 1791], n.1.

2. For a discussion of public worship as a wider problem, and Wakefield's position in it, see Franklyn K. Prochaska, "Public Worship: An Eighteenth Century Debate," *T.U.H.S.*, vol. 15, no. 1 (Oct. 1971), pp. 1–14.

3. In London on 27 Apr. 1791 Priestley gave a sermon entitled "'The proper objects of Education in the Present State of the World' Represented in a Discourse Delivered at the Meeting House in the Old Jewry" (Rutt, XV, 420–40). His main message consisted of variations on his theme that Christianity has suffered corruptions and needs to be "re-Christianized."

4. Possibly Isaac Hawkins Browne, the younger, or Theophilus Browne (1763–1835).

I shall send to the R[oyal] Society thro your hands, or those of Dr Heberden,⁵ a paper of new experiments,⁶ in which I produce acid by the explosion of dephlogisticated air, without any [mix]ture of phlogisticated air whatever, [] than when the air was less pure. I m[] is pure with the greatest certainty.

I believe our congregation will apply to Mr Broadhurst,⁷ and I shall think myself happy if I get such a colleague.

With every good wish, and expecting the pleasure of seeing you pretty soon, I am,

Dear friend
Yours sincerely,
J. Priestley

5. Probably William Heberden, the elder (1710–1801), physician, classical scholar, and patron of learning, educated at St. Saviour's Grammar School, Southwark, then at Cambridge where he became a fellow. He studied medicine at Cambridge and in a London hospital, became senior fellow at Cambridge and practiced medicine there. Later, he left the university and rose to important positions in the College of Physicians. He became a fellow of the Royal Society in 1749 and an honorary member of the Royal Society of Medicine in Paris in 1778.

Possibly his brother, Thomas, elected F.R.S. on 10 Dec. 1761, or his grandson, Thomas, elected F.R.S. on 24 Feb. 1791.

6. See Joseph Priestley to R.P., 4 Dec. 1787, for an account of some similar earlier experiments. The paper on these new experiments, "Farther Experiments relating to the Decomposition of dephlogisticated and inflammable Air," was read 7 Apr. 1791 (*Phil. Trans.*, LXXXI [1791], 213–22. See Schofield, *A Scientific Autobiography of Joseph Priestley*, p. 387. For a discussion of Priestley and the problem of oxidation, see Schofield, pp. 268–75.

7. In the event, it was David Jones, another student of Price at New College, Hackney, who replaced Blythe at Birmingham, although only briefly because of his father's health. See "Memoir of the late Rev. Charles Wellbeloved," by [John Kenrick], *Christian Reformer*, vol. 14, n.s. (Oct. 1859), p. 621. (Thanks to Alan Ruston for this information.)

Appendix I. Dated letters located too late to be included in chronological sequence

From Hester Chapone¹

Feby 27 1769

Dear Sir,

Tho' I intended to take more time to give your arguments² the consideration they deserve, I am unwilling to defer returning you my sincerest thanks, for all the trouble you have taken on my account; and for the great kindness and candour with which you have treated me. at present I fear I shall not be so happy as to bring my mind to acquiesce entirely with all your opinions; but your answers to my concluding queries,³ are extremely satisfactory and comfortable to me, and I already determined to act according to your advice, as I think I may very honestly rank myself among those who, you think, may without breach of sincerity, conform to the rites of the Christian Religion. I am perswaded my doubts will never rise so high as to prevent my considering the Rules of the Gospel as the rules of my life. Nor could I, without distress of mind, forbear those outward testimonies of Gratitude and Reverence which Christ has commanded, and which you encourage me to think he will graciously receive from me, in spite of those doubts which sometimes force themselves upon my mind when my heart most desires to confess his goodness.

You are exceedingly good in allowing me to trouble you further if I should find occasion; and I shall probably avail myself of the liberty. at present I am going to for some days to the Bishop of Winchester's;⁴ when I return, and

ORIGINAL: MS. in the possession of Mr. Christopher Johnson. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of Mr. Johnson. We are much indebted to Mr. John Stephens by whose kind offices permission to publish was obtained. MS. contains the following note [not in Price's hand]: "Written to the Rev. Richard Price (1723–1791 writer on morals, etc)—determined from other correspondence."

1. See Vol. I, 50.

2. Probably some of Price's arguments in *Four Dissertations*.

3. Letters not located.

4. John Thomas (1696–1781), successively bishop of Peterborough, Salisbury, and Winchester. Educated at Cambridge, preached the Boyle lectures in 1742 but did not publish them, chaplain to George II and friend of the Prince of Wales who, as George III, made him bishop of Peterborough. He succeeded Benjamin Hoadly as bishop of Winchester in 1761. As brother of her mother, he was the uncle of Hester Chapone who spent much time with him and his wife, Hester's father's sister, after the death of her husband on 19 Sept. 1761.

have had leisure to compare what you have said with the Scripture and to weigh it maturely, I will write to you again. I shall always be truly glad of any opportunity of conversing with you. And hope you will call on me whenever you are near and at leisure. I am dear Sir, with great esteem and gratitude

Your obliged humble servant,
Hester Chapone

To the Friendly Society of Annuitants¹

Newington-Green, July 13, 1771

SIR,

I received a few days ago a letter signed with the initial letters of a name, and together with it, the printed account of the scheme of the Friendly Society of Annuitants. The design of this letter is to acquaint me that some in this society, sensible of the insufficiency of the scheme upon which it is formed, are inclined to give it up; but that the older members, and a few of the younger members, seem resolved to carry it on; he therefore desires that I will write to

PRINTED: *Calculations Deduced from First Principles in the Most Familiar Manner, by Plain Arithmetic; for the use of the Societies Instituted for the Benefit of Old Age: Intended as an Introduction to the Study of the Doctrine of Annuities*, by a member of one of the Societies [William Dale] (London, 1772). The concluding section of *Calculations* . . . in which this letter appears is not paginated. TEXT: *Calculations*. . .

1. This society began operations on 12 Apr. 1771. It was one of a number of such societies founded in the late sixties and early seventies. Others included The Laudable Society, The Amicable Society of Annuitants (Christmas 1769), The Provident Society, The Society of London Annuitants (1 Mar. 1770), The Equitable Society of Annuitants (19 Apr. 1770), The Westminster Union Society (1770), The London Union Society (26 Sept. 1770), The Consolidated Society (11 Jan. 1771), The Public Annuitant Society (Jan. 1771), The Rational Society, The Friendly Society of Annuitants (12 Apr. 1771). It is a striking testimony to the influence of Price's *O.R.P.* that he was appealed to as an expert on the subject and his advice was both sought and heeded. The following letter appeared in the *Whitehall Evening Post*:

No 8 Dove Court,
Lombard Street,
[29 October 1771]

Dear Sir,

Being convinced by this letter of Dr Price's, I think the plan of the Friendly Society of Annuitants was not sufficient to answer the end proposed, it was read to the society at a general meeting held on Friday last the 26th inst. A majority of the society having agreed to dissolve the society, we crave the favour of you to publish this letter of Dr Price's; and we will be your security for so doing, and are

Your most humble servants,

Edward Hinton,
John Margary,
Directors of the Friendly Society.

you an account of my sentiments concerning it. This is the true reason of the trouble I am now giving you.

The value, to a person now *forty* years of age, of £9^(p) per annum for life, after attaining to *forty-seven* years of age, and £22 per annum for life, (or £13 per annum more) after attaining to *fifty*, is (according to the probabilities of life in Dr. Halley's Table of Observations,² and supposing money improved at three and an half per cent. compound interest) at least £21 10s in annual payments, till the age of *forty seven*, the first payment to be made at admission.

Any person who will calculate in the manner I have directed, in Question 6th of my Treatise on Annuities,³ or in page 114, may make himself as sure of this as he can be of any thing.

The payments required by the Friendly Society according to the tables for admitting members with admission fines, do not, in the first of these tables, exclusive of the admission fines, come up to a fifth of this value, nor in the fourth to a third.

I leave you, therefore, to imagine in what mischief such a scheme must end. By employing the contributions of the younger members in paying the annuities that will become due to the older members, these last may (if the younger member should continue so infatuated as to go on with their contributions) receive their annuities for several years. But, should the younger members either desert, or insist on some security against such a robbery, the consequence will prove, that even the older members, after receiving their annuities a few years, will lose them, and the disappointment arising from hence will be the more grievous to them, because it will come at a time when they will stand in most need of help, and be attended perhaps with the remembrance of having been led to neglect making other provisions for themselves, by depending on this. The same might be said of all the younger members, were it possible for the scheme to go on till they commence annuitants. But indeed this is not possible, for the disappointment of the older members would soon ruin the society, and it would be necessary perhaps to have recourse to Chancery to decide the disputes that would arise about the division of that part of the fund which would then remain.

In the printed account of the plan it is declared, on the authority of many respectable persons, that the fund will be sufficient to answer the purposes for which it is to be raised. I should be glad to know who these persons are, and on what principles they calculated. They must surely have discovered some new ways of improving money, and some new laws by which the waste of human life is governed.

There are none among my acquaintance who do not believe all these societies to be bubbles, which must do great harm; and it is very melancholy to

2. "Deduced from . . . observations on the Bills of Mortality of Breslaw." See *O.R.P.*, p. 316.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 17–22.

see the disposition which prevails to encourage them. I will only add, that I think this society will be particularly inexcusable if it does not break up. It has had timely warning; and being but just established, it can find no difficulty in returning the money it has received.

I am Sir,
Your very humble servant,
RICHARD PRICE.

P. S. Excuse some haste. I have given the value of the annuity promised by the Friendly Society for the age of *forty* only as a specimen; the deficiencies in the younger ages I find to be greater. The payment required at *twenty* does not come up, when the number of members is 400, to a quarter of the true value of the annuity.

(p) The annuity was to have been £15 but the *quarterly* payments were to be continued until entitled to £25 which payments amounted to £6 yearly in the class of the third hundred, and reduced the £15 annuity to £9 as above.

From Henry Marchant

Newport Rhode Island Dec. 4th 1772

Revd. Sir,

I troubled you with a few lines Nov. 21st. The Important Matter your Time is employed in not having permitted an Answer, does not prevent my still taking the Liberty to trouble you again. From some encouragement you gave me, I ventured in my last to introduce my worthy and learned friend the Revd. Dr. Ezra Stiles to your Correspondence. I enclosed you a Letter from Him. He now desires his respects.

I know of no better way of advancing the Cause of Religion, and useful Learning, than of bringing as near together as possible the greatest and most able advocates for Them. They encourage each other, strike out new Hints to be improved upon and they advance the general Good, and the Common Stock. You are not unacquainted with the late Dr. Mayhew¹ of Boston, and I know have a high Esteem of the ingenious Dr. Chauncy. Permit me to mention to you the Name of the Revd. Jas. Dana² of Wallingford in the Colony of

ORIGINAL: Rhode Island Historical Society. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

1. Jonathan (1720–1766), eminent clergyman. See Vol. I, 239.

2. James Dana (1735–1812), a graduate of Harvard, was called to the ministry at Wallingford, Connecticut, in 1758. In 1770 he published an attack on Jonathan Edwards's determinism entitled, "An Examination of the late Reverend President Edwards's 'Enquiry on Freedom of Will.'" See Vol. I, 144.

Connecticut, a Gentleman of most confessed Abilities, and Exemplary Life. He was a great favourite of Dr. Mayhew and is a most intimate Friend of Dr. Chauncy. But that his Works may speak for Him, I have enclosed you several of his Pamphlets. Dr. Dana finding I had the Honor of some Acquaintance with you desired me to request The favour of an Admittance to your Correspondence.

I know an over extensive Correspondence may not be agreeable to any Gentleman of Study and Application, but there are in America, few Chaunceys and Stileses or Danas.³

Dr. Williamson⁴ and the Revd. Mr. Ewen⁵ of Philadelphia lately sailed for London. You will doubtless see them as they are soliciting assistance for a young Seminary of Learning. I know some impositions have greatly discouraged the Friends of America and of Learning in England, but I doubt not the present Application will have the best of Vouchers, for the Honesty of Intentions in the present Undertaking and of the Usefulness of such a seminary. The cause cannot fail from want of merit in the two Gentlemen who have undertaken this Task. Any Civilities shown them I shall ever receive as done to myself.

Dr. Williamson was my Tutor at the College of Philadelphia.⁶ Mr. Ewen I have had the pleasure of being somewhat personally acquainted with, but more so with His Character. You will be pleased to present my respects to both those Gentlemen.

The same to Mrs Price, and believe me
You most obliged Friend and Servant
H'y. Marchant⁷

3. Marchant puts in a footnote, "Dana desires me to obtain any information from you whether European editions of Edwards's Book on the Will [Jonathan Edwards, *A Careful and Strict Enquiry into the Modern Prevailing Notion of that Freedom of Will*. . . . See Vol. I, 144, and note 2 above] were procured by the Deists in London, and the [others?] in Holland."

4. Hugh Williamson (1735–1819), a graduate of the College of Philadelphia, at one time intended entering the ministry, but becoming disenchanted with the prospects of clerical life, prepared for a career in medicine by studying at Edinburgh, London, and Utrecht (where he received the M.D.). In 1772 he journeyed with Dr. John Ewing to London in an attempt to raise funds for the establishment of a seminary at Newark, Delaware. He was the author of *The Plea of the Colonies*, which appeared anonymously in 1775.

5. Dr. John Ewing. See Vol. I, 235.

6. Later the University of Pennsylvania. Although he studied at the college, Marchant did not graduate there.

7. In his closing, Marchant directs the letter "To the Revd. Dr. Jas. Price F.R.S."

To Benjamin Franklin

Jany: 18th: 1779

I am not personally acquainted with Mr Norris¹ the bearer of these papers; but I have been assured of his care and fidelity, and therefore have determined to convey these papers by him not knowing how long I should be obliged to wait for so good an opportunity.

A merchant of a fair chacter (as far as I know) and once wealthy but now embarassed, is deeply concerned in Mr Norris's business, which is no more than to procure some passport by which he may get to America. I hope, therefore, he will give Dr F[ranklin] but little trouble. He knows nothing of the contents of these papers, or of the resolution of Congress.

ORIGINAL: The American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. PRINTED: Franklin: *Papers*, XXVIII, 395. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society.

1. Not further identified.

Appendix II. Undated letters

Richard Price to the Printer of the *Public Advertiser*

No date

Sir

In a letter signed *Probus*¹ published last Saturday in your paper it is asserted from Dr Price's Observations on the National debt, "that an annual saving of 200,000 applied without interruption from the year 1700 would, *long before this time* have discharged *above* 80 million of our debts." I wish this writer had been less concise than he is in some places. In particular; I cannot help wishing he had explained and proved this assertion. Perhaps *Probus* may be able to do this; and if he will undertake it, he may, if he succeeds serve the *public*, as well as *oblige* his humble servant

*Cautus*²

ORIGINAL: Hackney Public Library. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Hackney Public Library.

1. Possibly John Fell (1735–1797), Congregationalist minister and classical tutor. Minister at Thaxted, Essex; classical tutor at Homerton, where he was dismissed in 1796; lecturer. John Stephens points out that he sometimes used the pseudonym "Probus." See "The London Ministers and Subscription," *Enlightenment and Dissent*, no. 1 (1982), p. 49, n.21.

2. The handwriting clearly identifies Cautus as Richard Price.

From the Earl of Shelburne

[Fragment]

[No date]¹

... as well as undermines within. In the most arbitrary Countries it is consider'd as no Impeachment of Power, to leave this in the hands of the

ORIGINAL: The Bodleian Library. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the Bodleian Library.

1. This substantial fragment may belong in the period of late 1775—early 1776. It is apparently later than 10 Nov. 1775 when Shelburne made his speech in the House of Lords on conciliation with the colonies, which included one of his basic themes, namely, the right of a people to grant their own money. See *Parl. Hist.*, XVIII, 920–27. It is apparently earlier

People. In some where the people have lost it [it] has been return'd to them for the sake of augmenting the produce. It has been practised not only in North America, where 3 Millions of people have been govern'd at the small expence of above 70, 000 £ yearly, but it is actually the case in Portugal and partly in the King of Prussia's dominions, the two most despotic countries, one in the North, the other in the South of Europe. The advantages are likewise felt in those Provinces of France where the States have retain'd this last and best of their ancient Privileges. In truth it may be seen among ourselves in the single instance of the Board of Excise, who owes as much to its having the nomination of its Officers independent of the Board of Treasury as it does to its other more odious Powers. How far such a Reformation should extend, what new checks might be form'd to simplifye the receipt, to purifye the channells thro' which it passes, to correct the Expenditure, and to quicken the mode of accounting are details which it would be an ungratefull task for an Individual to enter upon without any Hopes of Public Support. The Body of the People in all Countries must be the last description to be corrupted. Whether ours will have force enough in behalf of themselves, their Posterity, and their Count to assert the Honest Exercise of their undoubted Constitutional Rights, it is impossible to determine in times of such Constitutional Inactivity as the present. If they do not, if the present Profusion continues, the present Indifferences etc., etc., Actum est de Republica.

These are Sentiments which tho' ill express'd lye next my Heart. If I had an opportunity, I should have detail'd and enforc'd them much more strongly to the House of Lords. You won't allow me to say I learn'd them from you, but I believe I may venture safely to say they are as much yours and [as?] Mine. If so, I wish the substance might find its way in your concluding Chapter. I own without it I do not feel you or myself acquitted towards the Publick. If it drops there, I am perfectly indifferent. If on the other hand, these opinions make any progress, or the Hint taken, I will set it agoing in the City and am ready to hackney myself, as long as there is the remotest prospect of bringing the Subject forward. I have wrote very hastily, having had different things on my hands, and am unwilling to delay the papers which accompanye this on your account.

I know I am in Honest and Friendly Hands—Such as you will always find

Dear Dr Price

Your affectionate Humble Servant

Shelburne

I send you the Navy Debt. I have kept a copy

than 8 Feb. 1776 when Price dated the preface of the first edition of *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty*, where Shelburne's speech plays such an important part in the concluding chapter.

To Benjamin Vaughan

[No date]

Dr Price presents his kind and respectful compliments to Mr Vaughn. He is just now going out in a hurry. He will either send him an answer to his letter soon, or bring it with him on thursday to the Royal Society where he hopes to meet him. He will give himself the pleasure of dining with him on Wednesday Sen-night. Kind respects wait on Mrs Vaughn. Mrs Price continues better.

Tuesday morning

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society. The letter is addressed: To Mr Vaughn, Jefferies Square.

To Benjamin Vaughan

[No date]

Dr Price presents his response to Mr Vaughn, and returns to him the papers he left with him on Saturday, with the remarks which occurred to him in considering them.

Monday morning

ORIGINAL: American Philosophical Society. Recipient's copy. TEXT: Original, with the kind permission of the American Philosophical Society. The letter is addressed: To Mr Vaughn, Mincing Lane, Fenchurch-Street

Index

- Abingdon, 4th Earl of. *See* Bertie, Willoughby;
Thoughts on the letters of Edmund Burke, Esq. to the Sheriffs of Bristol on the Affairs of America, I, 261
- Abney, Elizabeth (1704–82), III, 25
- Abney, Lady Mary (d. 1750), I, 5
- Abney, Sir Thomas (1640–1722), III, 25n
- Accommodation paper, II, 109
- Acland, John (d. 1796), III, xvii; *A Plan for rendering the Poor Independent of Public Contribution*, III, 27, 84; Letters to, III, 84–85, 100
- Act for raising and establishing a Fund for provision for the Widows and Children of the Ministers of the Church of Scotland . . . , An, I, 106
- Adair, James (1743–1798), II, 52
- Adams, Abigail: on Richard Price, III, 6
- Adams, Charles Francis, III, 132n
- Adams, John (1735–1826), I, 200, 247; II, 35–36, 177, 185, 216, 225, 267, 280, 283, 290, 300, 314; III, xviii, xxiii, 37, 40, 42, 71n, 87n, 90, 112n, 114n, 166, 171, 172, 239; close friends of, in England, III, 227; embarrassment as minister to Great Britain, III, 41; recall of, III, 164, 170; *A Defence of the Constitution of Government of the United States of America* . . . , III, 120, 121, 123, 135, 147, 173; assessments of, III, 226–27; role of, in Constitutional Convention, III, 132; Letters to: II, 33, 308–9, III, 6–7, 61, 66–67, 172, 207–9, 270–72, 276–77; Letters from: II, 29–30, 271–272; III, 121–22, 225–28, 281–83
- Adams, Miss, II, 270
- Adams, Samuel, III, 71n, 122n
- Adams, Sarah (daughter of William), II, 270; III, xv, 99, 125, 136, 160, 161; prospective marriage of, III, 178
- Adams, William (1706–89), I, 45n, 83, 241; II, 31–33, 182–83; III, xv; death of, III, 202, 206–7; health of, III, 125; *An Answer to Dr. Rotheram's Apology*, I, 270; *Sermons on Several Subjects* (1790), III, 189–190; *Sermons and Tracts on Religious Subjects*, I, 270; *A Test of True and False Doctrines*, I, 84; Letters to: I, 83–86, 241–43, 248–50, 252, 268–71; II, 31–33, 97–98, 270, 325–27; III, 99, 124–25, 136, 155–57, 159–60, 178, 189–91; Letter from: III, 104
- Address to the Inhabitants of Great Britain, I, 222
- Address to the King, I, 179, 185, 202; III, 210
- Address to the People of England, I, 202
- Administration of Justice Act, The, I, 172, 174, 176, 237
- Aepinus, F.U.T. (1724–1802), I, 37
- Ainslie, Sir Robert (1730?–1812), III, 38, 259
- Ainsworth, Robert (1660–1743), III, 188
- Air pump, I, 137
- Aix, Archbishop of, Cuccé de Boisgelin, Jean-de-Dieu Raymond de, III, 260n, 267
- Albany, New York, III, 81
- Allegory in the Bible, II, 245
- America, the asylum of the world, I, 164, 166, 187, 189; Commissioners to, I, 242; constitutional government in, II, 4–9, 12–16; danger to England, if military force used in, I, 173; economic condition of, II, 40–41, 254; the hope of the world, the asylum of liberty, II, 8, 17, 38, 150, 254, 270; increase in population of, I, 76–77; the independence of, I, 274–275; II, 9, 18, 45, 55, 79, 113, 116, 150–51, 156, 177, 180, 186, 202, 233, 324; positive prospects of, III, 120; prosperity in, II, 260; security of, II, 6, 15; state of things in, III, 237–39; subjugation of, II, 3, 11, 43; *See also*, Abingdon, 4th Earl of; Boston; Chauncy, Charles; Coercive Acts; Colonies; Continental Congress; Franklin, Benjamin; Gage, General Thomas; Liberty; North, Lord Frederick; Olive Branch Petition; Peace; Price, Richard; Propositions for conciliating the differences with America; Stiles, Ezra; Winthrop, John
- America, war with: but beginning, I, 252; cost of, I, 249–50; expected to end, I, 177, 257
- American Academy of Arts and Sciences, II, 104, 106, 315; III, 72; *Memoirs*, III, 42, 43; Price regrets he has nothing to contribute at present, III, 42; certificate from, III, 189
- American Army, I, 216

- American cause, I, 236, 266
American Geography, The, III, 211, 222; copy-right in England, III, 203, 204; sale of, III, 252-53, 275
 "American News" in *Gent. Mag.*, III, 238
 American Philosophical Society, III, xvii; sends diploma to Price, III, 53; *Transactions*, Vol. II, III, 117
 American Revolution, III, xvii, xix, 36, 282; and rise of science, III, 43; cost of, III, 108; effect of, III, 149; importance for liberty elsewhere, III, 208; importance of, II, 199, 215, 221, 225, 233, 237, 275, 294
 American states, advantages of friendship with, I, 274
 Americans: regarded as cowards, I, 202; responsible for their own freedom, I, 188-89; their value of liberty, I, 187
 Amicable Association, *The*, III, 111
 Amory, Thomas (1701-74), I, 42n, 126n, 140, 141n, 214
 Amsterdam, III, 74, 100
 Anderson, John (1726-96), I, 192
 Andreani, Paolo (1763?-1832), III, 276-77, 279, 284
 Anglo-American relations, III, 54
 Annapolis Convention, III, 22, 30, 57, 76
 Annuities, I, 56-58, 272-73; III, xvii, 71n, 86, 126-27; calculation of, III, 137; societies, Price's influence on, III, 342; for widows of Harvard graduates, III, 49; for widows of ministers in Massachusetts, III, 49, 137
 Antichrist, downfall of, II, 25
 Appleton, Mr., II, 80
 A priori argument, for the existence of God, III, 158
 Arbuthnot, Marriot (1711-94), II, 43-44
 Arianism, III, 101n, 108, 133, 177; antecedent probability of, III, 158n
 Aristotle, II, 70-71, 74-76, 87, 94-95, 245
 Armada, French and Spanish, II, 49-51
 Armed Neutrality, III, 90
 Articles of Confederacy, I, 227
 Ashburnham (or Ashburnor), Mr.: Price introduces to Thomas Jefferson, III, 173
 Ashburton, Lord. *See* Dunning, John
 Ashurst, Miss, Letter to: I, 3-5
 Association among the London Clergy and the Ministers of Scotland, for Providing Annuities for their Widows, *The*, III, 111
 Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa, III, 302n
 Associations for widows and children, III, 27
 Astley, Sir Edward (1729-1802), II, 142
 Astronomical knowledge in the United States, III, 43
 Athanasianism, III, 101n
 Atheism, II, 77; III, 103, 183, 195
 Atheistical Christians, III, 103
 Atkinson, Richard, II, 281
 Auckland, Lord. *See* Eden, William
 Autonomy, II, 4, 12
 Bache, Benjamin Franklin (1769-98), III, 77, 286, 298n
 Bache, Richard (1737-1811), III, 286n
 Bache, Sarah Franklin (1743-1808), III, 286
 Backhouse, James (1757-1804), III, 239-40, 241
 Backhouse, Jonathan (1747-1826), III, 239-40, 241
 Balance of power, II, 5, 13; John Adams on, III, 282n
 Balfour, Captain, II, 50
 Balloon, ascent by, II, 193-94, 214, 224
 Bancroft, Edward (1744-1821), II, 20, 114, 266, 269
 Bank of North America, III, 78
 Bankruptcies, III, 13
 Banks, Sir Joseph (1743-1820), I, 123-24; II, 193, 214; III, xvii, 42, 302; Letters to: II, 161; III, 279-81, 287-88
 Banks, public, in France, III, 268
 Barbé-Marbois, Francois de (1745-1837), II, 288
 Barentin, Charles-Louis-François de Paule de (1738-1819), III, 234, 237
 Baring, Francis (1740-1810), II, 170, 174; "Mr. Baring's Observations of Dr. Price's scheme of finance for 1783", II, 170; "Notes on [Dr. Price's Scheme of Finance with Dr. Price replies thereto]", II, 172; Letter to: II, 172-73
 Bark, III, 156
 Barker, William, III, 38n, 98n
 Barlow, Joel, III, xviii, xxi, 180, 182; *The Vision of Columbus*, . . . (1787), III, 17, 39-40; Letters to: III, 118-19, 171
 Barnard, Thomas, the Younger, (1747?-1814), III, 9
 Barré, Isaac (1726-1802), I, 97n, 146, 255; II, xvi, 117, 130, 134-35, 175, 277, 324; III, 49, 66, 68, 120, 154, 184, 185; blindness, II, 145; III, 169; on the colonies, I, 190, 239-40; conveys Shelburne's request, I, 155; on the royal prerogative, I, 270n

- Barrett, John, I, 53 90; II, 214, 319
- Barrington, Shute (1734–1826), Bishop of Llandaff (1769), of Salisbury (1782), and of Durham (1791), I, 163
- Barton, John, III, 142n
- Bastille, III, xix, 231n, 235–37
- Bastille Day, celebration of, III, 306
- Bathurst, Henry (1714–94), 2nd Earl, I, 163
- Bayes, Thomas (1702–61), I, 6–37; *An Essay towards solving a Problem in the Doctrine of Chances*, I, 6–37
- Baynham, William (1749–1814), II, 288
- Bealey, Joseph (1756–1813), III, 192
- Beardsley, Dr. Ebenezer (1756–91), II, 201, 231, 237; III, 119, 165
- Beauclerk, Lord William, III, 126n
- Beaufoy, Elizabeth, II, 252
- Beaufoy, Henry (1750–95), II, 248; III, 99, 120, 125, 128n, 302, 303; Letter to: II, 251–52
- Beaufoy, Mark (1764–1827), II, 251–52
- Bedford, Duchess of. *See* Leveson-Gower, Gertrude
- Belfour, Okey, II, 59
- Belief, and truth, III, 256
- Belsham, Elizabeth (1742–1819), III, 219
- Belsham, Thomas (1750–1829), III, 70n, 337n, 338; Letter to: III, 220–222; Letter from: III, 219–20
- Benson, George (1699–1762), III, 270n
- Bentham, Jeremy (1748–1832), Letter to: III, 332–33
- Bernoulli, Jacques (1654–1705), I, 8
- Bertie, Willoughby (1740–99), 4th Earl of Abingdon, *Bibliothèque des Sciences et des Beaux Arts*, I, 53
- Bill of Rights, III, 218n
- Bingham, William (1752–1804), II, 192, 214, 282–3; III, 129n; Letter to: III, 135–36; Letter from: III, 95–97
- Birch, Thomas (1705–66), I, 70, 77
- Birmingham Canal, II, 159
- Bishop, Abraham (1763–1844), III, 194
- Black, Joseph, III, 327
- Blackburn, William (1750–90), II, 119, 130; III, 206
- Blackburne, Francis (1705–1787), I, 147n; III, 175
- Blacklock, Thomas, III, 70n
- Blagden, Sir Charles (1748–1820), II, 213; Letters to: III, 3, 161–62
- Blair, The Rev. Samuel (1741–1818), III, 139
- Blois, Bishop of. *See* Grégoire, Henri
- Blundell, Sarah. *See* Price, Sarah
- Blunt, Charles, III, 254
- Blythe, Samuel (1719–96), III, 336, 338
- Boddam, Rawson Hart, III, 173n
- Boddington, Benjamin, III, 334
- Boddington, Samuel (1767–1843), III, 334
- Boddington, Thomas, III, 334
- Body, the nature of, II, 62–64, 72–73, 76, 89, 92–97
- Boscovitch, R. J. (1711–87), I, 121
- Boston: cause of, cause of America, I, 216; conditions for exit from, I, 210–11, 218; expectation of news from, I, 181; fortification of, I, 182; Port Act I, 170–75, 237; situation in winter of, I, 175, 201; support from other colonies, I, 184–85; troops in, I, 218, 220, 222
- Boswell, Alexander, III, 294n
- Boswell, James, (1740–95), I, 42n, 83n, 84n; III, 294n
- Bourne, Mr., II, 281–83
- Bourne, Mrs., II, 283
- Bowdler, Thomas (1754–1825), II, 134
- Bowdoin, James (1726–90), II, 80, 104, 109, 300; III, xviii, 71n, 113n, 122n; election to Royal Society, III, 172; sends copy of Vol. I of *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, II, 314–17; asks Price to contribute to others, III, 14; three essays by, in Vol. I of *Memoirs*, III, 42–43; Letters to: I, 232–33; II, 278–79, 314–16; III, 42–43, 111–12; Letter from: III, 14
- Boydell, (Alderman), III, 83n
- Brakenridge, William, I, 59, 66–69
- Brand-Hollis, Thomas (c. 1719–1804), II, 198; III, 175–76, 226n
- Bremaudière, Francois Noel, III, 314n
- Breteuil, Louis Charles Auguste le Tonnelier, Baron de (1730–1807), III, 234
- Briand, Jean Oliver (1715–94), I, 150
- Bridgen, Edward (d. 1787), II, 123, 146
- Bridgwater, 3rd Duke of. *See* Egerton, Francis
- Brighelmston, III, 48
- Bristol, Bishop of, 1738–50. *See* Butler, Joseph
- Bristol, Bishop of, 1761–82. *See* Newton, Thomas
- Bristol, 4th Earl of. *See* Hervey, Frederick Augustus
- Britain's happiness and prosperity, II, 38
- British Constitution, II, 9, 18
- Brittany, III, 316
- Broadhurst, Thomas, III, 143, 338, 340
- Brocksope, Mr., II, 283

- Brogie, Victor Francois (1718–1804), Duc de, III, 234–35, 236
- Bromfield, Thomas (1733–1816), I, 215, 221, 234
- Broome, John (1738–1810), III, 213, 237, 242; Letter to: III, 239–40
- Broome, Samuel, III, 211, 213, 222, 304
- Brown, Mr., II, 123, 127
- Browne, the Younger, Isaac Hawkins (1745–1818), I, 252, II, 33, 301; III, 339n; Letters to: II, 58–59, 121; III, 128
- Browne, Mrs., II, 59, 121
- Browne, Theophilus (1763–1835), III, 339n
- Bruce, Thomas Brudenell (1729–1841), 1st Baron Bruce of Tottenham, I, 163
- Brudenell, Thomas. *See* Bruce, Thomas Brudenell
- Brunswick, Ludwig Ernst (1718–88), Duke of, III, 153
- Brydges, George (1719–92), 1st Baron Rodney, III, 48
- Bubbles, III, 343
- Buckingham, 1st Marquis of. *See* Grenville, George Nugent-Temple
- Bunbury, Sir Charles (1740–1821), II, 133
- Bunker Hill, Battle of, I, 212, 219–20, 225–27
- Burgh, James (1714–75), I, 41n, 42n, 241–42, 265; II, 127; III, 226; *The Art of Speaking*, I, 242
- Burgoyne, General John (1722–92), I, 215n, 238, 246, 257; II, 3, 11, 40
- Burke, Edmund (1729–97), I, 96n, 100n; II, 12; III, xx, xxi; abuse of Price, III, 334–35, 337; answers to, III, 334–35; Priestley's answer to, III, 335, 339; *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, III, 334
- Burnett, James (1714–99), Lord Monboddo, Origin of language, II, 78; our debt to Ancient Philosophy, II, 244; *Ancient Metaphysics*, II, 63, 65–66, 70, 76, 92, 101; Letters to: II, 65–68, 87–90, 99–101, 106–8, 194–95; Letters from: II, 61–64, 69–78, 91–97, 101–4, 244–47. *See also* Aristotle; Clarke, Samuel; Gravitation; Matter; Mind; Newton, Sir Isaac; Space; Time
- Burrows, Miss A., Letter to: I, 48–51
- Burrows, The Rev. Dr. John, III, 49
- Bute, 3rd Earl of. *See* Stuart, John
- Butler, Joseph (1692–1752), Bishop of Durham, I, 80n; II, 73; Price differs from, III, 174–76
- Byron, John (1723–86), II, 33, 52
- Cadell, Thomas (1742–1802), Price's publisher, I, 45n, 248, 251, 270; II, 63, 65, 187; III, 222; Letters to: I, 251–52; II, 227–28
- Calder, John (1733–1815), I, 42n, 141, 161
- Calne, Anabaptist minister at, II, 228–29
- Calonne, Charles Alexander de (1734–1802), III, 196
- Calvinism, I, 140n, 147; III, 101n, 174, 190, 330
- Camden, 1st Earl. *See* Pratt, Charles
- Camm, John (1718–78), I, 149
- Campbell, George (1719–96), I, 269; *The Nature, Extent and Importance of the Duty of Allegiance*, I, 269
- Canada, Roman Catholic clergy in, II, 7, 16
- Candor, I, 45–47, 118, 252, 275; II, xiv, 21–26, 56, 98, 107, 218, 270; III, 108, 113, 116, 163, 281, 292
- Canterbury, Archbishop of. *See* Secker, Thomas
- Canterbury, Dean of. *See* Horne, George
- Canton, John (1718–72), I, 6, 24n, 26n, 42, 51, 56, 58, 93; on air pumps, I, 137; critical of Priestley, I, 122n; meets Priestley, I, 37; Price apologizes to, I, 35–36; Price communicates with, for Priestley, I, 38–40; Price sends more on Bayes's second rule to, I, 36–37; Priestley sends pages of *History of Light* to, I, 103–4; on Priestley's voyage with Captain Cook, I, 124; on tourmaline, I, 40–41; Letters to: I, 6–35, 35–36, 36–37, 56–58
- Canton, William, II, 48
- Cantuariensis, I, 51n
- Capellen, Baron J. D. van der (1741–84), II, 37–38, 42–44; expelled from States of Overijssel, II, 44–45; translates Price's pamphlets, II, 37; Letters to: II, 37–39, 42–44, 55–56; Letters from: I, 261–68; II, 44–46
- Cappe, Newcombe (1733–1800), I, 87
- Carleton, Sir Guy (1724–1808), I, 228, 251n, 260
- Carlisle Commission, II, 20, 39
- Carmarthen, Lord. *See* Osborne, Francis 'Godolphin'
- Carpenter, Thomas, II, 187
- Cartwright, Major John, (1740–1824), *Take your choice*, I, 245, 250; Letters to: I, 245, 250–51
- Castellane-Novejean, Boniface Louis-André (1758–1837), Marquis de, III, 268
- Catechisms, II, 228–29, 249; William Adams's, III, 156

- Catholics, III, 11n, 186, 265, 273n; toleration of, II, 190–91
- Catiline, Lucius Sergius (c. 108–62 B.C.), III, 17
- Cautus (Richard Price), III, 347
- Cavendish, Lord Charles (aft. 1700–83), I, 39
- Cavendish, Henry (1731–1810), I, 103, 134; II, 213
- Cavendish, Lord John (1732–96), II, 147
- Cavendish-Bentinck, William Henry (1738–1809), 3rd Duke of, II, 145; III, 144
- Certainty, physical, I, 30
- Chabot, Armand Charles-Just de (1767–92), III, 289
- Chalmers, George, III, 326
- Champion de Ciccé, III, 233n
- Chanal, Mr., II, 128
- Chance, definition of, I, 10; cannot account for regularity of nature, I, 32
- Chancery, III, 343
- Chances, doctrine of, I, 7, 107–8
- Chandler, Samuel (1693–1766), I, 39, 91, 140n, 141n
- Chapone, Mrs. Hester (1727–1801), I, 50, 96; Letters from: III, 97–98, 341–42
- Charleston, capture of, II, 79
- Charter Schools in Ireland, III, 167–68
- Chatelet-Lomond, Louis-Marie-Florent (1727–93), Duc de III, 262, 267
- Chatham, Earl. *See* Pitt, the Elder, William
- Chauncy, Charles (1705–1787), I, 150, 204, 229; II, 80, 106, 109, 180, 198, 203, 239, 273, 300, 303, 321; III, 344, 345; communicates with Price through Winthrop, I, 203, 207, 246, 259; criticism of Jonathan Edwards, III, 40–41; Price communicates with other Americans through, I, 235; His religious controversies, I, 88n; shut up in Boston, I, 211; theological views of, III, 36; *A Discourse on the Christian Union*, II, 168; *The Late Religious Commotions in New England Considered. An Answer to the Reverend Mr. Jonathan Edwards' Sermons*, III, 40n; *The Mystery hid from Ages and Generations* . . . (1784), II, 238, 274; *A Sermon on Enthusiasm*, III, 41n; Letters to: I, 188–91, 233–35, 235; Letters from: I, 88–91, 143–44, 169–71, 171–73, 174, 181–85, 215–21, 222–23; II, 39–41
- Chedworth, Lord. *See* Howe, John
- Children at birth, measurement of, II, 309–13
- Christ, I, 50; III, xx; person of, III, 158n; and restoration, I, 90–91; simple humanity of, III, 292; worship of, III, 174, 176, 177
- Christianity, III, 106, 124, 195, 251, 299, 300; doubts of, III, 341; maxims of, II, 25; strength of, III, 341; truth of, II, 26–27; III, 256
- Christie, Alexander (1728–95), Letters to: III, 290–91, 312–13; Letters from: III, 277–78, 295–96, 329–32; *The Holy Scriptures the Only Rule of Faith* (1790), III, 277–78
- Christie, Thomas (1761–96), III, 278, 291, 296, 329, 330, 332, 335n; work on French Constitution, III, 312
- Christie, William (1748–1823), III, 278n
- Church music, III, 41
- Church of Scotland: bigots in, III, 295; standards of, III, 266
- Church of Scotland Ministers' and Scottish University Professors' Widows' fund, The, I, 57, 104. *See also* The Establishment for a provision to the widows and children of the Ministers and Professors in Scotland; Reverendary payments
- Church and State, separation of, III, 230, 239, 247
- Churchman, John (1753–1805), III, 227
- Cicero, II, 101–2
- Cincinnati, Society of, III, 132, 238n
- Cincinnatus, Lucius Quintus, III, 132
- Citizen of the world, II, 191
- Citizens of the District of Quimper, Letter to: III, 328–29; Letter from: III, 313–14
- Clarke, John (1755–98), II, 238, 322; III, 11, 15; Letter to: III, 36–37; Letters from: II, 273–74; III, 40–41
- Clarke, Dr. Joseph, Lying in Hospital (1758–1834), III, xvii; Letters from: II, 284–87, 309–13
- Clarke, Dr. Samuel (1675–1729), II, 61–62, 65, 67, 70, 87, 93, 100, 106; III, 125, 136, 158; Monboddo's criticism of, II, 71–74, 77, 94–95, 102, 103; *Evidences of Natural and Revealed Religion*, III, 125
- Clarkson, Thomas (1760–1846), III, 28, 142, 146n
- Clement XIV, I, 93
- Clermont-Tonnere, Stanislaus Marie Adelaïd (1757–92), Comte de, III, 264–65
- Clinton, George (1739–1812), Governor of New York, III, 15n
- Clinton, Sir Henry (1738?–95), I, 215
- Clymer, George, III, 129n

- Coercive Acts, I, 172, 174–76, 184, 189, 190, 237; repeal of, I, 269. *See also* The Administration of Justice Act; The Boston Port Act; The Quartering Act; The Massachusetts Government Act
- Cogan, Eliezer (1762–1855), III, 337–38
- Coke of Holkham Hall, Thomas William (1754–1842), II, 42
- Colebrooke, Sir George (1729–1829), II, 133
- Colepeper, John Spencer (1712–88), I, 279, 281, 282
- College of Philadelphia (later the University of Pennsylvania), III, 140, 345
- College of William and Mary, III, xxi
- Colonies: Church of England clergy in, I, 89; faithful to parent state, I, 185; preparation for war, I, 182–83, 200, 202; resentment at measures taken by British Government, I, 143–44, 170–73; resolve to defend against force, I, 184; Shelburne's views on, I, 237
- Columbia University, III, 114n
- Commerce, regulation of, II, 5, 14
- Commercial relations with America, II, 297, 317, 319; III, 119–20
- Commines, Philippe de (c. 1445–1511), III, 60
- Committee of Detail (of the Constitutional Convention), III, 140–41
- Committee of Dissenting Ministers: address to the King and Queen, III, 210
- Conceivability, and possibility, I, 193–94
- Concord, I, 214, 217; III, 113n
- Condorcet, Marquis de (1753–94), II, 220–81; III, xix, 27, 86, 197n, 230; Letter from: III, 27–28
- Confederacies: three independent, rumored, III, 115
- Confederation: weakness of, III, 95–96
- Congratulatory Address, III, 260, 261
- Congress: actions of, under new constitution, III, 218; increase in powers of, III, 30; in session in New York, III, 277; offers citizenship to Price, II, 29–31, 35–36; resolution of, III, 346; weakness of, III, 51, 115, 170
- Connecticut, state of, II, 233
- Conscience, II, 291
- Consecration: of foreign bishops, III, 56
- Constantinople, III, 38
- Constituent Assembly, III, 313n
- Constitution: Federal, III, 164, 272; action of minority in Massachusetts, III, 164–65; alterations by state conventions, III, 187–88; occasion of violence, III, 164; ratification of, III, 164, 182–83, 194, 195–96
- Constitutional Convention, III, xviii; “all will end well,” III, 139; final debates, III, 141n; hopes for, III, 44; “a most important business,” III, 130; progress of, III, 140–41; secrecy of, III, 141; on slavery, III, 145, 148; without a chaplain, III, 140n
- Continental Army, I, 200
- Continental Congress, I, 183–84, 216, 221, 254, 260; appoints committee to investigate cruelty, I, 253; communicates with Ministry, I, 201–202; first meeting of I, 173; now sitting, I, 227, 230; petition to the King, I, 179. *See also* Address to the Inhabitants of Great Britain; Address to the King, Address to the people of England; Declaration setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms; Non-consumption and non-importation agreements, Olive Branch Petition
- Controversy: in religion, III, 190
- Conversions, Upward, II, 163, 167, 330–33
- Conway, Henry Seymour (1721–95), General, I, 232
- Cook, Captain James, III, 302n
- Cooper, Samuel (1725–83), I, 52
- Copyright, III, 200, 203–4, 211, 222, 242, 252
- Cornwall, Charles Wolfran (1735–1789), III, 195
- Cornwallis, Charles Cornwallis (1738–1805), 1st Marquis, II, 138
- Cotterell, Rev., II, 169
- Cotton, Mr. (of Hackney), I, 86; II, 304; Letter to: II, 304–5
- Courlet, M. (of Geneva), III, 24–25
- Courtland, Mr. (friend of Samuel Vaughan, Jr.), III, 81
- Cranmer, Thomas (1489–1556), III, 296, 332
- Cranstoun, Sir John. *See* Dalrymple, Sir John
- Craufurd of Rotterdam, George, II, 280, 282–83; *An Essay on the Actual Resources for Re-establishing the Finances of Great Britain* (1785), II, 280
- Crawford, Adair (1748–95), III, 279–80, 287–88
- Crawshay-Williams, Eliot, III, xv
- Creation, justification of, I, 80n
- Cremorne, Viscount. *See* Dawson, Thomas
- Crillon-Mahon, (1718–96), Duc de, II, 143
- Cromwell, Oliver (1742?–1821), III, 21, 25
- Cross, George, II, 171
- Cruttenden, Joseph, II, 59
- Cudworth, Ralph (1617–88), I, 193, 196; II, 65, 67, 70, 87

- Cumberland, Richard (1732–1811), II, 83
- Curteis, Mr. *See* Curtis, William
- Curtis, William (1746–99), II, 20; III, 21
- Curtould (or Courtauld or Curtauld), Mr., II, 113, 292, 305; III, 89
- Curtould (or Courtauld or Curtauld), Mrs., II, 113, 292
- Customs, receipts in the, II, 56–57
- Daer, Lord. *See* Douglas, Basil William
- Daggs, Mr., II, 214
- Dalrymple, John (1720–89), 5th Earl of Stair, financier, I, 249n; II, 154, 206n
- Dalrymple, Sir John (1726–1810) 4th Baronet of Cranstoun, author, I, 159; *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, I, 159
- Dana, Francis (1743–1811), I, 200–1, 204, 208, 234; II, 28; Letter to: II, 79–80
- Dana, James (1735–1812), I, 144n; III, 344, 345
- Dangerous faction: in French Assembly, III, 258
- Dartmouth College, II, 259
- Dartmouth, 2nd Earl of. *See* Legge, William
- Dartrey, Lady (1740–1826), II, 136
- Dartrey of Dawson's Close. *See* Dawson, Thomas
- Dashwood, Captain, II, 269, 273; III, 36–37
- David: quoted by John Howard, III, 70
- Dawson, Thomas (1715–1813), Viscount Cremorne and Lord Dartrey of Dawson's Close, II, 149
- Day, Thomas (1748–89), III, xxi; Letter to: III, 39–40; Letter from: III, 16–18
- Day of Judgment, II, 22; for slavish governments, III, 257
- Deane, Silas, (1737–89), I, 250, 253
- Death, III, 304
- Declaration of Independence, I, 249; III, 131n
- Declaration setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms, I, 222
- Deists, III, 103, 105
- Deity, argument for existence of, I, 9; III, 158; benevolence of, III, 36
- Delaware: first to ratify the Constitution, III, 131n; religious tests in, II, 4, 13
- Dementia praecox, III, 70n
- Democracy: in the United States, III, 135n
- Demography, I, 59, 60, 63, 77n–78n; II, 113; III, xviii; of America, I, 76–77; and bills of mortality, I, 58–59, 66, 70; errors in earlier studies of, I, 64–70; and expectation of life, I, 59, 61–62, 71n, 72n; of Leeds, I, 104, 115–17; of Madeira, I, 71–73, 76, 78; Maseres on, I, 99–101; of New England, I, 73; of Norwich, I, 73; of Paris, I, 75–76; of the Parish of Holy Cross, I, 85–86; Price's first publication on, I, 58–79; of Professors in Scotland, Sweden, Harvard, III, 10; of Prussian dominions, I, 73; in Salem and Hingham, Mass., III, 44; of Swinderby, I, 160–62; of Vaud, 166–68. *See also* Health, Mortality
- De Moivre, Abraham (1667–1754), I, 25n, 35, 58, 109, 277; II, 208n, 211; compared with Bayes on inverse problem, I, 35; his hypothesis, likely to be mistaken, I, 59–61; on need to collect demographic data, I, 79; *Annuities on Lives*, I, 61; *The Doctrine of Chances*, I, 8, 9, 32n, 74
- Democritus, II, 75
- Demonism, III, 183, 195
- Denbigh, 6th Earl of. *See* Feilding, Basil
- Dennis, Mr. (delivers letter to La Rochefoucauld written by Turgot to Price), III, 315
- Denny, Lady Arabella (née Fitzmaurice, d. 1785), I, 156, 231
- Densham, James (d. 1792) I, 41n, 42n, 51, 93
- Dentan, Mr., II, 43
- Depreciation of the paper-currency in America, II, 40–41
- Des Aguliers, J.-T. (1683–1744), I, 154
- De Saussure, Horace Benedict, III, 172n
- Descartes, René, I, 192, 196; II, 92, 94, 103
- Determination of the will, II, 87–88
- De Thulemeier, F. G., III, 87n
- Dickinson College, II, 162, 235, 307; III, 32n
- Dickinson, John (1732–1808), I, 90n; II, 234, 306; III, 32n; in Constitutional Convention, III, 131; *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*, I, 90; II, 234; III, 131
- Dilley's, II, 274
- Dillwyn, William, III, 142n
- Dilly, Charles, II, 274; III, 40, 222
- Dilly, Edward (b. 1732), II, 274; III, 23n
- Dimsdale, Thomas (1712–1800), II, 129
- Disestablishment, religious, II, 186
- Disney, John (1746–1816), Letter from: I, 160–62
- Dispensary dinner, II, 277
- Disraeli, Benjamin, III, 337n
- Dissent, I, 129, 141n, 155–60, 244; II, 179; III, 120, 125, 128, 265, 273, 274. *See also* Calvinism; Chatham; Liberty; A Petition of Certain Protestant Ministers against the Dissenters' Relief Bill; Protestant Dissenting

Dissent (*cont.*)

- Ministers of the Three Denominations in and about London and Westminster; Subscription, Dissenters' application for relief from; Toleration
- Dissenting interest, decline of, II, 33, 162, 199
- Disturnell, Josiah, I, 244
- D'Ivernois, Sir Francis (1757–1842), II, 252, 289, 299
- Divine Agency, II, 67, 73, 77, 89, 97, 100, 106, 199, 237
- Dodson, James (c. 1710–57), I, 279, 283
- Dogmatism, III, 256
- Dollond, Peter (1730–1820), III, 241
- Dorset, 3rd Duke of. *See* Sackville, John Frederick
- Douglas, Basil William (1763–94), Lord Daer, III, 219, 234, 247, 302n
- Douglas, Dr. John (1721–1807), Bishop of Salisbury, I, 45n; III, 157, 175; *The Criterion: or Miracles Examined*, III, 157n
- Drake, Mr., of Boston, III, 118
- Drawbacks (financial), I, 255–56
- Drummond, Adam (1713–86), III, 126
- Drummond, Catherine, III, 126
- Drummond, Charlotte (d. 1802), III, 126
- Drummond, Elizabeth, III, 126
- Drummond, Hay (1711–76), Archbishop of York, I, 131n
- Drummond, Henry (1730–95), III, 126n
- Drummond, John (1723–74), III, 126n
- Drummond, Robert (1728–1804), III, 126n
- Du Chatelet d'Haracourt, III, 262
- Duffield, George (1732–90), III, 140n
- Du Hafford, Ambrose, III, 314n
- Dumont, Pierre Étienne Louis (1759–1829), III, 323
- Dun, John (1724–92), Letter to: III, 294
- Duncombe, Susanna (1730?–1812), I, 48–51; Letter from: I, 47
- Dunning, John (1731–83), 1st Baron Ashburton, I, 146, 269, II, 117, 179
- DuPerray, Brossai, III, 8n
- Dupont de Nemours, Pierre-Samuel (1739–1817), III, 184, 186, 230, 233n
- Du Pujet, M. ("lieutenant de roi"), III, 236
- Duration, I, 63, 66–67; II, 76, 89
- Durham, Bishop of 1750–1752. *See* Butler, Joseph
- Durham, Bishop of, 1791–1826. *See* Barrington, Shute
- Dutch minister (Price's neighbor), III, 152
- Eames, John (d. 1744), I, 6n, 51n
- Eastbourne, III, 48, 136, 149, 155
- East India Company, II, 109; III, 169–70
- Eden Treaty (The Anglo-French Commercial Treaty), The III, 28n, 87–88, 184, 186
- Eden, William (1744–1814), 1st Baron Auckland, I, 123; Letters to: II, 56–57, 289
- Edict of Tolerance of, 1781, III, 111n
- Edinburgh, III, 138; University of, I, 52
- Education, I, 97–98
- Edwards, John (1730–1773), I, 56n, 277–83
- Edwards, Jonathan (1703–58), I, 88n, 144; III, 40
- Egerton, Francis (1736–1803), 3rd Duke of Bridgewater, II, 171
- Eliot, Andrew (1718–78), I, 53; II, 222, 322; Letter to: II, 212
- Eliot, Edward J., III, 66
- Eliot, Samuel (d. 1820), Letter from: III, 19
- Ellery, William (1727–1820), II, 199
- Ellicott, John (1706?–72), I, 43, 137n
- Elliott, Sir Gilbert (1751–1814), II, 133
- Elliott, Gilbert (1751–1814), 1st Lord Minto, II, 133; III, 230n
- Ellsworth, Oliver, III, 141n
- Elsworth, Hannah (Mrs. Theophilus Lindsey), I, 147n; III, 175
- Elsworth, Joshua, III, 175
- Emigration, from Germany, III, 96
- Emmons, Nathaneal (1769–1840), Letter to: III, 166–67
- Encyclopedists, III, 281–82
- Enfield, William (1741–97), I, 242; *The Speaker*, I, 242
- England: contrasted with colonies, I, 166; danger to, I, 187; situation in spring 1775, I, 206
- Epicurus, II, 75
- Episcopalian Church in America, II, 307, 326; III, 31–32, 76, 82, 115, 117; petition to the King, III, 56; reforms in, should have gone further, III, 55–56
- Episcopate, An American, I, 89, 149–50, 165, 199, 257
- Equitable Assurance Society, I, 56n, 239n, 277–83; II, 55, 111, 113, 129, 308–9; III, 106n, 162
- Ernesti, Johann August (1707–81), III, 11
- Erskine, John (1721?–1803), II, 68
- Erskine, Thomas (1750–1823), 1st Baron Erskine, III, 261
- Establishment for a Provision to the Widows

- and Children of the Ministers and Professors in Scotland, The, I, 104–13, 118–20; III, 269; acts to establish, I, 106, 107; calculations concerning success or failure of, I, 108–120; and mean age of widows, I, 108–9, 118, 119; necessity of capital for, I, 113; permanency of such schemes, I, 112, 119; Price's doubts about, easily met, I, 110–13, 118–19; and probabilities of life, I, 113, 120; schedule of payments from, I, 110–12; use of surplus of annual income, I, 112. *See also* De Moivre, Abraham; Expectation of Life; Price, Richard; *Observations on Reversionary Payments*; Reversionary payments; Simpson, Thomas; Tables
- Estaing, Charles-Hector (1729–94), Comte d', II, 29, 33, 52
- Estates-General, III, 198, 223–25
- Eternity, II, 77; III, 156–57
- Eumenes. *See* Maseres, Francis
- Evans, Caleb (1738–91), III, 317, 318
- Evanson, Edward (1731–1805), I, 268; *A Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry*, I, 268
- Everett, Oliver (1732–1802), II, 322
- Ewing, John (1732–1802), I, 234–35; II, 163, 233, 321; III, 78, 345
- Exclusion of the clergy, II, 5, 13–14
- Exercise: contributes to health, III, 69
- Expectation: sums of, I, 10–15; that sun will rise, I, 29–30; regulation of, I, 28–35
- Expectation of life, I, 59–68, 72–79, 85. *See also* Demography, Health, Mortality
- Experience, significance of uniform, I, 30
- Extension, II, 72, 76
- Fall, The: interpretation of, III, 36
- False religions, III, 45
- Family: comforts provided by, III, 62–63, 68
- Farmer, Hugh (1714–87), I, 142; II, 34, 274; III, 37; *A Dissertation on Miracles*, I, 142; *An essay on the Demoniacs*, 142; *An Inquiry into the Nature and Design of Christ's Temptation*, I, 142
- Fastnedge, Edward (1758–1812), II, 47, 129; III, 185n
- Fatalism, the doctrine of, I, 144
- Faulkner (or Falconer), Dr. William (1744–1824), III, 116–17
- Fawcett, Joseph (1758–1804), III, 62
- Federal Union, problems attending the creation of a, II, 162, 186, 300; the need for a strong, II, 261, 269–70, 314, 316
- Federal university: Rush recommends, III, 31
- Feilding, Basil (1719–1800), 4th Earl of Denbigh, I, 163
- Ferguson, Adam (1723–1816), II, 33; *Remarks, on a Pamphlet lately published by Dr. Price*, II, 33
- Final restitution, III, 133, 147
- Finance, III, 107
- Finch, William (1756–1831), III, 80n
- Fitch, Ebenezer, II, 201, 231, 237
- Fitzmaurice, Arabella. *See* Denny, Lady Arabella
- Fitzmaurice, Viscount. *See* Petty, John Henry
- Fitzpatrick, Lady Louisa (1755–89), II, 48; death of, III, 251; travels and health of, III, 201
- Fitzpatrick, Richard (1747–1813), II, 127, 129
- Fitzroy, Augustus Henry (1735–1811), 3rd Duke of Grafton, I, 163, 232, 236n
- Flamsteed, John (1646–1719), II, 197, 297
- Fleming, Caleb (1698–1779), I, 141
- Flesselles, Jacques de (1712?–89), III, 236
- Fleury, Hercule (1653–1743), II, 306
- Fludyer, Sir Samuel (1705–68), II, 48
- Flue, Louis-Ignace (1752–1817), III, 236
- Fluxions, I, 20–22n, 61n
- Fombelle, Mr., II, 84
- Fontainebleau, Treaty of, (1785), II, 323
- Fordyce, James (1720–96), I, 142
- Forgery of Bank-notes, II, 85
- Foster, William, II, 180, 203; Letter from: II, 320
- Fothergill, John (1712–80), II, 91
- Foucault, M. de (member of the National Assembly), III, 301n
- Foulon (or Foullon), Joseph François (1715–89), III, 235
- Foundling Hospital, III, 262
- Fox, Caroline (1767–1845), III, 60, 88, 255, 322
- Fox, Charles James (1749–1806), II, 82, 122n, 124, 182–83, 250; III, 143, 205
- Fox-North Coalition, III, 89, 170; scandalous nature of, II, 175, 177, 181, 188
- France, III, 182, 261, 304; equality in, John Adams's opinion of, III, 282; an example of patriotism, III, 229; glorious news from, III, 243; Thomas Jefferson's views on, III, 218; patriotic struggle, success of, III, 230; rapid changes in, III, 230; thoughts of, a possible solace, III, 251
- Franco-American Alliance, I, 249–50, 269, 273–75

- Franco-Dutch Alliance (1785), II, 323–24
- Franklin, Benjamin (1706–1790), I, 6n, 37n, 41n, 42n, 94n, 114, 124, 125n, 132n, 136, 148, 149, 153, 171n, 175, 177, 178, 191, 204, 229, 234, 235, 246, 253n; II, 3, 9, 19–20, 29, 33, 35–36, 38, 53, 231, 268–69, 280, 294, 306, 315–16; III, xviii, 87n, 140n; asks Price for piece on toleration, II, 81, 91; autobiography, III, 298–300, 316, 317, 320, 326; charged with dishonesty, I, 214n; cheerful in old age, III, 32; on chimneys, III, 23, 127; congratulates Price on the change of ministry, II, 127–28; in Constitutional Convention, III, 131, 164–65; death of, III, 285, 303; epitaph, III, 286–87; false report of his capture, II, 319; on growing old, III, 228; health of, III, 53, 77, 81, 130; importance in Pennsylvania, III, 32; on the importance of the Press, II, 128; intermediary for Winthrop, I, 212, 257; lent money to Benjamin Webb, III, 25n; letters to Gov. Shirley, I, 265; “a little parochial library,” II, 266, 282; member of Continental Congress, I, 211; mourned in France, III, 305–6; names the Club of Honest Whigs, I, 42n; National Debt, thoughts on, not well digested, III, 130; on navigation, III, 23; optimistic about the United States, despite problems, III, 54; on John Paradise, III, 149n; Peace Plan, II, 58; President of the Society for Political Enquiries, III, 129; Price avoids correspondence with, I, 259; Price seeks information from, II, 19–20; Priestley sends information on experiments to, I, 38–39, 103; “prudential algebra” of, I, 133n; returns to Philadelphia, I, 207, 211; suffers from gout, II, 84, 150, 192, and from stone, II, 150, 215, 318–19; supports Priestley, as candidate for Royal Society, I, 39–41; tributes to, III, 286; wishes for peace, expects war, I, 229–30; *Internal State of America*, 111, 57n; *Letter to the Academy at Brussels*, II, 193, 214; *The Interest of Great Britain consider’d*, I, 59n, 76n, 77n; *Observations concerning the increase of mankind*, I, 59n; *Proposals for Consideration in the Convention for forming the Constitution of the United States*, III, 145n; Letters to: I, 41–42, 51–52, 58–79, 93–95, 140–42, 257; II, 19–20, 34–35, 53–54, 90–91, 113–14, 123–24, 149–51, 176–77, 180–81, 185, 214–16, 218–19, 220, 240–41, 266–68, 281–83, 295, 318–19; III, 116–18, 148–50, 193–95, 298–300, 346; Letters from: I, 52–53, 53–54, 125–26, 138–39, 229–30; II, 29–30, 57–58, 81–82, 84, 127–28, 192–93, 223–27, 260, 266; III, 53–54, 130, 134, 228
- Franklin, Sarah, III, 77n
- Franklin, William (c. 1731–1813), son of Benjamin, I, 142n; II, 193n; III, 286
- Franklin, William Temple (1760–1823), grandson of Benjamin, II, 193, 225, 227, 241, 267, 283; Letter to: II, 227
- Franklin and Marshal College, III, 133
- Frederick William II (1712–1786), King of Prussia: John Adams quotes, III, 283; reinstates Stadholder, III, 153n
- Free press, III, 199
- Freeman, James (1759–1835), III, 177, 276n, 320
- Free-will, II, 63, 66, 71
- French Constitution, III, 232–33, 248, 257–58, 271–72, 282; John Adams’s comments on, III, 282; and right to declare war, III, 293; struggle over, between assembly and ministry, III, 297
- French edict for establishing a Sinking Fund, II, 226–27, 230, 240
- French history: conflict of Royal families in, III, 282
- French leaders: Price’s correspondence with, III, xix
- French ministry: reconstruction of, III, 234–37
- French Revolution, III, xix, xx, 196–99; John Adams on, III, 281–82; beginnings of, III, 234–37; a commencement of general reformation of governments, III, 247, 261, 271; courtiers and Tories in England fearful of, III, 248, 317; first anniversary of, III, 312, 317; Thomas Jefferson on, III, 223–25, 231–34; pleasing to the United States, III, 238; public opinion will not let it fail, III, 293; role of French and English political theory in, III, 281–82; unparalleled in history, III, 328–29
- French Sinking Fund, III, 5, 26, 127
- French Treaty, III, 91
- Friendly Societies, III, 85
- Friendly Society of Annuitants, Price’s negative analysis of, III, 342–44; Letter to: III, 342–44
- Friends of the Revolution in France, III, 310, 328; celebration of July 14, 1790, not the same as The Revolution Society, III, 325
- Furieux, Philip (1726–83), I, 42, 126n, 142

- Gage, Lady Margaret (née Kembal) (1734–1824), I, 225
- Gage, General Thomas (1719?–87), I, 181, 183, 207; authorized to seize American leaders, I, 216; object of hatred, I, 218–19; orders poor into country, I, 220; perfidy of, I, 222–23; preparations for offensive war, I, 202; report of, attributes aggression at Lexington to colonists, I, 208; reinforcements to, I, 190
- Galaizière, Antoine de Chaumont, Marquis de (1727–1812), III, 235
- Gallio, II, 296
- Garthshore, Maxwell (1732–1812), II, 102
- Gates, Horatio (c. 1728–1806), I, 227; II, 83
- Gazetteer*, III, xxii, 250n; principal opposition newspaper to the Pitt ministry, III, 256
- Gazetteer of the United States*, III, 253
- Geddes, Alexander (1739–1802), III, 158, 160, 270n
- Genoa, III, 8
- General education in U.S.: Rush asks Price to write pamphlet on, III, 31
- Gentleman's Magazine*, III, xxii
- Georgia, expedition against, II, 43
- Germain, George Sackville (1716–85), 1st Viscount Sackville (known as Lord George Sackville 1720 to 1770 and as Lord George Germain from 1770 to 1782), I, 242
- Gerrish, Colonel Samuel, I, 226
- Gervais, John Lewis (1747?–1798), II, 263
- Gibbon, Edward (1737–94), III, 121, 175
- Gibbons, Thomas (1720–85), II, 200
- Gibson, Mr. (conveys letter from Price to Thomas Jefferson), III, 182
- Gift: of books, to Congregational Church in Franklin, Mass., III, 166
- Gill, John (1697–1771), I, 84, 85; *The Cause of God and Truth*, I, 84
- Glasgow, III, 138
- Glorious Revolution of 1688, III, xix
- Gloucester, Bishop of. *See* Warburton, William
- Gloucester, Dean of. *See* Josiah Tucker
- Gloucester County Record Office, III, xv
- Glover, Richard (1712–85), I, 248; *The Substance of the Evidence presented by the West India Planters and Merchants to the House of Commons*, I, 248
- God, III, 183–84
- Godwin, William, the Elder (1756–1836), III, 145, 152; *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793), III, 152; *History of the Internal Affairs of the United Provinces* (1787), III, 145, 152
- Goodenough, George, II, 130
- Goodricke, Henry (1741–84), I, 265; *Observations on Dr. Price's theory and principles of government and liberty*, I, 265
- Goodricke, John, II, 213
- Gordon, Dr. Charles, III, 43, 210
- Gordon, Lord George (1751–93), III, 77
- Gordon Riots, III, xvii
- Gordon, Dr. William (1728–1807), I, 207, 224, 234, 259; II, 54, 110, 239; III, 14, 15, 53; Letter to: II, 269–70; Letter from: I, 225–29
- Gorham, Nathaniel (1738–96), II, 198, 222; III, 141n; Letter from: II, 328–30
- Gorsuch, Rev. William, I, 85n
- Gould, Sir Charles (1726–1806), Letter to: II, 111–12
- Gower, 2nd Earl. *See* Leveson-Gower, Granville
- Grafton, 3rd Duke of. *See* Fitzroy, Augustus Henry
- Grantley, 1st Baron. *See* Norton, Fletcher
- Grattan, Henry (1746–1820), II, 188
- Graunt, J. (1620–74), I, 68n, 70; *Natural and Political Observations*, I, 70n
- Gravel Pit Meeting House, III, xxi
- Gravitation, II, 106, 245
- Great Barrington, Mass., III, 113n
- Graves, Thomas, Letter from: II, 19
- Greek Lexicon, III, 188–89
- Green, John (1706–79), Bishop of Lincoln, I, 162
- Grenville, George Nugent-Temple (1753–1813), 2nd Earl Temple and 1st Marquis of Buckingham, II, 124, 145–46; III, 168
- Grenville, William, III, 144n
- Greville, George (1746–1816), Earl of Warwick, III, 12
- Grimké, John Faucheraud (1752–1819), II, 263–64, 290
- Grisdale, Browne (d. 1814), III, 175
- Crittelle, James H., III, 38n
- Guerard, Benjamin (1740–88), II, 263
- Guildford, 2nd Earl of. *See* North, Frederick, Lord
- Gurney, Russell, III, 337n
- Habeas Corpus, III, 199
- Hackney, Congregation at, II, 304
- Haller, Albrecht von (1708–77), II, 311
- Halley, Edmund (or Edmond) (1656–1742), his Breslau tables, I, 69, 73–74, 77–78, 100–1; III, 343; need for care in using tables of,

Halley, Edmund (*cont.*)

I, 67, 120; agree with De Moivre's hypothesis, I, 60n; virtual originator of science of statistics, I, 63

Hallifax, Sir Thomas (1721–1789), II, 83

Hamilton, Alexander (1739–1802), II, 312n; III, 15n, 218n

Hamilton, Dr., II, 90, 150

Hamilton, Hugh (1729–1805), III, 124; *An Attempt to Prove the Existence and Absolute Perfection of the Supreme Unoriginated Being in a Demonstrative Manner* (1784), III, 184

Hamilton, Robert (1743–1829), III, 270

Hancock, John (1737–93), II, 328

Happiness: prevalence of, III, 98

Harbord, Sir Harbord (1734–1810), II, 83, 142

Hardy, Sir Charles (1716–1780), II, 50

Hare-Naylor, Francis, II, 250, 267

Harman, John, II, 160, 168; III, 48

Harries, Houlton (d. 1793), II, xvi, 141

Harries, Solomon (1726–1785), II, xvi, 141

Harris, Christopher, Letter to: III, 180–81

Harrison, James, III, 144n, 147n

Harrison, George, III, 142n

Hartley, David (1705–57), I, 44, 195, 268, 270; II, 9, 7; *Observations on Man*, I, 268

Hartley, David, the Younger (1732–1813), II, 110, 240; Letter to: II, 60–61

Harvard, President and Fellows of, II, 212n; gift of *Review* to, III, 151; graduates, their expectations of life, III, 49; grants degree to Joshua Toulmin, III, 318n, 320n; Letter from: II, 265

Harwood, Edward (1729–94), I, 138; III, 188

Hawkes, William (1759–1820), II, 248

Hawkes, Sr., William, II, 248

Hawkesworth, John (1715–73), I, 51

Haygarth, Dr. John (1740–1827), I, 168; III, 38n

Hayley, William (1745–1820), I, 168; III, 171, 185

Hazlitt, William (1737–1820), II, xiv, 126, 255; III, 41; Letters from: II, 238–39, 320–22

Health, I, 59n, 74

Heath, Robert (1741–1800), II, 142

Heberden, Thomas, I, 71, 75, 76, 78n; III, 340

Heberden, Thomas (grandson of William), III, 340

Heberden, William, the Elder (1710–1801), III, 340

Hederich, Benjamin (1675–1748), III, 11

Hely-Hutchinson, John (1724–94), III, 168

Herrenschwand, J. F. de, II, 133, 144, 147, 153–54

Herschel, Sir William (1738–1822), II, 105, 236–37, 315–16; III, xvii, 125; *See* Uranus, discovery of

Hervey, Frederick Augustus (1730–1803), 4th Earl of Bristol, II, 318

Hesilrige, Sir Arthur, 7th baronet (d. 1763), II, 329

Hesilrige, Sir Arthur, 9th baronet (d. 1805), II, 329

Hesilrige, Hannah, II, 329

Hesilrige, Sir Robert, 8th baronet, II, 329

Hesilrige, Sarah, II, 329

Hessians, I, 235

Hester, 1st Countess of Chatham, III, 66

Hey, Wiggins, III, 255

Heywood, Samuel (1753–1828), III, 47n

Higginson, Mr., II, 302, 309

Highmore, Joseph (1692–1780), I, 47, 50; Letters to: I, 79, 82–83; Letters from: I, 80–81, 83

Hill, Wills (1718–93), Viscount Hillsborough, I, 89

Hillsborough, Viscount. *See* Hill, Wills

Hinchliffe, John (1713–94), Bishop of Peterborough, I, 163

History of Sandford and Merton, The, III, 40

Hitchin, Edward, I, 147

Hoadly, Benjamin (1676–1761), Bishop of Winchester, II, 163, 222

Hoadly, Benjamin (1706–57), physician, I, 41

Hoadly, John (1711–76), II, 163

Hoar, Mr. (Price's neighbor), III, 48

Hoare, Samuel, III, 142n

Hog Island, battle of, I, 219

Holland, III, 39, 48, 71, 74, 93

Hollis, Timothy (1708–1790), I, 171n, 177, 178; II, 319; III, 175–76

Holyoke, Dr. E. A., "A Bill of mortality in the town of Salem for the year 1782", III, 44n

Homerton Hall, III, 47n, 91, 99

Honest Whigs, Club of, I, 41n, 42n, 53, 123n, 140n, 141n, 142n, 171n, 177, 244n; II, 20, 53, 57, 82, 114, 127–28, 150, 176, 193, 214, 224–25, 255

Honeyman, Dr., II, 186

Hood, Sir Samuel (1724–1816), II, 117

Hooper, Joseph, III, 142n

Hopkins, Benjamin, Chamberlain of the City of London, Letter to: I, 247–48

Horace, II, 244

Horne, George (1730–92), Dean of Canter-

- bury, Bishop of Worcester, III, 105, 109, 159, 160
- Horne Tooke, John (1736–1812), III, 308
- Horrocks, James (1734–72), I, 149–50
- Horse-racing: in Ireland, III, 138
- Horsley, Samuel (1733–1806), Bishop of St. Asaph, II, 24
- Horsley, Samuel (1733–1806), II, 24, 63, 78, 94–95, 195, 214, 245; III, 160; Letter to: I, 166–68
- Hospitals, III, 37–39
- Houdon, Jean Antoine (1741–1828), II, 308–9
- Howard, Henrietta, III, 74
- Howard, Henry (1739–79), 12th Earl of Suffolk, I, 163
- Howard, John (1726–90), II, 112, 133–34; III, xxii, 126, 146; attack by Tunis privateer, III, 69; correspondence with Price, III, 7–8n; death of, III, 259, 326; not welcome in France, III, 8n; opposition to statue, III, 70, 75, 79, 83; thanks Price for help, III, 138; *An Account of the Principal Lazarettos in Europe* (1789), III, 146n; *The State of the Prisons* (1777), III, 146n; Letters to: III, 204–6; Letters from: I, 92–93; III, 7–9, 37–39, 69–71, 74–75, 110–11, 138, 167–69, 191–93, 258–59
- Howard, John, the Younger (1765–99), III, 70, 100, 110
- Howard, Simeon (1733–1804), II, 322
- Howardian Fund, III, 83, 101
- Howe, John (1728–1810), 4th Lord Chedworth, II, 122n, 124
- Howe, Admiral Richard (1726–99), 4th Viscount, I, 246
- Howe, General William (1729–1814), 5th Viscount, I, 181n, 215n, 245, 251n, 253; burns Charles Town, I, 228; in command of British at Bunker Hill, I, 226–27; commissioned to restore peace in America without warrant, I, 246; hostility to, I, 260
- Hoves, Thomas (1729–1814), III, 158, 160
- Howorth, Henry (c. 1736–83), II, 52
- Hubbard, Mr., II, 295–96, 328
- Hulme, Nathaniel (1732–1807), II, 205
- Hulton, Mr. (Commissioner), I, 89
- Hume, David (1711–1776), I, 45n, 158n; III, 121, 157n, 166, 327; Price argues against, I, 80n; Reid criticizes, I, 153n, 192–94, 196–98; relationship with Price, I, 45n; Letter to: I, 46–47; Letter from: I, 45–46
- Humphreys, David (1752–1818), III, 17
- Hunter, William (1718–83), III, 262
- Hurd, Richard (1770–1808), Bishop of Litchfield (1774) and Worcester (1781), I, 46n, 268
- Hurry, Anne, III, 63
- Hurry, Captain, II, 125–26
- Hurry, James (1763–1842), II, 135, 139, 249
- Hurry, John (1724–82), II, 135, 139
- Hurry, William, III, 209
- Hussey, William (1725–1813), II, 160, 175
- Hutcheson, Francis (1694–1746), I, 52n, 264–65; *System of Moral Philosophy*, I, 265
- Hutchins, Thomas, II, 213
- Hutchinson, Sir Francis, II, 281
- Hutchinson, Thomas (1711–80), I, 214, 223
- Hutton, James, III, 327
- Hypothesis, I, 39
- Impost: New York agrees to, III, 44
- Incarnation, III, 97
- India, III, 169–70
- Ingenhousz, Jan (1730–1799), II, 53, 57, 91; III, 111, 323; on annuities, III, 126–27; Letter from: III, 126–27
- Inoculation, I, 242
- Insurance: and laws of chance, I, 58; Price's contribution to the development of, I, 277n; Price's first known writing on, I, 56n; problems put by John Edwards, I, 277–83; proper payments of, I, 56–58; social, I, 100–1; for widows and children of Scottish ministers and educators, I, 104–13, 118–20. *See also* Annuities; Expectation of life; Mortality; Reversionary payments
- Insurrection, III, 72
- Intolerance, II, 45
- Introductory address: by Price, on alliance with France, III, 308
- Invasion threatened, II, 50
- Ireland, free trade in, II, 56; distractions in, III, 77; independence of, II, 188; reform in, II, 117
- Irish Parliament: and education, III, 168
- Irish propositions, II, 279–80, 317, 324
- Izard, Ralph (1741–1804), II, 263, 290
- Jackson, James (1757–1806), III, 285n
- Jackson, Jonathan (1743–1810), II, 202, 222, 241, 267; III, 19; Letter from: II, 300–3
- Jackson, Richard (1721–87), II, 160, 175
- Jaume, Francois-Thomas (1750–?), III, 293, 310
- Jaume, Honoré-Henry (1761–?), III, 293, 310
- Jay, Frederick, III, 263

- Jay, John (1745–1829), II, 216, 225; III, 203, 211, 223n; Letters to: II, 292–93; III, 89, 90; Letter from: II, 305–6
- Jay's Treaty (Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation), III, 115n
- Jebb, John (1736–1786), III, 114n, 227n
- Jefferies, Joseph (1726–84), I, 42n, 141
- Jefferson, Thomas (1743–1826) II, 225, 267, 280, 282, 308, 317; III, xviii, xix, xxi, 87n, 218n, 302n; "Calamity our best physician," II, 261; describes fall of Bastille, III, 235–36; describes changes in ministry, III, 234–37; France, history and prophecy, III, 195–99; impressed with ratification, III, 195–96; interested in Socinianism, III, 233–34, 248; on the New French constitution, III, 233–34, 257–58; opinion of Lafayette, III, 236–37n; reason and sentiment in morality, III, 180; regards Mirabeau as leader of a dangerous faction, III, 258n; responds to Price's request for information about France, III, 196; *Notes on the state of Virginia*, II, 288, 290; III, 174; Letters to: II, 268–69, 289–90, 313–14; III, 173–74, 182–84, 218–19, 247–49; Letters from: II, 261–62, 288, 298–99; III, 179–80, 195–99, 231–34, 234–37, 257–58
- Jeffery, George, Letter from, II, 120–21
- Jellicoe, Adam (d. 1789), II, xvi, 130; III, 257
- Jennings, Joseph, II, 200
- Jervis, Sir John (1735–1823), Earl St. Vincent, II, 248n
- Jervis, Thomas (1748–1833), I, 99n, 145, 156, 238; II, 82, 109, 128
- Jews, III, 265
- Job: quoted by John Howard, III, 70
- Johnson, Colonel Guy (1740?–88), I, 228–29
- Johnson, Joseph (1738–1809), publisher, I, 40, 133n, 136, 148; III, 222; premises destroyed by fire, I, 87–88; and Priestley, I, 37–38
- Johnson, Samuel (1709–1784), II, 182
- Johnston, William A., III, 111n
- Johnstone, George (1730–87), II, 28, 39
- Joint address of both houses to the King on the disturbances in North America, The, I, 189, 202
- Jones, David, III, 143, 338, 340n
- Jones, John Paul (1747–92), II, 52, 56
- Jones, Sir William (1746–94), II, 53, 60, 69, 81, 151, 216 and Benjamin Franklin, III, 321; and codification of Indian law, III, 321; death of, III, 321; Parliamentary candidate at Oxford, II, 60; Letters from: III, 181–82, 321
- Joseph II (1741–90), Holy Roman Emperor, III, 110
- Journal of the Society of 1789, III, 311
- Joyce, Jeremiah (1763–1816), III, 143
- Joycroft, Mr. (colleague of Chauncy), I, 91
- Judiciary Act, III, 218n
- Kann, Robert A., III, 111n
- Keene, Mr., II, 112
- Keith, Sir Robert Murray (1730–95), III, 192
- Kemal, Margaret. *See* Gage, Lady Margaret
- Kennady, Captain, III, 30
- Keppel, Augustus (1725–86), Viscount, II, 33, 38, 43, 83
- Keralio, Louis-Felix Guinement de (1731–93), III, 268; Letter from: III, 297–98
- Kersseboom, Guillaume (1691–1771), I, 74
- King, Edward (1725–1807), III, 142
- King's College, III, 114n
- King's Speech, II, 157, 165, 172, 179
- Kinsman, Andrew (1725–93), II, 142
- Kippis, Andrew (1725–95), I, 42n, 126n, 140, 141n, 142n, 145, 161, 169n; II, 127, 248; III, xxii, 185, 210, 227n, 338; *A Vindication of the Protestant Dissenting Ministers*, I, 145
- Kirkland, Samuel (1741–1808), I, 229
- Knox, John, III, 330
- Lafayette, Marie Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de (1757–1834), III, 233n, 236–37, 306n, 307
- Lake Champlain, I, 251
- Lane, William Coolidge (1895–1931), III, 9n
- Lansdowne, Marchioness of. *See* Fitzpatrick, Lady Louisa
- Lansdowne, 1st Marquis of. *See* Petty, Sir William
- Lansdowne, 2nd Marquis of. *See* Petty, John Henry
- Lansdowne, 3rd Marquis of. *See* Petty, Henry
- Lardner, Nathaniel (1684–1768), II, 322; III, 248, 270n
- La Rochefoucauld d'Enville, Louis Alexandre, Duc de la Roche-Guyon et (1743–92), III, xix, 197n, 228, 265, 306n, 328; active in National Assembly, III, 260, 293; discourse on Benjamin Franklin, mentions Price, III, 309; desires correspondence with the Revolution Society, III, 269, 289–90, 293; helps estab-

- lish Society of 1789, and its Journal, III, 268–69; hopes for union with Great Britain, III, 260; has *Discourse* translated, III, 267–68; optimistic about French Revolution and France, III, 289, 293; work on finance, III, 324; Letters to: III, 306–7, 307–9, 325–28; Letters from: III, 249, 259–60, 266–69, 288–90, 292–93, 300–1, 305–6, 309–11, 315–16, 323–24
- Lathrop, John (1740–1816), II, 239, 321; III, 11; Letter to: III, 276; Letter from: III, 12–13
- Latitudinarians, I, 147n
- Laudable Society, I, 101; III, 11n
- Launay, Bernard-René Jourdan de (1740–89), III, 235
- Laurens, Eleanor, II, 136n, 262
- Laurens, Henry (1724–92), II, xiv, 80, 114, 121, 149, 152, 185, 264, 290, 313; criticizes Shelburne, II, 137; death of his son, II, 149; on slavery, II, 263–65; discharged from the Tower, II, 114; Letters to: II, 52, 146–47; Letters from: II, 122–23, 136–38, 262–65
- Laurens, Jr., Henry, II, 152, 262
- Laurens, James, (1728–84), II, 136
- Laurens, John (1754–82), II, 149
- Laurens, Martha, II, 262
- Laurens, Mary, II, 136n
- Lavoissier, Antoine Laurent, III, 172n
- Laws: of chance, I, 9, 10–15; of India, III, 321
- Lazarretos, III, 7–9, 70, 74, 100, 138, 168n, 191–92
- Leavenworth, Mr., II, 237
- Ledyard, Isaac (1754–1803), III, xxi; Letter to: III, 302–3
- Ledyard, John, the Traveler (1751–88?), III, 302n
- Lee, Arthur (1740–92), I, 136n, 181; II, 20, 50, 53, 57, 143, 186, 324; III, 184; Letters to: I, 258; II, 35–36; III, 119–21, 169–70; Letters from: I, 253–55; II, 29–31
- Lee, Charles (1731–82), General, I, 227, 252
- Lee, Edward, III, 38n
- Lee, John (1733–93), I, 42n, 123, 133n, 136; II, 56–57
- Lee, Richard Henry (1732–94), II, 271n
- Lee, William (1739–95), II, 143; III, 170
- Leechman, William (1706–85), I, 52, 154, 265; III, 270
- Leeds, Edward (1728–1803), III, 75
- Legge, William (1731–1801), 2nd Earl of Dartmouth, I, 228
- Leicester, Earl of. *See* Townshend, George
- Lennox, Charles (1735–1806), 3rd Duke of Richmond, I, 130, 132n, 162–63, 276; II, 19–20, 130, 188, 191
- Leonard, Daniel (1740–1829) (pen name, Massachusettensis), I, 247
- Leopold I (Pietro Leopoldo) (1747–92), III, 192
- Le Sawn, Charles, III, 314n
- Leslie, Colonel Alexander (1740?–94), I, 217
- Lettsom, John Coakley (1744–1815), III, 302n; Letters to: III, 78–79, 83–84
- LeVeillard, Louis Guillaume, Mayor of Passy, III, 298n, 316
- Leveson-Gower, Gertrude, Duchess of Bedford, III, 88
- Leveson-Gower, Granville (1721–1803), 2nd Earl Gower, I, 163
- Leveson-Gower, Hon. John (1740–92), II, 132
- Lewis brothers and family, merchants, II, 220, 225, 278; III, 12–13
- Lexington, skirmish at, I, 208–10, 214, 217–18
- Liberty: in France and England, III, 94
- Liberty, I, 189, 191, 244, 255; II, 4, 12, 36, 90–91, 191, 257, 306; III, 290; civil, I, 164, 270; II, 32, 38, 43, 150, 189; III, 105, 218, 330, 329; of commerce, II, 6, 8, 15, 17; III, 12–13, 44, 112, 119–20; natural, III, 28; political, I, 265; II, 8, 17; of the Press, II, 3, 11; III, 297; religious, I, 126–29, 131, 132, 151, 158, 164; II, 8, 17, 32, 150, 190, 272, 274, 296; III, 188, 265, 330; *See also* Dissent; Representation; Subscription
- Liège, III, 256
- Life after death, virtuous will meet in, III, 251. *See also* Eternity; Restoration
- Life Annuity Society of Amsterdam, III, 126
- Lightning conductors, II, 114
- Lincoln, Benjamin, III, 113n
- Lincoln, Bishop of. *See* Green, John
- Lincoln, Mr. (head of a society of lawyers), I, 56
- Lindsey, Hannah, III, 175
- Lindsey, Theophilus (1723–1808), I, 42n, 147, 152, 160n; II, 255; III, 73, 99, 317, 318, 320, 336, 337, 339; *Vindiciae Priestleianae*, III, 174; Letters to: III, 174–76, 177, 206–7, 292; Letter from: III, 176
- Lisburne, Earl of. *See* Vaughan, Wilmot
- Litchfield, Bishop of. *See* Hurd, Richard
- Literary Society at l'Orient, III, 325

- Livingstone, William (1723–90), II, 45
- Llandaff, Bishop of, (1769–1782). *See* Barrington, Shute
- Llandaff, Bishop of, (1782–1816). *See* Watson, Richard
- Lloyd, John, III, 142n
- Locke, John, I, 126–28, 265; II, 31, 212, 272
- Lockwood, Samuel (1721–91), III, 212
- Lofft Capel, III, 335n
- Loménie de Brienne, Pierre-Francois-Marcel de (1763–94), III, 263, 324, 335
- London Annuity Society, III, 11n
- London, Bishop of (1764–77). *See* Terrick, Richard
- London, Bishop of (1777–87). *See* Lowth, Robert
- London: emigrants from, I, 64–65; freedom of, presented to Price, I, 246–48; health of children in, I, 65, 70; population of, I, 59, 63–79; Price thanks the council of the city of, I, 243–44; probabilities of life in, I, 100–1
- London Coffee House, I, 42n, 178; II, 20, 82, 114, 128, 151, 176, 214, 224, 255; III, 47n
- London societies, I, 102, 115, 118, 225
- London Society for Commemorating the Revolution in Great Britain (The Revolution Society), The, III, xvii, 185, 260n, 267, 268, 290, 294, 306, 307, 309
- Louis XVI, III, 94, 196–99, 321n; convenes Estates-General, III, 223–24; execution of, III, 311n
- Love of our country, true nature of, III, xix
- Lovell, Mr., II, 327
- Lowth, Robert (1710–87), Bishop of London, II, 43
- Ludwell, Lucy, III, 149
- Luxury, I, 73; II, 269, 316; III, 13
- Luzerne, Anne-César de la (1741–91), III, 228n, 308
- Lycurgus, II, 333
- Lyons, III, 7
- Lyttelton, George (1709–73), 1st Baron, I, 50n, 96n, 130, 162–63; Letter from: I, 132
- Mablay, Abbé (1709–85), II, 272
- Macaulay, Catherine Sawbridge, III, 226, 335n
- Macbride, David (1726–78), I, 103
- McClellan, Robert (c. 1730–99), III, 262
- McGill, Douglas Heron (1773–1790), III, 331
- McGill, Elizabeth (1765–91), III, 331
- MacGill, Stevenson (1765–1804), III, 329; *The Spirit of the Times* (1792)
- McGill, William (1732–1807), III, 270, 312; recantation of, III, 291, 296, 331
- McKeen, Joseph (1757–1807), III, 9
- MacLaine, Archibald (1722–1804), III, 92
- Macpherson, James (1736–96), I, 247, 249; *The Rights of Great Britain asserted*, 1, 247, 249
- Madan, Spencer (1758–1836), III, 319–20
- Madeira, I, 71–73, 77
- Madison, James (1750/51–1836), III, 130n, 149, 258
- Magalhaens, J. H. de (1723–90), I, 256
- Mahon, Viscount. *See* Stanhope, Charles, 3rd Earl
- Maitland, William, I, 68n
- Malkin, Mr. (parishioner at Old Gravel Pit Meeting Place), III, 62
- Malta, III, 8, 37
- Maltby, William, II, xvi, 170–71
- Manchester, 4th Duke of. *See* Montagu, George
- Manners, Charles, 4th Duke of Rutland, III, 154, 168
- Manning, Mr., III, 125; Letter to: II, 125–26
- Mansfield, 1st Earl of. *See* Murray, William
- Marchant, Henry (1741–96), I, 149–50, 198; Letters to: I, 164–65; II, 198–200; Letters from: I, 151; III, 344–45
- Maria Theresa (1717–80), Archduchess of Austria, III, 111n
- Markham, William (1719–1807), Archbishop of York, I, 131n, 257, 270
- Marlar, John, II, 108–9
- Marlborough, 4th Duke of. *See* Spencer, George
- Marriage, permitted to clergy, III, 111
- Marseilles, III, 7
- Martin, James (1738–1810), II, 165, 175
- Martin, Mr. (of Portsmouth, New Hampshire), III, 72
- Marybone, III, 160
- Maseres, Francis (1731–1824) (pseud. Eumenes), I, 99–101, 257n; II, 52, 214; III, 85–86, 117–18, 130; *The Principles of the Doctrine of Life-Annuities*, I, 100n; II, 187; *A Proposal for establishing Life-Annuities in parishes for the benefit of the industrious poor* (1722), I, 100n; III, 85–86; Letter to: II, 187
- Maskelyne, Nevil (1732–1811), I, 153; II, 105, 203, 214, 237, 297; III, xvii, 14n, 112, 113, 118; *A Plan for observing the meteors called Fireballs* (1783), II, 163
- Massachusetts: condition in, spring 1776, I, 201–2; declared in rebellion, I, 189; liberal-

- ism in, III, xviii, 112; likely losses if they trust the House of Commons, I, 190; people's determination to defend themselves, I, 202–3; political affairs in, I, 143–44; tumults in, III, xviii, 112, 113
- Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society, The, II, 2; III, 49, 51, 71n, 150
- Massachusetts Government Act, The I, 172, 174–76, 209, 237
- Massachusetts (pen-name of Daniel Leonard), I, 247n
- Masserano, Prince Carlo Ferrero-Fieschi (d. 1837) II, 143
- Materialism, II, 25, 63
- Mather, Cotton, III, 240n
- Mather, Samuel (1706–1805), II, 322; Letter to: II, 221
- Mathon de la Cour, Charles Joseph (1738–93), II, 260n; *Par Quelles Causes et par Quels Degrès les Lois de Lycurgue se sont altérée . . .* (1767), II, 333; *Testament of Fortuné Ricard*, II, 260, 267, 269, 333; Letter to: III, 229; Letters from: II, 333–34; III, 178–79
- Matter, II, 72–73, 93–95
- Maty, Matthew (1718–76), I, 148
- Maty, P. H., II, 213n–214n
- Mauduit, Israel (1707–87), I, 241; *Considerations on the American War*, I, 241
- Mauduit, Jasper, Letter to: I, 86–87
- Mayer, Christian (1719–83), II, 297
- Mayhew, Jonathan (1720–66), II, 239; III, 344, 345
- Maynard of Easton Lodge, Charles (1752–1824), Viscount, II, 329
- Maynard of Estaines and Turrin, Charles (c. 1690–1775), Baron, II, 329
- Mazéas, Abbé Guillaume (1712–76), I, 121
- Mechanism, II, 64, 67, 90
- Mecom, Edward (1704–65), III, 286n
- Mecom, Jane (1712–98), III, 286
- Medows, William, III, 173n
- Melvill, Thomas (1726–53), I, 121
- Mends, Christopher (1724–99), II, 142
- Mercer, General Hugh (1725–77), I, 253
- Metaphysics, II, 61–63, 70–74
- Metcalf, William, III, 62
- Methodism, III, 190
- Michell, John (1724–93), I, 121–22
- Middleton, Conyers (1683–1750), II, 102
- Milford, Mr., II, 123, 127
- Militias, II, 125; Dissenters protest against exercises on Sundays, II, 129
- Milky Way, II, 315
- Milne, Esther (wife of Thomas Day) (d. 1791), III, 16n
- Milton, John, II, 212
- Mind, nature of, II, 61–63, 72–73, 76, 89, 93–97, 102–3
- Ministry: aim to divide colonies, I, 191; embarrassment of, I, 232; mischief of, III, 143–44, 194–95; mutilated accounts from, I, 258; rage for, I, 179–80; need for changes in, I, 273–74; vacillation of, I, 189–91
- Minto, 1st Earl of. *See* Elliot, Sir Gilbert
- Minute-men, I, 222
- Mirabeau, Honoré-Gabriel Riqueti (1749–91), Comte de, II, 226–27, 232, 234, 236; III, xix, 197n, 231n, 238, 239, 247, 301n, 305n; chief of dangerous faction, III, 258; Letter to: III, 229–30; *Considérations sur l'Ordre de Cincinnati*, II, 234
- Mirabeau, Victor Riqueti (1715–89), Marquis de, III, 226
- Mitchell, Thomas (1735–90), II, 166
- Monboddoo, Lord. *See* Burnett, James
- Money: right of a people to grant their own, III, 347–48
- Montagu, Edward (d. 1775), I, 96n, 97, 205
- Montagu, Mrs. Elizabeth (1720–1800), I, 50n, 130n; II, 49; Letters to: I, 96–97, 205, 230–31
- Montagu, George (1737–88), 4th Duke of Manchester, II, 136
- Montagu, John (1718–92), 4th Earl Sandwich, I, 206–7, 228
- Montague, William (1757–1833), III, 276
- Montmorin, Saint-Hérem, Armand-Marc, Comte de (1745–92) III, 144n, 147n
- Montrose, High Session of, III, 290–91
- Morality, III, 180, 195n
- More, Robert (1703–1780), I, 85–86
- Morell, Thomas (1703–84), II, 105
- Morelet, Abbé André (1727–1819), II, 220, 229, 231, 250, 260, 267; III, xix
- Morgan, George Cadogan (1754–98), (Price's nephew), II, 28, 108, 248, 317; III, xvii, 47n, 67, 73, 106, 109, 143, 178, 229, 242, 247, 248, 334n, 338n; comforts Price at loss of Sarah, III, 62–63; helps Price at New College, III, 47n, 143, 338; and Gravel Pit, III, 106; travels in France, III, 229, 247, 248, 334; Letter to: III, 61–63; Letter from: III, 250
- Morgan, Sarah (1726–1803), III, 63, 68, 169
- Morgan, William (1750–1833) (Price's nephew), I, 5n, 45n, 56n, 60n, 97n, 239,

- Morgan, William (*cont.*)
 276n; II, xiv, 55, 86, 129, 187, 227, 317; III, 62, 107n, 279–81, 287–88; actuary for the Equitable Life Assurance Society, III, 106; corrects Halley, De Moivre, and Simpson, III, 162; criticized by John Adams, III, 282n; provides refuge for Price, III, 63, 66; publishes Price's actuarial tables posthumously, III, 84n; receives Copley Medal from Royal Society, III, 279–80; *The Doctrine of Annuities and Assurances on Lives and Survivorships, Stated and Explained*, II, xiv, 55, 111, 187; *An Examination of Dr. Crawford's Theory of Heat and Combustion* (1781), III, 280n
- Morlaix, Abbé, III, 230
- Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, Price's letter to Congress published in, II, 85
- Morris Corbyn (d. 1779), I, 59n, 68–69; *Observations on the past growth and present state of the city of London*, I, 68–69
- Morris, Robert (1734–1806), III, 77, 114n, 129n
- Morse, Jedidiah (1761–1826), III, xviii, xxi, 200, 242; asks Price to handle his book in England, III, 211–12; persistent requests for help, III, 252–53; *The American Geography* (1789), III, 202–4; Letters to: III, 222–23, 275–76; Letters from: III, 202–4, 211–12, 252–53
- Mortality: bills of, I, 59, 66n, 79; Comparative, in hills and valleys, I, 167; in London, Berlin, and Vienna, I, 167; of males and females, II, 284–87; III, 3; need for data on, I, 85; need for registers of, I, 168; *See also* Demography; Expectation of life; Probability
- Mortimer, Thomas, III, 93n
- Morton, Dr. Charles (1716–99), III, 262
- Moses, II, 245–46; III, 36
- Mossner, Ernest C., III, 326n, 327n
- Motion, II, 92–97, 99–103
- Motte, A., I, 122
- Motteaux, Mr., II, 147, 153–54
- Mountaine, William (d. 1779), I, 280
- Mullet, Mr., II, 180, 196, 202, 222
- Muret, Jean-Louis (1715–96), I, 167–68
- Murray, The Rev. John (1741–1815), II, 238; III, 72n
- Murray, William (1705–93), 1st Earl of Mansfield, I, 189, 236; II, 263–64; on the royal prerogative, I, 269–70; speech of, serves American cause, I, 236; supports bill for relief of Protestant Dissenters from subscription, I, 132n, 162
- Nairne, Edward (1726–1806), III, 254, 284
- Naples, III, 7
- Nation, difficulty in forming a, I, 254–55; saving the, II, 116
- National Assembly, III, 248, 260, 329, 330; denounces offensive war, III, 306; formation of, III, 231; mourns Benjamin Franklin, III, 304–6
- National bankruptcy, II, 8, 17
- National Debt, I, 146, 154, 274; II, xv, 123, 144, 169, 173, 206n, 277; III, xvii, 29–30, 33–35, 107, 347; Chauncy agrees with Price about, I, 169–70; discouragement concerning, I, 157–58, 180; means of avoiding artificial addition to, I, 271–73; Price sends pamphlets on, to Chatham, I, 129–30, 168–69; proposed role of ministers in discharging, I, 179–80. *See also* Pitt; Sinking Fund; Stanhope
- Natural rights, III, 46–47
- Naval losses, II, 50
- Navigation Acts, II, 221, 314, 318
- Navy Debt, II, 85, 121, 146, 153, 165, 217–18, 230, 252
- Necessity: II, 26, 63, 66, 71–72, 87–88; of existence of first cause, III, 125
- Necker, Jacques (1732–1804), II, 11; III, 92, 93–94, 224n, 234, 237; vague on religion, III, 183; *De L'Importance des Opinions Religieuses*, III, 172; *Compte Rendu* (1781), II, 260; *De l'Administration des Finances de la France* (1784), II, 11, 260, 267
- Nedham, Marchmont (1620–78), III, 173, 208
- Negotiation: among France, Russia and Holy Roman Empire, III, 154
- Nemours, Dupont de (1739–1817), II, 223
- Nestor, III, 59
- Neufville, D., II, 55, 86, 110
- New College, III, xvii, 80, 91, 93, 99, 120, 143, 147, 156, 186, 188, 219–20, 242; bequests to, III, 205–6; demands of, III, 151; deteriorating conditions in, III, 338, 339; founding of, III, 47; organization of, III, 222; Price resigns from, III, 157; salaries in, III, 221; students in, III, 205–6
- Newdigate, Sir Roger (1719–1806), I, 156
- New England, freedom from Britain, I, 144; tumults in, III, 115; increase in population of, I, 73; Puritanism in, II, 7, 16
- New Hampshire: tumults in, III, 112, 113
- Newton, Sir Isaac, I, 6n, 21, 121–22, 195; II, 64, 67, 72, 92–99, 103, 244–45, 297; III, 156; first law of motion, II, 99–107; Space as an *organum*, II, 62–63, 73, 88; *The Mathe-*

- matal Principles of Natural Philosophy*, I, 122.
 See also Gravitation; Projection
- Newton, Robert, III, 206
- Newton, Thomas (1704–82), Bishop of Bristol, I, 199
- New York, taking of, I, 251; refuses to pay impost, III, 15
- Nicholas, Mr., II, 134
- Nicholls, John, III, 83
- Nicklin, Philip, III, 53, 116
- Nisbet, Charles (1736–1804), III, 32
- Noble, Mr., II, 177
- Noncathoni (anagram of John Canton), I, 40n
- Non-consumption and non-importation agreements, I, 170, 183–84
- Nootka Sound, III, 301, 302n, 304n, 322
- Norris, Mr. (delivers letter from Price to Benjamin Franklin), III, 346
- North, Frederick (1732–92), Lord, I, 146, 255; II, 109, 142, 147, 166, 171, 181–83, 194, 221; alleged timidity of, I, 242; attempts to conciliate differences with America, I, 189–91, 269; criticism of, regarding the budget, I, 249; financial policy, II, 83
- Northampton, Massachusetts, III, 113n
- Northampton Tables, II, xiv, 113; III, 137
- Northumberland, Duke of. *See* Percy, Hugh
- Norton, Fletcher (1716–89), 1st Baron Grantley, III, 195
- Notables, III, 196–99
- Novanglus (pen name of John Adams), I, 247n
- Nova Scotia, petition of the province, I, 239
- Oberon, III, 125n
- Observations on meteors, II, 163
- Olive Branch Petition, I, 222, 230, 235
- Oliver, Andrew (1706–74), I, 221
- Oliver, Richard (1735–84), I, 42n; Letter to: I, 244
- Orde (later Orde-Powlett), Thomas (1746–1807), II, 178; III, 168
- Orleans, Louis-Philippe-Joseph (1747–93), Duke of, III, 258n
- Osborne, Francis ‘Godolphin’ (1751–99), Marquis of Carmarthen and 5th Duke of Leeds, III, 144n, 147n
- Oxford, University of, II, 60
- Page, Francis (1726–1803), I, 156
- Paine, Thomas (1737–1809), III, 225–26, 233
- Paley, William (1743–1805), II, 326; III, 124; *The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*, II, 326; III, 124
- Palmer, John (1729–90), I, 141
- Palmer, John (1742–86), III, 109
- Paper currency, III, xviii, 51–52, 95, 112, 135, 151
- Paradise, John (1743–95), II, 53, 69, 151, 216, 225; III, 149, 227n
- Paradise, Philippa, sudden death of, III, 149n
- Parham, Lord Willoughby of. *See* Willoughby, Hugh
- Paris, population of, I, 75n–76n
- Parish, Dr. Elijah, III, 253n
- Parker, Joseph, II, 20, 109, 155; Letter to: III, 274–75
- Parlements: role in French Revolution, III, 197n
- Parliament, III, 144–45; dissolution of, II, 215; affect upon colonists of resolutions of, I, 199–200; policy regarding taxation of colonies, I, 189–90; reform of, I, 250; II, 60n, 125, 189–90, 207, 215, 225–26. *See also* Representation; Rotten Boroughs
- Parmenter, Jason, III, 72n
- Parsons, Anne, II, 329
- Patriarchs, long lives of antediluvian, II, 247–48
- Patricot, M. (tutor), III, 289, 306
- Patriots: in France, III, 196–99, 247–48, 256; in United Provinces, III, 143–44, 152n, 153n
- Payley’s Lectures. *See* Paley, William, *The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*
- Peace: the desire for by colonists, I, 183; the need to seek, II, 116; with France, precarious, III, 153–54
- Peach, Samuel, II, 108, 109
- Pearson, Michael, III, 180
- Peirce, James (1647?–1726), III, 41n; *A Treatise on Church Music* (1786), 41n
- Penitentiaries, II, 133
- Pennsylvania: constitution of, III, 114n; imperfections in, III, 135; laws regarding slave trade, III, 141; problems in, III, 81–82, 96; Quakers in, II, 7, 16, 307; religious tests in, II, 4, 13, 293, 306; test laws in, III, xviii; unsettled state of, II, 234
- Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery, III, xvii, 134, 148; address to the Constitutional Convention, III, 141–42
- People: to be trusted in government, if well informed, III, 196
- Pepperrell, Sir William, III, 52
- Pepys, Mr., II, 169
- Percival, Thomas (1740–1804), I, 39, 168
- Percy, Hugh (1715–86), 1st Duke of Northumberland, I, 102

- Percy, Hugh (1742–1817), 2nd Duke of Northumberland, I, 183, 208n, 217–18
- Peterborough, Bishop of. *See* Hinchliffe, John
- Peters, Hugh, III, 334
- Peters, Richard (1744–1828), II, 323; III, 57
- Petersham, Massachusetts, III, 113n
- Petition of certain Protestant Dissenting Ministers against the Dissenters' Relief Bill, I, 159
- Petrie, Mr., II, 192
- Petty (later Petty-Fitzmaurice), Henry (1780–1863), 3rd Marquis of Lansdowne, II, 159; III, 48
- Petty, John Henry (1765–1809), 2nd Marquis of Lansdowne, styled Viscount Fitzmaurice until 1784 and Earl Wycombe from 1784 until 1805 when he succeeded his father in the marquise, I, 156, 158, 181, 238; II, 28, 48, 108, 182, 220, 229, 317; III, 47, 49, 69, 94, 169, 302n, 307, 311, 322
- Petty, Sir William (1737–1805), 2nd Earl of Shelburne, 1st Marquis of Lansdowne, I, 50n, 96, 129, 130, 131, 160, 162, 171n, 272; II, xv, xvi, 188, 260, 302; III, xviii–xix, xxi, 120, 169, 230n; advice for New College, III, 93; approves Cartwright's ms., I, 245; asks Price to find tutor for his sons, I, 125; asks Priestley to become his librarian, I, 132–34; comments on *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine*, III, 101–104; conciliation with the colonies, III, 347n; considers colonies lost, I, 231; consoles Price, III, 59–61; criticized by Henry Laurens, II, 137; differs with Price about term 'prescribe,' I, 238–39; expresses to Quincy friendship for Americans, I, 177–78; fights a duel, II, 58–59; likely to be called to ministry, I, 275; low opinion of Scots, III, 93; marriage, II, 47; *O.R.P.* dedicated to, I, 146n; Price wishes he would not retire from political life, II, 216; Priestley rejects proposal of, I, 140; provides information to Price, I, 236; recovered from gout, III, 47; saviour of his country, I, 245; II, 173; speech on Regency Crisis, III, 201–2; supports parliamentary reform, II, 144; threatened by Lord Rodney, III, 48; Letters to: I, 97–98, 126–28, 145–46, 155–57, 180–81, 237–38, 238–40, 255–56, 273–76; II, 27–29, 47–52, 82–84, 85–86, 108–9, 115–19, 122, 124–25, 126–36, 138–45, 147–49, 152–57, 159–61, 164–72, 174–76, 181–83, 205–7, 216–17, 229–31, 249–51, 276–81, 317–18, 323–24; III, 47–49, 59, 67–69, 90–92, 105–7, 142–45, 152–55, 184–87, 201–2, 209–10, 251, 255–57, 260–61, 322–23; Letters from: I, 178–80, 185–86, 223–24, 231, 236, 260–61; II, 228–29; III, 59–61, 63–74, 86–88, 92–94, 101–4, 347–48
- Petty, William Granville (d. 1778), I, 156, 181, 238; III, 94
- Peyer, M. de, II, 69
- Philips, George (1766–1847), III, 334n
- Philips, James (d. 1816), Letter to: III, 141–42
- Phillips, Richard, III, 142
- Philosophical apparatus for Yale College, III, 212–15, 240, 241–42; arrival of, III, 246, 263, 278–79, 284; cost of, III, 241–42; lists of, III, 215–17, 243–47, 254; missing items, III, 264, 279, 284; location of, III, 284
- Pickard, Edward (1714–78), I, 126n, 141, 147, 271
- Pinhorn, Mr. (lawyer), III, 25
- Pitt, the Elder, William (1708–1778), 1st Earl, introduces bill for reconciliation with colonists, I, 186; health of, I, 160; moves to withdraw troops from Boston, I, 186; introduces plan of pacification, I, 189; supports Dissenters' Bill, I, 158; II, 258; Letters to: I, 128–29, 130, 131, 157–60, 162–63, 168–69, 186–88; Letter from: I, 155
- Pitt, William Morton (1754–1836), II, 206n
- Pitt, the Younger, William, II, 133, 136, 146, 153, 155–56, 160–61, 166, 169, 171–74, 183, 188, 221, 230, 233, 249, 256–58, 269, 275, 280, 289, 301–2, 317, 324; III, xvii, 30, 66, 91, 108, 147n, 192, 201, 205, 208, 302, 322; against repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, III, 128n; and Catholics, III, 186; to divulge secret to Parliament, III, 144; no friend to liberty, III, 274; needs tables with his plan for Sinking Fund, III, 5, 26; Letters to: II, 217–18, 331–37; III, 4–5; Letters from: II, 330, 334
- Place, II, 89
- Plague, I, 75; III, 7–8n, 38–39, 69, 75, 259
- Plato, II, 65, 67, 70–71, 87, 246
- Playfair, James (1738–1819), III, 86, 91, 92, 106; Letter to: III, 107–8
- Plutarch, III, 183
- Political arithmetic, III, 28, 126
- Poor, III, 186; clubs to help the, III, 84; condition of the, II, 229; Price's work for, III, xvii; support of, III, 100
- Population: increase in, III, 28–29
- Porte, Arnaud de la (1737–92), III, 235
- Portland, 3rd Duke of. *See* Cavendish-Bentinck, William Henry
- Postlethwayt, James (d. 1761), I, 252

Pougens, Marie Charles Joseph (1755–1833), III, 28

Powell, John, II, 183

Practical sermons, III, 156

Pratt, Charles (1714–94), 1st Earl Camden, I, 206; II, 188, 273n; III, 37; opposed to Ma-seres's Bill, I, 100n; on royal prerogative, I, 269, 270n; supports Bill for Relief of Protes-tant Dissenters, I, 132n, 162

Prejudice, force of, II, 24

Price, Richard (1723–91), Abigail Adams on, III, 6n; abuse of, I, 246; II, 23, 25, 36–37, 42, 79, 85, 90, 185, 199; by Burke, III, 334–35; acknowledges debt to Hume, I, 45n; to Wargentun, II, 184; acknowledges Harvard's thanks for gift of books, III, 9; advises an-nuity societies in England, III, 57, 342–44; advocates American Independence, I, 274–76; ambivalent attitude toward Trade, I, 233n; America's debt to, I, 201; on annihila-tion, I, 88, 90; anxious about France, III, 182; asked by James Bowdoin to contribute to *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, III, 14; asked by Benjamin Rush to write pamphlet on general educa-tion in the United States, III, 31, 54–55; asked by Benjamin Webb for help, III, 20–21, 324–25; asks to be excused from mem-bership in the (London) Society for the Abolition of Slavery, III, 146–47, 148; avoids politics in letters, I, 234; canvasses for William Jones, II, 60; certificate from the American Academy for Arts and Sciences, III, 189; comments on Benjamin Franklin's autobiography, III, 298–99; comments on Benjamin Rush's pamphlets, III, 54; com-poses catechism for Shelburne, II, 250; con-gratulatory address to the National Assembly, III, 260; congratulates Franklin (II, 177) and Shelburne (II, 169) on the Peace; congratulates Shelburne on his mar-riage, II, 47, 48; considers himself not quali-fied to write on basic social principles, III, 92; considers retirement from the pulpit, III, 73; contributes to liberalism in Massa-chusetts, III, 72n; contributions to life insur-ance, III, 11n; criticized by Henry Laurens for his statements on slavery, II, 263–64; criticizes Pitt for delay in introducing Sink-ing Fund, II, 277; death of, III, xxii, 332; defends Newton against Monboddo, II, 100; denies he is a Republican, III, 272–74; dif-fers from other Dissenters, III, 210; dis-agrees with Francis Baring, II, 174, with

Shelburne, II, 150; drafts passage for King's Speech, II, 157; editor of Bayes's "Es-say . . .", I, 7, 9; elected member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, II, xiv, 196; member of the American Philo-sophical Society, II, xiv, 319; III, 53; encour-aged by Jefferson to address students of William and Mary, II, 299; eulogy of, I, 50n; failing abilities, III, xxi, 142–43, 205, 238, 272, 300, 312; favors for friends, III, xxi; fears imbecility of old age, III, 92, 106; fears that he may have offended Shelburne, II, 118–19; freedom of City of London, I, 243; on a future life, I, 205n; III, xxii; gifts of books to New England colleges, III, 151; gives advice on financial matters to Pitt, II, 331–37, to Shelburne, II, 166–70 (*see also* Public finance); at Gravel Pit Meeting House, III, xxi; health of, III, 149, 180n, 205; hopes to have done with politics, II, 35, 43, 169; impatient for news of the Constitu-tional Convention, III, 151; imputes "want of address" to Turgot, II, 3, 10; informed by John Clarke they style themselves Con-gregationalists, not Dissenters, III, 41; in-jured, I, 164–65; II, 212, 213; Journal, III, xxi–xxii; kicked by a horse, II, 140; laments trade policy of Great Britain towards United States, III, 89; Lansdowne urges him to write on basic social principles, III, 86–87; LL.D. at Yale, II, xiv, 195–96; minister at Newington Green (1758–83), at Poor Jewry Lane (1762–70), at Gravel Pit, Hackney (1770–91), I, 86; moves from Newington Green to Hackney, III, 128; offered Ameri-can citizenship by Congress, II, xiv, 29, 34, 199; on non-resistance, I, 269; on politics in the pulpit, II, 42, 98; presents his own works to the Franklin Library, II, 282, Hoadly's works to Harvard, II, 212 and to Dickinson, II, 235, *Observations on Reversionary Payments* to Harvard, II, 222; principles as Dissenter, I, 244; on Providence, I, 47–50; questioned by Hester Chapone on incarnation, preva-lence of happiness, and the goodness of God, III, 97–98; receives *Testament de M. Fortuné Ricard* from Franklin, II, 260; re-ceives tracts from van der Capellen, II, 39, 40, 44, refuses controversy, III, 99, 103n, 113; refuses John Adams's offer to pay for pew, III, 7; regarded a friend by all Ameri-cans, III, 139; regrets encumbrance of cor-respondence, III, 319; regrets not being able to deliver sermon to celebrate cente-

Price, Richard (*cont.*)

nary of the Revolution of 1688, III, 180–81, 185; regrets he cannot respond to Rush's request to write more on the United States, III, 31, 54–55; reluctant tutor at New College, III, 47, 143; resigns from New College, III, 47n, 143, 243; schedule of preaching, I, 140; seeks Franklin's advice about the publication of Turgot's correspondence, II, 218–19, 224; seeks information from Franklin, II, 19–20, from Wargentin, II, 112; seeks release of American prisoners-of-war, II, 159; on slavery, II, 290; stresses the importance of the Federal Union, II, 162; subjects taught at New College, III, 47, 143; on suffering and restoration, III, 181, 190; suffers from the stone, II, 215; takes leave of politics, I, 258; tenders advice to Shelburne on the formation of his ministry, II, 115–19; thanks Thomas Day for opinion on poems and poetry, III, 39–40; thinking of writing on the transactions of his life, III, 256; on trade, I, 233; urges strong federal union in the United States, III, 90; on virtue and redemption, I, 48n; visits Bowood, II, 49, George Cadogan Morgan, II, 317; Mr. Pritchard, II, 78, 142, and Shipley family, II, 54; voted corresponding member of the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of Slavery, III, 134; works on sketch of his life, III, 256, 319, 337; worried about health, III, 149, 205; worried about his wife, II, 205, 230 (*see* Sarah Price); *See also* Annuities; Candor; Demography; Education; Expectation of life; Insurance; Liberty, civil, political and religious; National debt; Parliamentary reform; Providence; Rational Dissent; Virtue; *Additional Observations*, I, 250–53, 258–59, 261, 265–66, 271; II, xiii, 189; III, 208; "Answers to Questions to Dr. Price by Mr. Herrenschwand," II, 144; *An Appeal to the Public on the Subject of the National Debt*, I, 102n, 124, 129, 158, 169; II, xv, 123; "Comparison of Three Different Modes of a Scheme for Borrowing Ten Millions by converting part of the 3% Capital into a 4% Capital," II, 172; "Comparison showing the inefficiency of Herrenschwand's scheme for paying off the National Debt," II, 147, 153; *A Discourse addressed to a Congregation at Hackney, on February 21, 1781* . . . , II, 97, 101–2, 123, 191–92; *A Discourse on the Love of our Country*, I, 155; III, xvii, xviii, xix, xx, 185,

259, 260, 265, 267, 270, 271, 275, 276, 277, 281, 285, 290, 295, 298, 299n, 308, 314, 319, 321; additions to, III, 268; translations of, III, 268; *Dissertation on the Being and Attributes of the Deity*, III, 124, 136, 151, 156; "The Effect of the Aberration of Light on the time of a Transit of Venus over the Sun," I, 93; *An Essay on the Population of England* . . . , II, 55, 68, 79–81; *The Evidence for a Future Period of Improvement* . . . , II, 230n, 296n; III, xviii, 148, 151, 163, 173, 242, 249, 263, 273; *Facts*, II, 281; *Four Dissertations*, I, 4n, 9n, 30n, 45n, 48–49, 51, 53n, 79n, 80–82, 88, 90, 177; II, 67, 100; III, xxii, 181, 341; *A Free Discussion of the Doctrines of Materialism, and Philosophical Necessity*, I, 268; II, xiv, 21–24, 31, 61–62, 64, 77, 89; III, 248; "Further Proofs of the Insalubrity of marshy situations," I, 166–68; *A Letter from the Rev. Dr. Webster . . . and Dr. Price's Answer*, I, 104–13, 118–20; *The Nature and Dignity of the Human Soul*, I, 91n; "Notes on [Dr. Price's] Scheme of Finance with Dr. Price's Replies thereto," II, 172; "Observations on the Expectations of Lives," I, 58–79, 85; "Observations on a scheme for paying off 200 millions of the National Debt in 99 years," II, 133; *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution*, I, 98, 129n, 233n; II, xiii, 36, 46n, 81n, 162, 218–19, 221–23, 230, 232–34, 236, 241, 258, 260–61, 263, 269–73, 275, 278, 290–91, 294, 296–97, 300, 304, 324, 333; III, xviii, 15, 19, 55, 89, 188, 223, 229, 239, 273; "Observations on the Importance of a Proposal for Borrowing Money for the Service of 1783 . . .," II, 172; *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty*, I, 212n, 233n, 236n, 237–41, 243, 246, 249, 259, 261, 264, 266; II, xiii, 32n, 33, 189n, 192n; III, 348n; "Observations on the proper method of calculating the values of reversions depending on survivorships," I, 56n; *Observations on Reversionary Payments*, I, 8n, 58–79, 85–86, 97–98, 100–2, 109–10, 115–16, 119–20, 125, 129–30, 143, 146, 150, 153–54, 157–58, 166–68, 179, 283; II, xiv–xv, 85–87, 98, 113, 87, 151, 180–81, 184, 187, 194, 196, 202, 208n, 214, 284, 337; III, xvii, 10, 11n, 274, 319, 323, 333, 343; *Plans for Annuities* . . . , II, 207–10; *Postscript to a Pamphlet, by Dr. Price on the State of the Public Debt and Finances*, II, 206n, 241; "Proposal of a scheme for raising money for the service of

- 1782," II, 148; *A Review of the Principal Questions and Difficulties in Morals*, I, 49, 53, 88, 192; II, 65, 325–36; III, xvii, 68, 124, 136, 151, 158, 166, 173, 180, 187, 327n; "A second proposal for raising money by a loan for the service of 1783," II, 149, 152, 155; *A Sermon delivered to a Congregation of Protestant Dissenters, at Hackney on the 10th of February last [1779]* . . . , II, 42, 44–45, 80, 123; *Sermons on the Christian Doctrine*, II, xiv, 305, 326; III, xvii, xviii, xix, 55, 68, 80, 91, 97, 99, 101, 104, 105, 111, 113, 116, 117, 130, 133, 150, 153, 163, 167, 181, 242, 248; *Sermons on Various Subjects*, III, xvii, 156n, 157n, 319; "A Sketch of Proposals," I, 179; *The State of the Public Debts and Finances*, II, 136, 181, 183, 185, 187, 195, 206; *Two tracts*, I, 256–57, 270–73; II, xiii, 36, 80, 123
- Price, Samuel (of Llandaff, Price's stepbrother), III, 178
- Price, Samuel (1676–1756) (Price's uncle), III, 169
- Price, Sarah, née Blundell (1728–86) (Price's wife), I, 53; III, xxi, 20, 25, 65–66, 66–68, 72, 99, 114, 116, 120, 125, 130; apprehensive about Price, II, 86, 267–68; failing health, III, 48; further condolences from Lansdowne, on her death, III, 63–64; prospects of resurrection and reunion with, III, 62; suffers from palsy, II, xvi, 182, 200, 205, 213, 215, 217, 229–31, 243, 250–51, 259, 267–68, 270, 277, 281, 283, 291, 295, 303, 318–19, 325
- Prices: of food, in Balkans, III, 74
- Pridden, the Rev. Dr., III, 83n
- Pride, I, 275
- Priestley, Joseph (1733–1804), I, 42, 84, 102, 104, 161, 171, 178, 238, 260; II, 21, 24–27, 33, 50, 53, 58, 61, 66, 87, 89, 91, 103, 105, 115, 134, 193, 195, 197, 214–15, 219, 224, 235, 237, 247, 255, 318, 321, 327; III, 99, 113, 121, 123, 160, 175–76; agrees Price should consider retiring from the pulpit, but not completely, III, 73; confirmation of assertions on noxious effects of stagnant waters, I, 166–67; Captain Cook, invitation to accompany, I, 123–24; controversial pamphlet, his annual, III, 158; controversy with Price on necessity, I, 268; correspondence, fate of, III, 317n, 337n; correspondence with Price, III, xviii; defends Price against Burke, III, 334; degree of Doctor of Laws, I, 39n; doctrine of a soul alien to Christianity, II, 26; election to Royal Society, I, 39–41; experiments on air, I, 55, 103, 113–17, 121–22, 134, 137, 147; II, 105, 106, 241; experiments on electricity, I, 38–44, 54–55; founds *Theological Repository*, I, 138; gallstones, III, 81; to give annual sermon for Price, III, 339; librarian, appointment as Shelburne's, I, 132–36, 145–46, 147; materialism and fatalism, III, 248; materialism: importance to Christianity of doctrine of, II, 25; *Memoirs*, III, 317, 336, 337, 339; Monboddo's views on, II, 61, 77, 89; phlogiston, II, 151; and Price, agree in Philosophy and Politics, not Metaphysics and Theology, III, 44; on Price's death, III, xxii; Reid's opinion of, I, 194–95, 198; on relief from subscription, I, 155n, 169n; reports on experiments on air, III, 159; sends Price demographic data on Leeds, I, 104, 116–17; his situation in Leeds, I, 133–34; and soda-water, I, 135; urges Price to write his life at large, III, 336; urges Shelburne to recognize American independence, I, 276; warns Price against becoming a tutor at New College, III, 73; Willard withdraws request through Price that he donate, III, 15; *An Appeal to the Serious and Candid Professors of Christianity*, II, 321; *A Catechism for Children and Young Persons*, II, 251; *Defences of Unitarianism*, III, 124, 158n; *Disquisitions relating to Matter and Spirit*, I, 268; II, 21n; *The Doctrine of Philosophical Necessity Illustrated*, I, 268; II, 21n; *An Essay on the First Principles of Government*, II, 247, 251; *An Examination of Dr. Reid's Inquiry into the Human Mind*, I, 194; *Experiments and Observations on Different Kinds of Air*, I, 137, 234; *Experiments and Observations relating to various branches of Natural Philosophy*, II, 91, 105; III, 43; *A Free Discussion* . . . , III, 109; *An History of the Corruptions of Christianity*, II, 151, 195; *An History of Early Opinions concerning Jesus Christ*, II, 327; III, 43; *The History and Present State of Discoveries relating to Vision, Light and Colours*, I, 103, 116, 120–21, 124, 137; II, 105; *The History and Present State of Electricity*, I, 37; II, 105; *Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion*, I, 148n; *Lectures on History and General Policy*, II, 274n; III, 157, 160; *Letters to Dr. Horne, Dean of Canterbury; to the young men . . . at . . . Oxford and Cambridge; the Rev. Dr. Price and the Rev. Mr. Parkhurst*, III, 109; *Letters to a*

Priestley, Joseph (*cont.*)

- Philosophical Unbeliever*, III, 109; "On the noxious Quality of the Effluvia of putrid marshes," I, 166; *Observations on different kinds of Air*, I, 103, 114; II, 91, 105; *Theological Repository*, I, 138; Letters to: I, 40-41, 114-15, 124-25; II, 21-24; III, 319-20, 337-38; Letters from: I, 37-40, 42-44, 54-56, 87-88, 103-4, 113-14, 116-17, 120-22, 123, 132-35, 135-36, 136-38, 147-48, 152-53; II, 24-27; III, 316-18, 335-36, 339-40
- Priestley, Joseph, the Younger, III, 317n
- Priestley, Marv (d. 1796), I, 115; II, 51
- "Priestley's Rings," I, 54
- Priestley, Sarah, (Priestley's daughters) (1763-1803), III, 80, 110
- Princeton, battle of, I, 253
- Pringle (1707-82), Sir John, I, 133n, 136, 139-40; II, 101, 108, 114; III, 111n
- Prior, William (d. 1774), I, 141
- Pritchard, Mr., II, 78, 142
- Probability, I, 6-37; III, xviii; antecedent, I, 7, 20, 80n; applied to events in nature, I, 24-30; applied to a lottery, I, 31-35; calculations of, I, 21-26; comparative, I, 15-26; definition of, I, 10; of an event and its failure, I, 14-15; of an event in a single trial, I, 10-35; of life, I, 112, 120; of several independent events, I, 13-14; tables for sickness, III, 84n; of two subsequent events, I, 11-13
- Probus (John Fell?, 1735-97), III, 347
- Proclus, II, 71
- Procter, T., Letter from, III, 264-65
- Prohibitory Act, I, 246
- Projection, II, 106, 245
- Property, distinctions based on, II, 5, 14; inequality of, II, 291, 293-94
- Propositions for conciliating the differences with America, I, 189
- Protestants, III, 11n, 265
- Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the three denominations in and about London and Westminster: actions of Committee of, I, 126n, 128, 130-31, 147-48, 158-59, 160; 162-63; actions of general body of, I, 126n, 169, 187-88
- Providence, divine, I, 88-89, 98, 253; always does what is best, I, 5; argument for, from final causes, confirmation of, I, 9; and eternal misery, I, 50; and future happiness, I, 49, 82; and genuine virtue, I, 49, 82; immediately directs everything, I, 3; manner of

- working, perhaps inconceivable, I, 7; mysteries of, I, 201; particular, certainty of, I, 4; perfectly wise and good, I, 4; questions concerning, I, 47; virtue a necessary but not sufficient condition for redemption by, I, 48; works within and without us, I, 3-4
- Provost (or Provoost), Samuel (1742-1815), III, 114-15
- Prussia, III, xix
- Public Advertiser*, Letter to, III, 347
- Public finance, II, xv, 51, 121-31, 135-36, 152-55, 157, 160-61, 164-66, 173, 183-84, 227-29, 230, 240, 289, 331-37; corruption in, II, 177; Loan of 1783, II, 166-84. *See also* Accommodation paper; National Debt; Navy Bills; Receipts in the Customs; Sinking Fund; Taxation; Upward conversions
- Public good, II, 3, 8, 11, 17
- Public institutions: in Ireland, lamentable condition of, III, 138
- Public stocks, III, 33-35
- Putnam, General Rufus (1738-1824), I, 219
- Putrefaction, I, 103, 113-14, 116-17
- Pythagoras, II, 70, 74
- Quakers, III, 81; opposition to slavery, III, 146; in Pennsylvania, II, 307
- Quarantine, III, 38-39
- Quartering Act, The, I, 172, 174
- Quebec Act, The, I, 199
- Quimper, district of, III, xx, 310n, 316, 325
- Quincy, Josiah, Jr. (1744-75), I, 178, 180-81, 191, 201; bad health of, I, 188; death of, I, 215; introduced to Price by Chauncy, I, 174; recommended to Price by Winthrop, I, 176; *Observations on the Act of Parliament commonly called the Boston Port Bill . . .*, I, 171; Letters to: I, 177, 178, 206-7
- Rabaut St. Étienne (1743-93), III, 197n, 233n, 264, 298
- Radcliffe, Ebenezer (1732-1809), I, 42n, 53
- Ramsey, Andrew Michael ("Chevalier Ramsey"), III, 139n, 141n
- Randolph, Edmund, III, 141n
- Raper, Elizabeth (1683-1760), I, 3, 5
- Raphael, D.D., III, xv-xvi
- Rational dissent, I, 139-42
- Raynal, Abbe G. T. F., II, 18, 56n; III, 146n; *Historie philosophique et Politique des Etablissements des Commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (1770), II, 18
- Reasoning, analogical or inductive, I, 7

- Reciprocity in trade, II, 269
- Reconciliation, I, 249–50, 273–74
- Redford, Mr., II, 146, 150, 152, 164, 176–77
- Rees, Abraham (1743–1825), II, 49, 248; III, 210n, 221–22, 227n
- Reforms: in Austria, III, 110–11
- Agency Crisis, III, 191, 194, 201–2, 205–6, 208, 218
- Regium Donum*, II, 179
- Règlements of 1674, III, 152n
- Reid, Thomas (1710–96), Letters from: I, 153–54, 192–98
- Reiske, Johann Jacob (1716–74), III, 11
- Religion: advancement of, III, 344; and controversy, 101–4, 105–6; different opinions of, III, 46; freedom of, in Virginia, III, 45–47, 120; and morality, III, 183; religious tests, II, 4, 13, 81, 81–82, 293
- Relly, James (1722–78), II, 239
- Rendorp, Joachim de (1728–92), Lord of Marquette, III, 153, 155
- Report of the Commission for stating the Public Accounts, the eleventh*, II, 205–6
- The Repository*, III, 109
- Representation, III, 256–57; inadequacy of, III, 170; in France and England compared, III, 247–48; reform of the, II, 117, 150, 158–59, 169, 189–92, 249, 257
- Restoration, ultimate, I, 90–91
- Resurrection, III, 62
- Revelation, truth of, II, 26
- Reversionary payments, I, 56–57, 115, 125–26, 146; book on, prevents harm, I, 115, 118, 153–54, 157. *See also* The Establishment for a Provision to the Widows and Children of the Ministers and Professors in Scotland; Expectation of life; Price, Richard; *Observations on Reversionary Payments*; Probability of life; Webster, Alexander
- The Revolution Society. *See* The London Society for commemorating the Revolution in Great Britain
- Reynell, John (1736–1800), II, 140–41
- Reynolds, Mary (Mrs. Richard) (d. 1803), III, 207
- Reynolds, Richard (1730–1814), III, 207n
- Rhode Island, III, 115; absent from Constitutional Convention, III, 131; Price grieved at its disgrace, III, 151; problems in, III, 51–52; rumored pledged to France, III, 33n
- Riccard, M. of the French Guard, III, 236
- Richie, Robert (in charge of affairs at Venice, 1769–71, 1775, and 1786–90), III, 39
- Richmond, 3rd Duke of. *See* Lennox, Charles
- Rigby, Dr. (friend of G. C. Morgan), III, 334n
- Rights of mankind, II, 98
- Rippon, John (1751–1836), II, 274
- Rittenhouse, David, III, 129n
- Rix, William, Town Clerk of the City of London, Letter to: I, 243–44
- Roberts, John, II, 109
- Robertson, William (1721–93), I, 39, 52; II, 67; III, 270n
- Robespierre, III, 311n
- Robins, Mr., II, 252
- Robinson, Mathen, III, 7
- Robinson, Robert (1735–90), III, 70n, 175–76
- Rochon, Alexis-Marie, de (1741–1817), III, 289, 306
- Rockingham, 2nd Marquis of. *See* Wentworth, Charles Watson
- Rodgers, John (1727–1811), II, 313–14
- Rodgers, John R. B., II, 234, 313
- Rodney, 1st Baron. *See* Brydges, George
- Roederer, Jean-Georges, II, 311–12
- Rogers, Samuel (1763–1855), III, 334
- Rogers, Thomas (d. 1793), I, 50n, 171n; II, 48, 83, 155, 160–61; III, 47n, 73, 187; “Remarks on a plan for raising money for the service of 1782,” II, 155; “Mr. Rogers’ Observations on Mr. Baring’s Remarks,” II, 172
- “Rogue Island,” III, 131n
- Rohan, Louis-Marie-Bretagne-Dominique, Duc de (d. 1791), III, 267n
- Rohan-Chabot, Alexandre-Louis-Auguste, Duc de (1761–1816), III, 267n, 289
- Rohan-Chabot, Alexandrine-Charlotte-Sophie de (niece and wife of La Rochefoucauld), III, 267n
- Rohan-Chabot, Louis-Antoine-Auguste, Duc de (1733–1807), III, 267, 289n
- Romilly, Sir Samuel, III, 230n
- Ross, John (d. 1792), Bishop of Exeter, II, 326
- Rotheram, Caleb (1738–96), Dissenting Minister, I, 159n, 169n
- Rotten Boroughs, abolition of, II, 158, 190
- Rous, Sir John (1750–1827), II, 142, 169
- Rowe, Mr. (lawyer), I, 56, 58
- Rowland, Mr., I, 259
- Royal Literary Fund, III, 311n
- Royal Society, I, 6, 37n, 58, 77n, 85, 124, 148; II, 213; III, xvii, 42, 287–88, 340, 349; admission of George Walker to, I, 101–2, 115; awards Copley Medal to Priestley, I, 114; awards Copley medal to William Morgan, III, 279–80; disputes in the, II, 161, 214; III, 160; *Philosophical Transactions* of the, II, 105, 197, 315–16; no doubt Priestley will be

Royal Society (*cont.*)

- admitted to, I, 41; Price submits paper of William Morgan to, III, 162; William White asks Price for help with, for Joseph and Benjamin Workman, III, 140
- Rumsey, James (1743–92), III, 184
- Rush, Benjamin (1745–1813), II, 321; III, xviii, xxi, 32n, 116n, 148, 161, 193; Foundation of Dickinson College, II, 162; hatred of John Ewing, III, 78; introduces the Rev. Elhanan Winchester, III, 139; opposition to slavery, III, 141, 146; regrets Price will not write a second address to America, III, 76; requests Price to correct a published note, III, 24; *Considerations on the present Test-Law of Pennsylvania* II, 293; *An Enquiry into the Effects of Public Punishment upon Criminals* (1787), III, 129, 146; *An Enquiry into the Effects of Spirituous Liquors . . .*, II, 294; *An Enquiry into the Influence of Physical Causes upon the Moral Faculty* (1786), III, 23n; *A plan for the Establishment of Public Schools* (1786), III, 23n; Letters to: II, 162–64, 185–86, 233–35, 293–95; III, 114–16, 145–47, 303–4; Letters from: II, 306–7, 323; III, 22–24, 30–33, 58, 285–87, 129, 139
- Russell, William (1740–1818), II, xvi, 159, 171
- Russo-Turkish war, III, 150, 336
- Rutland, 4th Duke of. *See* Manners, Charles
- Rutledge, John, III, 141n
- Sackville, 1st Viscount. *See* Germain, George
- Sackville, John Frederick (1745–92), 3rd Duke of Dorset, III, 228n
- St. Asaph, Bishop of, 1769–88. *See* Shipley, Jonathan
- St. Asaph, Bishop of, 1802–1805. *See* Horsley, Samuel
- St. Clair, General Arthur (1737–1818), I, 260
- St. Paul's Coffee House, I, 42, 52
- Saint-Vallier, Jean-Denis-René Lacroix de Chevrières, Marquis de, III, 289, 306
- St. Vincent, Earl. *See* Jervis, Sir John
- Salisbury, Bishop of, 1782–91. *See* Barrington, Shute
- Salisbury, Bishop of, 1791–1802. *See* Douglas, John
- Salis-Samade Regiment, III, 326
- Salvation: universal, III, 36
- Sandwich, 4th Earl. *See* Montagu, John
- Sansom, Phillip, III, 142n
- Sarsfield, Guy Claude, Comte de (1718–89), II, 280, 317; III, 27, 186
- Savage, Samuel Morton (1721–91), I, 42
- Savannah, III, 33n
- Savile, Sir George (1726–84), I, 100n, 152
- Sayre, Stephen (1736–1818), II, 46
- Scotch brigade, The, I, 262–64, 267; II, 38
- Scotch principles, fruit of, I, 253–55
- Scotland, III, 75; ecclesiastical tyranny in, III, 291; needs enlightenment, III, 330
- Scott, Captain of *Boston Packet*, III, 189
- Scott, Thomas (1723–1816), II, 206–7
- Scott-Waring, John, III, 335n
- Seabury, Samuel (1729–96), II, 276, 328
- Seance royale, III, 231
- Secker, Thomas (1693–1768), Archbishop of Canterbury, I, 89
- Sharman, Lieut.-Colonel, Letter to: II, 188–92
- Sharp, Granville (1735–1813), III, 23, 142; Letter to: II, 59–60
- Sharp, Richard (1759–1835), III, 334n
- Sharp, William, II, 60
- Sharpe, Samuel, III, 337n
- Shays, Daniel, III, 113n; Shays's Rebellion, III, 52n, 72n, 76, 113
- Shebbeare, John (1709–88), I, 204; III, 17–18
- Shelburne, 2nd Earl of. *See* Petty, Sir William
- Shelburne, Lady. *See* Fitzpatrick, Lady Louisa
- Sheridan, Richard Brinsley (1751–1816), III, 202, 205
- Shipley, Anna Maria, II, 151, 243
- Shipley, Catherine Louisa ("Kitty") (1760–1840), III, 193
- Shipley, Georgiana, II, 20, 151, 243, 250, 267
- Shipley, Jonathan (1714–88), Bishop of St. Asaph, I, 42n; II, 20, 48, 55, 152, 250, 267, 283, 295, 326; III, 125, 227n; Church Establishments, II, 243; death of, III, 191, 193; and reduction of the Thirty-nine Articles, II, 242; Letter from: II, 242–43
- Shipley, William Davies (1745–1826), II, 242n, 250
- Short, Thomas (1690?–1722), I, 67–70, II, 287; *Comparative History of the Increase and Decrease of Mankind in England*, I, 67–70, 73; *New Observations*, I, 68, 71; II, 287
- Shrimpton, Mr. (a stiff Dissenter), III, 185, 210
- Shuttleworth, Henry, III, 244, 278, 279, 284
- Sicily, III, 8, 37
- Sickness: probability table for, III, 84n
- Sidney, Algernon, II, 212, 272
- Siegvolk, Paul, III, 139n
- Simplicius, I, 50n; II, 76
- Simpson, Thomas (1710–61), I, 8n, 25n, 58, 59; and calculation of number of inhabitants of London, I, 63–66, 69; Price advises Equi-

- table to use rule formulated by, I, 279–80;
Price's use of tables of, I, 277; and two senses of expectation of life, I, 61; *The Doctrine of Annuities and Reversions*, I, 100; *The Nature and Laws of Chance*, I, 8n, 25n; *Select Exercises in Mathematics*, I, 59, 61, 100
- Sinclair, Sir John, Letter to: III, 26
- Sinking Fund, I, 180; II, 35, 183–84, 206n, 226, 240, 277, 324, 330; III, xvii, 4–6, 20–30, 64, 86, 106–8, 126–27, 154
- Sinking Fund Bill, III, 34n
- Slackness of trade, II, 27, 108
- Slaney, Mr., II, 180
- Slavery, I, 143–44; II, 7, 16, 42, 45–46, 62, 263–65, 270, 279, 291, 293, 299; III, 29, 36, 134, 285; address to the Constitutional Convention from the Pennsylvania Society for the Abolition of, III, 141–43, 146
- Smallpox, I, 242
- Smart, John, III, 333
- Smeaton, John (1724–92), I, 137
- Smith, Mr., II, 147–49
- Smith, Adam, II, 3, 11, 67, 153; III, 92, 316; death of, III, 31, 326; differs from Price on morality, III, 327; his opinion of Price, III, 326; posthumous works, III, 327–28
- Smith, Benjamin, II, 176
- Smith, Isaac (1719–87), I, 213–14
- Smith, Isaac (1749–1829), I, 213–14, 234
- Smith, Samuel (1755–93), II, 149, 302
- Smith, The Rev. Thomas, III, 70n
- Smith, William (1727–1803) (Provost of the College of Philadelphia), II, 307; III, 78; gives eulogy on Benjamin Franklin, III, 286n
- Smith, William (1756–1835), M.P. for Sudbury, III, 311; Letter to: III, 237–39
- Smith, William Stephens (1755–1816), II, 290–91; III, 7, 66, 67, 164, 170, 171, 227, 272; Letter to: III, 272–74
- Smithson, Mr. (at Wycombe), III, 210
- Smyna, III, 38, 69
- Society for Celebrating the Anniversary of the Revolution in France, The, III, xvii
- Society for Constitutional Information, The, I, 130n; III, xvii
- Society for Equitable Assurances, The, I, 56n, 277–83; III, 11n
- Society for Political Enquiries, The, III, 129, 147
- Society for the Purpose of Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade (London), The, III, 142, 146, 148
- Society of 1789, The, III, 269; by-laws of, III, 289; journal of, III, 301; wishes to establish ties with The Revolution Society, III, 289
- Socinianism, III, 24, 99, 101n, 104, 108, 124, 133, 174, 175, 248
- Soderini, Count (a Venetian nobleman), III, 69n
- Sosthenes, II, 296
- Soul, doctrine of a separate soul, II, 25–26, 66
- Space, II, 62–63, 66–67, 73–76, 88–89, 97, 100
- Spain: alliance with France, II, 27, 74; war with, threatens, III, 304
- Sparhawk, Nathaniel (1744–1814), III, 52, 150
- Spencer, George (1739–1817), 4th Duke of Marlborough, II, 171
- Spirituous liquours, II, 194; sale of, in Ireland, III, 138
- Springfield, Massachusetts, III, 113n
- Stadholder (William V of Orange), III, 143–44; conflict with States-General, III, 152–54
- Stair, 5th Earl of. *See* Dalrymple, John
- Stamp Act, I, 77n
- Standing armies, American dread of, II, 8, 17; in France, III, 199
- Stanhope, Charles (1753–1816), 3rd Earl, II, 152, 170; III, 29, 33, 185, 260, 261, 267, 268, 294, 298, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310; *Observations on Mr. Pitt's plan for the reduction of the National Debt*, III, 33n; Letter to: III, 33–35
- Stanley, Hans (1721–80), I, 189
- Statue, of John Howard, opposition to, III, 70, 74–75, 79, 83–84
- Stennett, Samuel (1728–95), II, 266; III, 210n; *Discourses on Personal Religion*, II, 266
- Stewart, Dugald (1753–1828), II, 67; III, 219, 328
- Stiles, Ezra (1727–95), I, 52n, 76, 77n, 149, 151, 164; II, 163–64, 292; III, xviii, xxi, 119, 202, 211, 344, 345; asks Price to purchase philosophical apparatus, III, 212–13, 214–15; and Price, differences between, III, 242; religious views, III, 163–64; *A Discourse on the Christian Union*, I, 76–78, 166; *The United States elevated to Glory and Honour . . .* (1783), II, 232, 237, 296; Letters to: I, 165–66; II, 195–96, 201, 231, 235–37, 295–97, 327–28; III, 163–65, 241–43, 254–55, 278–79, 284; Letters from: I, 149–50, 198–200; III, 200, 212–13, 214–15, 263–64
- Stirling, Charles (1760–1833), II, 84
- Stirling, Sir Walter (1718–86), II, 84
- Stockdale, John (1749?–1814), III, 17, 211, 275

- Stockjobbing, I, 179; III, 93
- Stocks, III, 88, 91, 93
- Stockton, Annis Boudinet, III, 133n
- Stone, John Hurford (1763–1818), III, 257, 298
- Stone, William, III, 221
- Stonehouse, Sir James, III, 139n
- Streatfield, George (d. 1757) (Price's patron), I, 5, 39n; II, 160
- Strong, Nehemiah (1729–1807), II, 296; *Astronomy Improved* . . . (1784), II, 296
- Stuart, Sir Charles (1753–1801), Letter to: III, 334–35
- Stuart, Charles Edward (1720–88), I, 93
- Stuart, John (1713–92), 3rd Earl of Bute, II, 179
- Sturt, Charles Sturt (1763–1812), II, 206
- Sturt, Humphry (?1725–86), II, 206–7
- Subscription, Dissenters' application for relief from, I, 141n, 199; approbation of, by Chatham and Shelburne, I, 128; Chatham's support of, I, 128, 158; Commons in favor of, I, 126; decision not to try a third time, I, 169, 187; defeat of, I, 131, 158–59, 161, 162, 165–66; differences in bills of, I, 155–56, 158; division in the House of Lords on, I, 132n, 162–63; gains from defeat of, I, 162–63; opposition to, from alleged Dissenters, I, 147, 157, 159; Price discusses in letter to Chauncy, I, 165–66; and religious liberty, I, 131, 132; second reading of bill for, I, 128, 130. *See also* Dissent; Liberty, Religious
- Suffering: and learning, III, 13; as teacher, III, 113–14
- Suffolk, 12th Earl of. *See* Howard, Henry
- Sullivan, James (1744–1808), III, 51, 52, 71; liberalism of, III, 72n; Letter from: III, 71–72
- Summers, Miss (of Hadley, one-time member of Price household), III, 98
- Sunday schools, III, 156
- Swain, Joseph (1722?–92), III, 9
- Sydenham, III, 66, 67
- Tables: Breslau, I, 63, 65, 67, 69, 100n–101n; Halley's, I, 60n, 120; Leeds, I, 104, 106; London, I, 120; Northampton, I, 100–1; Norwich, I, 100–1; Parish of Holy Cross, I, 85; Simpson's, I, 8n, 25n, 58, 59, 277; Swin-derby, I, 160–62; Vaud, I, 167; Wolver-hampton, I, 67n
- Talleyrand (Benevent, Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Perigord, Prince et Duc de), III, 197n; desire for alliance with England, III, 281
- Tatnell (or Tatnall), Mr. (friend of John Howard), III, 70, 71, 74
- Taxation, II, 5, 14, 56–57, 145–46, 149, 153–54, 169, 279; III, 13; heavy in United States, III, 51
- Taylor, William (1765–1836), III, 301
- Temple, Elizabeth, II, 110
- Temple, 2nd Earl. *See* Grenville, George Nugent-Temple
- Temple, John (1732–98), I, 234–35, 246; II, 39, 41, 197, 204, 233; Letters to: II, 54, 78–80, 86, 110
- Temple, Robert (1728–82), II, 78
- Temple, Mrs., II, 279
- Terrick, Richard (1710–77), Bishop of London, I, 163
- Test and Corporation Acts, III, xvii, 120, 125, 265n, 273, 274, 285
- Test law, III, 81–82; repealed in Pennsylvania, letter from Price helped, III, 22
- Testament de Fortuné Ricard, III, 178–79
- Theory and practice, II, 189
- Third estate (tiers état), III, 198, 231, 272
- Thomas, Beryl, III, xv
- Thomas, D.O., III, xv, xvi
- Thomas, John (1696–1781), Bishop of Winchester, III, 341
- Thomas, S. II, 147; Letter from: II, 145–46
- Thomson, Charles (1729–1824), Secretary of Continental Congress, II, 30; III, 96n
- Thomson, William (1746–1817), III, 90, 92–93
- Thornberg, Charles Peter, III, 172n
- Three confederacies: rumored, III, 76
- Thurlow, Edward, 1st Baron, Lord Chancellor, III, 160
- Time, II, 66, 77, 89
- Titania, III, 125n
- Toast: by Price, to alliance of France and England, III, 308, 317
- Tobacco, trade, I, 255–56
- Toleration, I, 128–29, 131, 155, 158; Locke on, I, 126–28
- Toller, Thomas, III, 210n
- Tottenham, Lord Bruce of. *See* Bruce, Thomas Brudenell, I, 163
- Toulmin, Joshua (1740–1815), III, 320; de-gree of D.D., III, 317–18; certificate, III, 336
- Toulon, III, 7

- Toulouse, Étienne Charles de Loménie de Brienne (1727–94), Archbishop of, III, 197–99
- Tourmaline, I, 37–38, 40, 41, 43, 44
- Towgood, Matthew (1732–91), II, 47–48; III, xxii, 47n, 62, 186–87
- Townsend, Joseph (1739–1816), III, 186; *A Dissertation on the Poor Laws* (1786), III, 186
- Townshend, Charles (1728–1810), II, 124, 131–32, 139, 142, 144
- Townshend, George (1724–1807), 4th Viscount and 1st Marquis Townshend, III, 186
- Townshend, George (1755–1811), Earl of Leicester, 2nd Marquis Townshend, and Baron de Ferrars of Chartley III, 186
- Townshend, Thomas (1733–1800), I, 100n; II, 134, 136; Letter from: I, 204–5
- Townshend, Mr., II, 237
- Trade: between United States and Great Britain, III, 12–13, 44, 112; with United States, strengthening France, III, 89; loss of American, I, 255–56; not true interest of any state, I, 233; slackness of, II, 27, 47
- Transactions of American Philosophical Society*, III, 228
- Transit of Venus, I, 93–96, 153
- Treaty of Amity and Commerce between his Majesty the King of Prussia and the United States of America, A, III, 89
- Treaty of Commerce, II, 193, 230, 300
- Treaty of Paris of 1783: violations of, III, 170
- Treillard, Jean Baptiste, Comte de (1742–1810), III, 310n
- Trial by jury: in France, III, 199
- Trieste, III, 39
- Trinitarianism, III, 24, 174
- Troops: approach of, to Paris, III, 231
- Trumbull, John (1756–1843), II, xiv, 78, 86, 110, 203, 235, 291
- Trumbull the Elder, Jonathan (1710–85), I, 208; II, xiv, 44–45, 55, 237; *An Address of his Excellency Governor Trumbull . . .* (1783), II, 232; Letters to: II, 232–33, 291–92; Letters from: II, 203–4, 275–76
- Trusion, II, 107
- Truston, Capt., II, 234
- Truth: and belief, III, 256; criterion of, I, 192–98; pleasure of, III, 182n; Price devotes life to, III, 290; will prevail, III, 46
- Tryon, William (1725–88), II, 52
- Tucker, Josiah (1712–99), Dean of Gloucester, I, 249; II, 3, 11, 280; *Reflections on the present measures in dispute between Great Britain and Ireland*, II, 280; *A Treatise on Civil Government*, II, 31–33
- Turgot, A. J. R. (1727–81), I, 256; II, xiii, 3–19, 36, 68, 91, 114, 123, 218–20, 223, 227, 231, 234, 236, 242–43, 269, 276; III, xix, 86, 92, 135, 184n, 186, 226, 268; La Rochefoucauld urges Price to find letters from, III, 290, 301, 326; legislation and political science, II, 69; his letter to Price a personal attack on John Adams, III, 122; answered in *Adams's Defence*, III, 120; principles of, sterner than Necker's, III, 93–94; Letters from: II, 3–19, 68
- Turkey, III, 8, 38; declares war on Russia, III, 150
- Tuscan code of criminal law, III, 205
- Two capitals: Versailles and Paris, III, 232
- Unidentified correspondent, Letter to: III, 262–63
- Union: of France and England, III, 313–14
- Unitarians in America, II, 254–55
- United Provinces, III, xix, 93n. *See also* Godwin; Holland; Rendorp; Stadholder
- United States, III, xviii; blunders in, III, 116; Congress, weakness of, III, 135; criticism of, by British agents, III, 32–33; disorders in, III, 117; economic situation in, III, 13; an example to the world, III, 238; a haven from calamities, III, 151; problems in, III, 95–96, 112, 115–16, 283; state of public affairs in, III, 194
- Universal salvation, III, 133, 139, 147
- Uranus* (Georgium Sidus), discovery of, II, 105, 196–97, 201, 236, 297; satellites of, III, 125
- Urban, Sylvanus, editor of *Gent. Mag.*, Letter to: III, 45–47
- Valencia, I, 224
- Vallièrre, Duchess de la, II, 219, 220
- Valuation: of lives, I, 58, 85; of the Equitable Life Assurance Society, III, 106–7
- Vaughan, Benjamin (1751–1835), II, 253, 271n; III, xxi, 47n, 58n, 227n, 251, 255, 264, 302n, 316, 320, 349; circulates autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, III, 298–99, 303, 326; and French Revolution, III, 311n; helps with philosophical apparatus, III, 240, 242, 284; Letters to: III, 349
- Vaughan, Charles (1759–1839), III, 129n, 147, 336

- Vaughan, John (1756–1841), II, 164, 319, 321; III, 58n; Letter *re*: II, 115; Letter to: II, 186–87
- Vaughan, Petty, III, 58n
- Vaughan, Sr., Samuel (1720–1802), I, 42n, 87, 123; II, 322; III, 80n, 114, 147, 148, 150, 241; contributions to Philadelphia, III, 58; Letter from: II, 253–56
- Vaughan, Samuel, Jr., III, 58n, 115, 129, 147, 263; Letter from: III, 80–82
- Vaughan, Sara, née Hallowell (b. 1727) wife of Samuel Vaughan, Snr., II, 164, 186; III, 53, 58, 114, 115, 116, 117, 130
- Vaughan, William, III, 58n
- Vaughan, Wilmot (1730–1800), Earl of Lisburne, II, 141
- Vauguyon, Paul-Francois de Quelen de Stuer de Caussade, Duc de, (1746–1828), III, 235
- Venice, III, 39, 100
- Vermont, III, 113n
- Vernon, Caroline Maria (1761–1833), III, 88n, 255, 322, 332n
- Vernon, Elizabeth (1761–1830), III, 88n
- Vernon, Evelyn, Mrs. Richard, III, 88
- Vernon, Henrietta (1760–1838), III, 88n
- Vernon, Richard (1726–1800), III, 88n
- Vesuvius, I, 92–93; III, 8
- Vienna, III, 71, 110, 111
- Villedieu, Pierre Charles Laurent (1742–1823), III, 234, 237
- Virgil, II, 202
- Virginia: religious freedom in, III, xviii, 45–47, 56–57, 120
- Virtue: I, 5, 48–49, 82–83, 96; happiness of, III, 98; reward of, III, xxii, 182n, 290
- Vision of Columbus, The*, III, 118, 180
- Volunteers of Ireland, II, 191–92, 207
- Voting: problem of, in estates-general, III, 223–25, 231
- Wakefield, Gilbert (1756–1801), III, 335n, 338, 339
- Wales, I, 114
- Wales, George Augustus Frederick (1762–1830), Prince of, III, 1762–1820; George IV, King of England, 1820–30, III, 194, 201–2, 205
- Walker, George (1734–1807), I, 97–98, 101n, 114–17, 124–25; II, 122n; III, 70n, 158; Letters to: I, 99, 101–2
- Waller, Nathaniel, II, 329
- Waller, Sarah, II, 329
- Walter, John (1739–1812), III, 261
- War: fear of another continental, III, 208; French decision belongs to the people, not the King, III, 299; National Assembly denounces all offensive, III, 306; offensive and defensive, III, 186; preparations for, III, 143, 157; preparations for, with France, III, 147, 150, 151; preparations for, with Spain, III, 322; prospects of, I, 203; at full scale, I, 212
- Warburton, William (1689–1779), Bishop of Gloucester, I, 45–46; III, 191
- Wargentin, Per Wilhelm (1717–1783), II, xiv; Letters to: II, 112–13, 184
- Warren, Dr. John, III, 70n
- Warren, General Joseph (1714–75), I, 226
- Warren, Sir Peter (1703–52), I, 207
- Warwick, Earl of. *See* Greville, George
- Washington College, II, 307
- Washington, George, I, 227, 260; II, 19, 195–96; III, 141n, 185–86; rumored a dictator, III, 238; Letters to: II, 271, 288; Letter from: II, 324–25
- Watkin, Mr., II, 205, 277
- Watson, Richard (1737–1816), Bishop of Llandaff, II, 326; III, 125
- Watson, Sir William (1715–87), I, 39–40
- Watts, Isaac (1674–1748), II, 228–29, 249
- Weare, Meshech (1713–86), II, 303–4
- Webb, Benjamin, II, 20; Letters from: III, 20–21, 24–25
- Webb, Charles (son of Benjamin), III, 20–21, 24
- Webster, Dr. Alexander (1707–84), II, 67; III, 269; *Calculations with the principles and data on which they are instituted, relative to a late Act of Parliament*, I, 107; Letter to: I, 118–20; Letter from: I, 104–13
- Webster, Noah (1758–1843), II, 297; III, 118, 171, 253n; *A Grammatical Institute of the English Language* (1783–85), II, 298; *Sketches of American Policy* (1785), II, 298; Letter to: II, 297–98
- Wedderburn, Alexander (1733–1805), I, 190
- Welch, George, III, 187
- Welch, Thomas, III, 187
- Wells, William, II, 186–87
- Wentworth, Charles Watson (1730–1782), 2nd Marquis of Rockingham, II, 122n, 124, 175, 177
- Westminster Committee, II, 158
- Wheelock, John (1754–1817), III, 37, 41; Letters from: II, 259–60, 303–4

- Whitbread, Samuel, the Elder (1720–96), III, 37n, 75, 83n
- Whitbread, Samuel, the Younger (1758–1815), III, 83n
- White, Nathaniel (1730–83), I, 140–41
- White, William (1748–1836), III, xviii, xxi, 114, 115, 117, 120, 133, 194; asks Price to help Joseph Workman gain audience with the Royal Society, III, 140; chaplain to Continental Congress, III, 76; goes to London to be consecrated Bishop of Pennsylvania, III, 75, 82; sends information to Price about Constitutional Convention, III, 140–41; Letter from: III, 140–41
- Whiteboys, III, 77n
- Whitehead, John (1740–1804), II, 23–24
- Whiteside, John (d. 1784), I, 124n, 125
- Widow's Fund. *See* Establishment for a Provision for the Widows and Children of the Ministers and Professors in Scotland
- Wigglesworth, Edward (1732–94), I, 234; III, xxi, 10, 71n, 150, 151; "Observations on the Longevity of the Inhabitants of Ipswich and Hingham," III, 44; Letter to: III, 137; Letters from: I, 213–15; III, 49–50
- Wilcke, J. C. (1732–96), I, 37
- Wilhelmina (wife of the Stadholder, William V of Orange), III, 153n
- Wilkes, John, Letter to: II, 275
- Wilkes, Mary (1750–1802), II, 219–20
- Wilkinson, William, III, 53n
- Willard, Joseph (1738–1804), II, 110, 235, 265, 300; III, xviii, xxi, 42, 71n; Letters to: II, 104–6, 180, 196–98, 212–14, 222–23; III, 9–12, 43–44, 150–52; Letters from: II, 202–3; III, 15–16, 187–89
- William III of Orange, III, 152n
- William V of Orange (Stadholder of the United Provinces), III, 93n
- William and Mary, College of, I, 149–50; II, 299, 313
- Williams, David (1738–1816), III, 311
- Williams, Jonathan (1750–1815), II, 266, 282, 295; III, 298, 303
- Williams, Samuel (1743–1817), II, 222; III, 11
- Dr. Williams's Library, III, 47n
- Williamson, Hugh (1735–1819), III, 345
- Willoughby, Hugh (1714–65), Lord Willoughby of Parham, I, 39
- Willoughby, Mr. (member of a committee to raise a statue of John Howard), III, 83n, 100
- Wilson, Alexander (1714–86), I, 121n, 154
- Wilson, Benjamin (1721–88), I, 38, 40–41; II, 114; III, 160
- Wilson, James, III, 141n; delivers closing speech for Benjamin Franklin in the Constitutional Convention, III, 165
- Wilson, Patrick (1743–1811), I, 153
- Wiltshire Committee, II, 60
- Winchester, Elhanan (1751–97), II, 307; III, 161; *The Universal Salvation* (1803), III, 139
- Winchester, Bishop of, 1734–61. *See* Hoadly, Benjamin
- Winchester, Bishop of, 1761–81. *See* Thomas, John
- Winckelmann, Johann Joachim (1717–68), III, 324
- Windham, William (1750–1810), II, 122n, 124
- Winthrop, James (1752–1821), II, 197–98, 213, 222
- Winthrop, John (1714–79), I, 93, 191, 207, 221, 234, 235, 257; II, 41, 54, 106, 198; claim on executors by the Royal Society, III, 44; and Franklin, consider helping Priestley, I, 132n–33n; his opinion of *O.R.P.*, I, 143; on transit of Venus, I, 93–94; Letters to: I, 246–47, 258–59; Letters from: I, 175–77, 200–4, 208–12
- Witherspoon, John, III, 139n
- Wodrow, James (1730–1810), Letter to: III, 269–71
- Wodrow, Robert (1679–1734), III, 269n
- Wollstonecraft, Mary (1759–97), III, 152n, 183n, 335n
- Wood, William (1745–1808), III, 336
- Woodhouse, Olyett, III, 334n
- Woodhouse, Robert (1773–1827), III, 178
- Woodhouse, Sarah (wife of William Morgan), III, 106n
- Woods, Joseph, III, 142n
- Workman, Benjamin, III, xxi, 140, 194
- Workman, Joseph, III, xxi, 140, 194
- Worthington, Hugh, III, 47n
- Worthington, William (1703–78), II, 34
- Wycombe, Lord. *See* Petty, John Henry
- Wyndham, Thomas (1763?–1814), III, 255
- Wythe, George (1726–1806), II, 299, 313
- Wyvill, Christopher (1740–1822), II, 158; Letters to: II, 158–59, 256–58
- Ximenes, Francisco (1436–1517), II, 306
- Yale, Elihu (1648–1721), III, 240

Yarmouth, Gentlemen at, II, xvi, 122, 126,
 131-32, 134-35, 138-40, 142-44, 169, 171
 Yarmouth: trial of William Hurry in, III, 209
 York, Archbishop of, 1761-76. *See* Drum-
 mond, Hay
 York, Archbishop of, 1776-1807. *See* Mark-
 ham, William
 Yorkshire Committee, II, 158

Young, Edward (1683-1765), III, 331; *The
 Complaint; or Night Thoughts*, III, 331
 Young, Captain John, II, 320

 Zante, III, 37
 Zeeman, Enoch, III, 240n
 Zubly, John Joachim (1724-81), I, 227-28

The editor of Volume III is W. Bernard Peach, Professor Emeritus of Philosophy, Duke University. He is also editor of *Richard Price and the Ethical Foundations of the American Revolution: Selections from his pamphlets, with appendices and an introductory essay*.

The co-editor of the series is D. O. Thomas, formerly Reader in Philosophy at University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. He is author of *The Honest Mind: The Thought and Work of Richard Price, Ymateb i Chwyldro—Response to Revolution*, editor of *Richard Price: Political Writings*, and also co-editor of the journal *Enlightenment and Dissent*.

Duke University Libraries



D02599552.

**DUKE UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY**



**DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA
27708**

GAYLORD

